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THE POLITICS OF CONSCIENCE:

A Case Study of the Tucker Intern Program at Dartmouth College

A Dissertation Presented

By

JOANNA HENDERSON STERNICK

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

MAY 1976

EDUCATION

THE POLITICS OF CONSCIENCE:

A Case Study of the Tucker Intern Program at Dartmouth College

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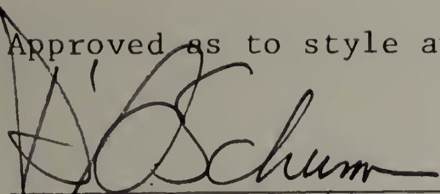
Approved as to style and content by:



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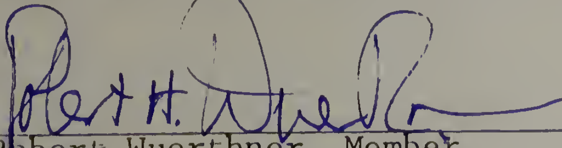

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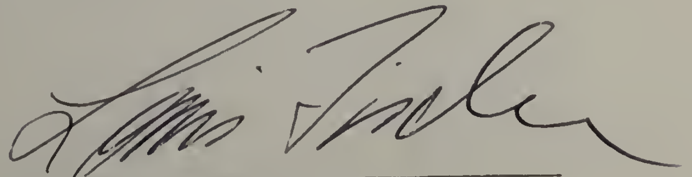

Dean Louis Fischer

ABSTRACT

The Politics of Conscience: A Case Study of the Tucker Intern Program at Dartmouth College

(May 1976)

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Directed by: Professor David Schuman

Problem. During the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies a large number of colleges and universities invested heavily in programs of constructive social action at the same time that campus violence and destruction were rampant. Although most schools with service-learning programs worked in neighborhoods close to their campuses, Dartmouth College through its Tucker Foundation, instituted an Intern program which placed undergraduates in communities across the country. These students worked as tutors, teachers and community aides in a variety of urban and rural settings.

From 1967 to 1975 Tucker Interns earned academic credit from Dartmouth's Education Department for their term-length experiences in this program. While popular with students, the Internships were viewed with skepticism by faculty and others at the College who feared erosion of academic credit would result from off-campus programs of this nature. Gradually, the Education Department withdrew credit for the Internships under pressure from the general faculty.

The purpose of this research was to examine a unique academic program which arose during the activist period of the late sixties in order to better understand ideas about change in a liberal society and, more specifically, at an elite liberal arts institution. This research will, hopefully, add to the knowledge of those times through the dimensions of social and political change.

Design. The case study method was employed for this study and the data gathered by two methods: 1) from extensive interviews with seventeen individuals who played a key role in the Intern program, the Tucker Foundation or the College's affairs between 1967 and 1975, 2) from reading and analyzing hundreds of letters, memos, proposals, reports, student papers and journals.

Findings. Four factors were identified which made possible the inception of the program: 1) a national mood which supported the investment of time and money in urban and racial programs, 2) a Dartmouth president who had committed himself to institutionalizing conscience through the Tucker Foundation, 3) a student body which was eager to support a viable service-learning project, and 4) the presence of guilt on the part of many students, faculty and administrators at the College because of their privileged status in society. The program's demise came about because of the eventual absence of all four previously existing conditions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people whose help made this work possible. Orilla Moe kept the meticulous records of the Tucker Foundation for many years which allowed me to construct a detailed history. Al Shepard assisted admirably with several of the interviews and Bill Sigward listened with patience to four years of ups and downs.

Don Stone and Bob Wuerthner both offered valuable criticisms in the final stages of the writing which were very beneficial. David Schuman not only provided scholarly advice and constant help, he created a climate in which I was able to think and write with excitement and enthusiasm.

My family deserves a medal for surviving this experience. Heidi, Jeffi and Peter tolerated countless grumpy moods without complaint, and Ned, who did the same, never failed to offer encouragement and support when I needed it most.

To Ned

(Who told me I could do it.)

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction and Background

The activist period of the later half of the 1960's and early 1970's was responsible for fostering a wide range of non-violent social and political activity which received much less publicity than did the acts of violence which accompanied the same era. Peaceful civil rights activity in the form of boycotts, picketing and voter registration had begun early in the sixties, well before a serious attack was launched against American involvement in the Vietnam War.[1] When campus rebellions involving destruction of property and sometimes lives began in earnest however, journalists, scholars and researchers of every hue focused their attention on this aspect of collegiate life rather than the more peaceful, student-centered social action programs.

Colleges and universities across the country were involving themselves to different degrees in activity centered around civil rights, the urban crisis and anti-war issues. Schools such as the University of Chicago, Wayne State Univer-

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[1]The range of early non-violent protest activity is well documented in Otto Butz's book, To Make a Difference, (Harper and Row: New York, 1967).

sity and Tufts, whose campuses bordered neighborhoods where urban decay was an observable reality, invested heavily in alleviating this problem by attempting to rebuild and revitalize these communities. At Stanford and Michigan State University, courses and workshops which sought to affect social change were offered for academic credit. Programs of open admissions to recruit those people who in the past had not met "normal standards" for admission were instituted by schools such as the City University of New York. Many institutions of higher education also provided services to inner cities, which usually was carried out in tandem with traditional research projects.[2]

Few colleges, however, initiated activity beyond the community or geographic area in which they were located, if service was the prime concern. Thus, when Dartmouth College under the auspices of the school's Tucker Foundation instituted a service-learning Intern program with eight different sites across the country, mostly in poor urban neighborhoods, an unusual project had been established.

The Tucker Foundation is that arm of the College charged by the Trustees at the time of its inception in

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[2]The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in their report, The University and the City, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973) presents case studies of eight institutions and their efforts to work with urban communities.

1951, with supporting and furthering the moral and spiritual work and influence of the Dartmouth community.[3] Named after William Jewett Tucker, the College's ninth president, the Foundation sought in its early years to follow a conventional religious path interpreting the moral and spiritual mandate to mean traditional chapel programs of worship and discussion. Inspired by Dr. Tucker's admonition, "Do not expect that you will make any lasting or very strong impression on the world through intellectual power without the use of an equal amount of conscience and heart,"[4] newly appointed Dean Charles Dey in 1967 determined to provide ways for Dartmouth undergraduates to invest themselves constructively in the pressing social and moral issues of the times. In establishing the Tucker Intern Program, Dey intended to provide, "A controlled introduction to the other America so that each Dartmouth intern, whatever his ultimate goal or profession, would never again be free from knowing that massive swath of his society inhabited by the losers."[5] The expressed hope was that these experiences would give added meaning to an otherwise traditional liberal arts education.

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[3] William Jewett Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College, 1975.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "A Report of Stewardship", by Charles F. Dey, Dean of the William Jewett Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College, 1971, (unpublished report).

Specifically, sites in Jersey City, New Jersey, Chicago, Boston, Compton and Oakland, California, Brasstown, North Carolina, Kicking Horse, Montana and Clarksdale, Mississippi were set up by Foundation staff, students and alumni of the College. Undergraduates lived and worked in these communities, teaching and tutoring in local schools and involving themselves after school in a wide variety of community service projects. They stayed for a term (ten to twelve weeks), paid normal Dartmouth board, room and tuition fees and received three academic credits, (which constitutes a full load), from the Education Department.

The Intern program which officially began in 1967, represented an important educational undertaking which encompassed at once enormous popularity, controversy and political trauma. The popularity resulted in an abundance of students seeking admission into the program almost from its very beginning. The controversy and accompanying trauma were the result of three major sets of problems: credit arrangements for the internships, the Education Department's involvement with the program, and the relationship between the Tucker Foundation and the rest of the College.

A Brief Overview of the Nature of the Educational Process

Before examining each of these problem areas, however, a brief look at the nature of education, especially educa-

tion in elite institutions such as Dartmouth is necessary.

Education which takes place in schools of all kinds and at all levels undertakes the functions of custodial care, teaching social roles and values, and developing cognitive skills and knowledge. It is the last function, which schools state as their reason for existence, but the other two are as important, even in higher education. Caroline Bird points out in her book, The Case Against College that large numbers of parents send children off to college because they simply do not know what else to do with them, and want them to be at least partially taken care of.[6] Students themselves often enroll in institutions of higher learning because they are not yet ready psychologically to enter the world of work and want a few years of freedom under the sheltered guise of an academic setting.

School has been a major mechanism for distributing values in this country during the past several decades, having largely replaced the family and the church, which were once solely responsible for socialization and indoctrination of ideas and attitudes of a philosophical nature. Colleges and universities continue the pattern set by the elementary and secondary schools of value selection and reinforcement. This is especially true at small theme

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[6]Caroline Bird, The Case Against College, (New York: Bantam Books, 1975).

schools and institutions where admissions standards are very high according to conventional standards.

In addition to assuming responsibility for cognitive learning, guardianship and teaching social values, there is a hidden curriculum at all schools in America which serves to propagate social myths about the country. These myths concern the ideas of equal opportunity, freedom, progress and efficiency. The last two, the insistance that things will continue to improve and that all problems are solved by greater efficiency on the part of individuals and organizations, are not germane here, but the first two are. Equal opportunity and freedom are values passed on to each succeeding generation, but which are never actually implemented. They are conditions which people think ought to exist in a democracy. Thus they are incorporated into the rhetoric of the nation's philosophical stand without ever becoming part of its working reality. So basic and ingrained are these values that Americans believe they exist while in fact, evidence to the contrary is daily observed.

Problems Connected with the Tucker Intern Program:

Academic credit. The three sets of problems mentioned in connection with the Tucker Intern program: credit arrangements, the Education Department's involvement with the program and the relationship between the Tucker Foundation and the rest of the College, are related to the nature of

our educational process. The decision to award academic credit for the intern program precipitated a vigorous debate among many members of the faculty, between the faculty and the Foundation staff and between the faculty and undergraduates. In general the faculty was extremely reluctant to endorse experiential work done for credit. This is a classical debate which is not peculiar to Dartmouth but which has been a source of discussion and disagreement among faculty at all but the most progressive and newly established schools. Many traditional faculties defend the Thorstein Veblen view which states that the university should be a single purpose institution, accepting responsibility for scientific and scholarly inquiry in pursuit of pure knowledge and nothing else.[7] Although even the most conservative academics would broaden this view today, many would still agree with the Dartmouth faculty member who felt that the College should, "place less emphasis on experiencing the real world on off-campus programs." He noted, "It's not that practical learning isn't useful--it's just that it shouldn't occur under the aegis of the College."[8] Granting credit for

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[7]Paul Woodring in his book, The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968) p. 133, notes this Veblen philosophy.

[8]"Gulick Reflects on Eve of Departure", The Daily Dartmouth, 7 May 1975, p. 1.

Tucker Intern experiences then, was highly controversial, and in addition, ran counter to one of the basic purposes of schooling and education, especially prestigious schooling in America. In curricular matters, cognitive skills and knowledge are central; other matters are extra curricular and the prevailing opinion is that they should not carry credit.

The Education Department's involvement. The problems which developed because of the Education Department's involvement with the program were identified as a lack of supervision for the interns, poor evaluation of their work and the awarding of an excessive number of high grades. Behind these voiced concerns, however, lurked the unspoken attitude of the other departments at the College that the Education Department was only a step-child because of its vocational orientation. A history of discontent and alienation between Education and the rest of the faculty was well known.

This too is not a Dartmouth phenomenon, but rather a widespread feeling on the part of many academics, especially at prestigious schools. Paul Woodring in describing a typical faculty member noted that, "...if he teaches any academic subject there is a good chance that he can see no legitimate place for professors of education on a college faculty. In most cases he is too much of a gentleman to state his biases publicly, but these convictions lie

at the root of many conflicts within the faculty and make the construction of a curriculum more difficult."[9] Courses which are preparatory for elementary or secondary teaching have always been treated with disrespect by those in the more traditional disciplines, and the professors who teach these courses are held in disdain at many liberal arts colleges. At Dartmouth there were the added problems of a small, weak Education Department becoming larger, when swelling course enrollments, (because of the internships) justified the need for more faculty members. The Education Department at the College could be tolerated if it remained a one person operation with only a few course offerings and no majors, but when it began to demand added personnel, space and an enlarged budget because of the increased number of students who were demanding its services, the general faculty became aroused.

We have seen that schools are in the business of transmitting values, and one of the values which Dartmouth, like all liberal arts schools, conveys to its students is that a liberally educated person is one who waits until graduate school to pursue a vocational course of study. Thus; the very presence of an Education Department on a liberal arts campus is threatening to a basic value held in high esteem

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[9] Paul Woodring, The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 133-134.

by the faculty and one which hopefully will be passed on to students at the institution.

<u>The Foundation's relationship to the academic departments</u>. The third problem area which arose when the popularity of the Internships became widespread was the Tucker Foundation's relationship to the rest of the campus, especially the academic departments. Because of the two previously mentioned problems, the credit arrangements and the Education Department's involvement with the program, many administrators and faculty members began to view the Foundation and its work with skepticism and then increasing alarm. There was a feeling that the Foundation had stepped outside its boundaries and was encouraging students to participate in experiences which, while they may have been rewarding, were neither religious in nature nor worthy of credit. Additionally, the close relationship between the President of the College and the Dean of the Tucker Foundation was viewed with a jaundiced eye because department chairmen and deans did not have the easy access to the President granted Dean Dey. The major criticism leveled against the Foundation, however, in less explicit more subtle ways concerned the fact that the Foundation was attempting to have America live up to its myths of equality and freedom. By doing this it was altering the established liberal arts philosophy of studying about the poor but not actually working with them. Service had long been part of

the gentleman's upbringing, but never in a manner which went much beyond the charitable act of giving money. In establishing the Internships, the Tucker Foundation was tampering with all of the long standing functions of American education. It threatened custodial care by sending students into crime-ridden, potentially dangerous neighborhoods, it rocked the transmission of social roles and values by asking undergraduates to invest themselves for three months in the lives of less fortunate peoples and it deemphasized cognitive learning in favor of experiential learning.

National Mood and Institutions of Higher Education

The country's mood and tenor were reflected on college campuses nation-wide during the period of unrest as they normally are during any time of stress. Kingman Brewster, the President of Yale University, noted shortly after the Cambodia crisis that, "there must be a better way to show distress over national policies than by curtailing education."[10] He was, of course, referring to the large number of colleges which responded to that tragedy by striking. But the traumatic era ended almost as suddenly as it had begun, both nation-wide and on college campuses, as the end

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[10] Kingman Brewster cited by Fred M. Hechinger and Grace Hechinger, Growing Up in America, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 403.

to the draft defused anger and produced a sudden disenchantment with violence after the death of an innocent graduate student in a University of Wisconsin bombing.

Such rapid reversals in behavior and attitudes could lead one to believe that college and university students are an erratic group and their motives therefore suspect. It would perhaps be logical to ignore students altogether because of their lack of stability, but to do so would be to disregard an important indicator of what lies ahead. In the work, Growing Up in America, written well after the activist period of the nineteen sixties, Grace Hechinger noted the following, "While student attitudes and ideas do fluctuate, they also reflect accurately the concerns of the contemporary society. The young act with fewer inhibitions and with greater honesty for they have less to lose. They signal the need for revisions which the older generations may know are needed but are unable to do anything about."[11]

There is a close link between national mood and the country's schools. There is also an association between social and political change in the country and the schools, particularly institutions of higher education. Change and resistance to change take place for a variety of reasons

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[11] Ibid., p. 405.

which will be explored in this study, but the effects of change (or resistance to it) are particularly worthy of analysis during times of discontent and upheaval.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research, then, is to examine in-depth the history of a unique academic program, which took place during the activist period of the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies, in order to better understand ideas about change in a liberal society and at an elite liberal institution of learning. The intent here is to give perspective and understanding to an important educational undertaking and thereby to add to the knowledge of the times through the dimensions of social and political change.

Methodology

Social research has frequently demonstrated that the study of a single case may produce a wealth of new insights, whereas a sample of thousands will often yield few fresh ideas. Victor Balbridge asserted that "the real value of a case study is to provoke ideas about a new way of viewing the world, to fill in an idea with vivid detail or to suggest new perspectives."[12] With this in mind the

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[12] Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), p. 33.

case study method will be employed in this research for the following reasons:

1. it seeks ideas rather than conclusions, looking at an evolutionary process rather than testing hypotheses

2. it is a good way to gain perspective and comprehensive understanding of an important happening because it looks at each phase from every angle

3. it is a good way to deal with variables which are difficult to quantify such as conflict, morale, values, attitudes and affective learning.

In conjunction with this view of the case study, historical analysis is considered a valid area of research if it emphasizes not merely a chronicling of events but a "truthful integrated account of the relationships between persons, events, times and places,"[13] The selection of the Tucker Internship program as a experiential educational program worthy of being treated as historical case material comes from an awareness of the program's history. I administered the program during its final credit-bearing year, and therefore had knowledge of, and access to information about the program's development not generally available. The topic is appropriate and valid for research because it took place at one of the oldest and most traditional liberal arts institutions in the country, because it involved, in

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[13]John W. Best, Research in Education, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 94.

addition to numerous administrators and faculty people, ten percent of the College's undergraduates during the height of its popularity, and because it lasted for seven years.

No case study can be totally unbiased since decisions must be made by the author concerning what questions to ask respondents, how much of the collected data to use and what aspects of the case to emphasize. The biases which I have concerning the material come from a working knowledge of the Tucker Foundation and of the Intern program. I believed in the value of the program and was a strong supporter of its continuance. I knew all of the people who were interviewed for this study and often entered an interview situation prepared to hear certain statements which were often not forthcoming. Thus I concluded the study with a much clearer understanding of the variety of problems involved with the program than when I undertook the work.

Only primary data sources were used in this research, consisting of documents (records kept and written by actual participants in the events) and oral testimony of participants or witnesses of the event. Since careful records have been kept of the program's affairs, it was possible to compile a complete and accurate history. The records contain hundreds of letters, year-end reports, program evaluations, proposals for funding, memos of site visita-

tions and phone conversations, student term papers and journals. Some of these documents were sent and received within the Foundation, others to offices on the Dartmouth campus and still another group to people at other institutions, private foundations or the federal government.

Extensive interviews were conducted with seventeen people who played a significant part in some phase of the program's life. The role of each person interviewed is revealed in the two chapters on the history of the Intern program. I tried to make certain that no person who played an important part in the program was left out and conversely, no one included in the sample whose role was peripheral.

The list of names was drawn together after constructing the history, and from it discerning those whose influence was greatest and who were involved over a period of time with the Intern program. The list was then shared with four people whose names appeared on the list and who verified the fact that these people constituted the group which would be most knowledgeable about the Intern program. The names and positions of these people are found in Appendix A.

While some respondents were staunch advocates of the Tucker Internships, others were less supportive, and some played an antagonist role throughout the entire seven year period. Most however, were neither defenders nor opponents exclusively. Some believed in the philosophy of the program

but not in the actual practice. Others supported the practice but not the academic arrangements. Still others agreed with the program's basic philosophy during the times out of which it arose but would not be supportive of such a program during a less volatile social and political era. Clearly there were no two separate and distinct sides which those interviewed took. The issues involved were complex and respondents held a wide array of opinions, ideas and attitudes.

With a small sample, it was possible to do in-depth interviews and provide respondents with an opportunity to elaborate upon the answers. Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook state that, "the interview is the most appropriate technique for revealing information about complex emotionally laden subjects or for probing the sentiments that may underlie an expressed opinion."[14]

Questions asked of the respondents were developed after the program's history was written and are an outgrowth of the knowledge of that history. They were constructed in such a way as to allow for the respondent to elaborate as much or as little as he or she chose and still obtain concrete data. The basic questions which were asked of the respondents are found in Appendix B.

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[14]Claire Sellitz et. al. Research Methods in Social Relations, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962), p. 242.

Need for the Study

A diversity of non-violent activist programs in higher education were developed during the late 1960's and early 1970's, many of which have been catalogued, documented or written about in various degrees of detail.[15] While the author found only limited data which described in detail programs of this nature, there is enough information on a few programs to know with some certainity that experiential, non-traditional and service-learning projects in higher education are all very different. The Society for Field Experience Education, formed in 1972, invited membership from institutions which were themselves experimental or incorporated into their offerings programs of a non-traditional nature. The Society quickly found after its initial gathering of member colleges and universities that the variety of schools, programs, projects and offerings was as diverse as the count of the membership itself. There were threads of the same problems and issues which ran through all programs, but the differences were far greater than the similarities. A contribution to the

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[15]For details on a variety of non-violent academic programs see John Duley's Implementing Field Experience Education, (Jossey-Bass: San Francisco, 1974), The Carnegie Commission Report, The University and the City, (McGraw-Hill: New York, 1973), and "Service-Learning in the South, 1967-1972 (Southern Regional Education Board, 1973).

literature of these programs, then, will be unique and enlightening.

A second need for the study centers around the importance of the Intern program in the history of the institution; important because it involved such a large number of students and represented a break from its historical pattern of non-involvement with affairs outside its cloistered walls. Additionally, an understanding of the investment of large amounts of money, time, energy and commitment made by the College is included in this second need for the research.

Finally, there is a need to add to the knowledge of the attempts at social and political change in America and her institutions of higher education. To study an individual, an idea or a movement in isolation without giving consideration to the interaction of the times during which it took place is to present a weak and incomplete story. Thus to look only at the conclusions of the study of a single organism without drawing out the larger implications is to present an inconclusive picture also. This research focuses on a single event in the history of an institution of higher education and looks in-depth at the dynamics of change and resistance to change. Through the analysis of the Tucker Intern program, ideas about change in the larger society on a broadened scale are presented.

This study begins with a review of the literature pertaining to the activist period of the sixties and early seventies. A section on the protest movement as part of a liberal society follows. The history of the Tucker Intern program from 1967 to 1975 is then presented in two chapters using the methodology described. The study ends with conclusions about what the research revealed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Reasons For Campus Unrest

Hypocrisy of the older generation. The United States in the 1960's witnessed a social and political upheaval brought about largely by the metamorphosis of its college generations from complacent caterpillars into agitated butterflies. Attempts to explain the new student activist movement elicited commentary from sociologists, psychologists, educators, political scientists and social critics, all anxious to interpret an interesting and important social phenomenon for those who needed to understand what was happening.[1]

Although hypotheses and speculations were abundant, the movement changed so rapidly that explanations were quickly outdated by the next day's news. In addition, psychologists were looking at behavior, while sociologists examined social factors and political scientists turned to political events for answers to the puzzling questions of the times. Thus comprehending these approaches is an important prerequisite to understanding the who, why, where

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[1]For a chronological listing of the major protest events on campuses in the United States see Appendix C. From Jacqueline Estrada, ed., The University Under Seige, (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing Co., 1971).

and what of the activist period of the nineteen sixties in this country.

By far the largest body of information on the topic attempts to deal with the question of why the times spawned the unrest it did. "The values of any new generation do not spring full blown from their heads; they are already there, inherent if not clearly articulated, in the older generation",[2] stated Eric Erikson in writing about the student activist period. The notion that the younger generation makes overt what is covert in the older generation is a theme reiterated by many writers in attempting to explain the 'why' of the turbulent sixties. The hypocrisy of what America said it stood for and what college students actually saw happening has been explored by Lucas (1971), Weaver and Weaver (1969), Altbach (1973), Lipset (1968, 1970) and Peterson (1968) as a major cause of student frustration. "They (students) are not willing to accept the hypocrisy of a society which preaches an idealism of the past while the actions of the present speak so loudly to the contrary that the ideology cannot be heard", stated Weaver and Weaver.[3] Lucas (1971) insisted that we were paying atten-

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[2]Eric Erikson cited by Anthony J. Lukas, Don't Shoot We are Your Children, (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 446.

[3]Gary R. Weaver and James H. Weaver, The University and Revolution, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 17.

tion to the wrong gap when we focused on generational differences, and that the real gap was between what the Americans said and what they did, between the dream and the reality. Lipset (1968) enlarged upon this idea when he noted that whereas the older generations had become used to compromise and were not as concerned with the discrepancy between what they taught their children to believe and what actually happened, the younger generations could not accept this. Perhaps this theme of inconsistency between rhetoric and reality was best stated in 1969 by graduating Harvard law student Meldon Levine when he addressed his peers at commencement.

> I have asked many of my classmates what they wanted me to say in this address. 'Talk to them about hypocrisy', most of them said. 'Tell them they have broken the best heads in the country, embittered the most talented scholars. Tell them they have destroyed our confidence and lost our respect...You have given us our visions and then asked us to curb them.....You have offered us dreams and then urged us to abandon them.....We have been asking for no more than what you have taught us is right.[4]

The concept of generational struggle as healthy and ubiquitous was expounded upon by Feuer (1969), who found the syndrome to be a positive one. He felt that the younger generation needed to assert itself against the older gen-

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[4]Meldon Levine cited in The University Under Siege, ed. Jacqueline Estrada, (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing Co., 1971), p. 6.

eration during late adolescence and that this theme was a universal one which should not be condemned. Bettelheim (1969), however, felt that the generation gap was not part of a natural cultural process but something which had been taught to children. He saw this phenomenon as basically negative because it taught children to be desirous of 'bettering' their parents and thus hostile to them in the process.

Technological, social and economic changes. Several authors have focused not on the issue of why the student activist period came about, but why the student activist period came about at the time it did. Lucas (1971), asserted that the sheer speed of technological and social changes had widened the disjuncture between generations. "In the 19th century it might have taken twenty or thirty years for the values and assumptions of a generation to seem ill-fitted to the times. Today that can happen apparently overnight."[5]

A host of writers extended this theory, by noting that for children of the upper middle classes, affluence is simply taken for granted and the drive to 'get ahead in the world' no longer makes sense for students who start out ahead. (Roberts (1969), Keniston (1970), Jacobs and Landau

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[5]Lucas, Don't Shoot We Are Your Children, p. 460.

(1966), Jones (1969), Butz (1967), Douglas (1970), Glazer (1969) and Halleck (1970).) Roberts, when describing the student activist, said that this person was, "a child of plenty, who could afford to worry about the quality of his life at an age when his father worried about getting a job. A child of science, he finds little meaning in formal religion. Moral imperatives take precedence over political exigencies. He believes not in politicians or priests but in men - and that men should control their own lives."[6] Wills (1969) agreed, finding that the traditional institutions of authority, family, church, school and government were silenced, confused or not listened to by students during the sixties.

Anger at institutions of higher education. Another group of researchers explained the 'why' or 'why now' of the protest era by noting that the university was in crisis because American society was in crisis, and that students were attacking society at large by attacking their own universities simply because these institutions were at hand. (Wills (1969), Franzen (1971), Douglas (1970), Lasch (1969), Luce (1971), and Reich (1968).) Wills noted that Harvard students never really meant what they had said to apply to Harvard, merely that their anger at American society could

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[6] Steven Roberts, "The Children's Crusade - What Now?", Change, Jan.-Feb. 1969, p. 20.

only be directed against Harvard because this was where they were. Luce perceived youth in the sixties as rebelling against the sheer complexity, indifference and neurotic ways of American life. He felt their alientation came from the fact that they had no active control over the decisions and institutions which affected their lives.

The idea of the university as a place increasingly oriented toward production was explored by Lasch (1969), Wald (1969) Axelrod, Freedman, Hatch, Katz and Sanford (1969) and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) when they noted the conflict between the institution's role as a center of free thought and its corruption by the government, the corporations and the military. This conflict they felt gave rise to student radicalism, which, being institutionally based "suffers," according to Lasch, "from the additional disadvantage of identifying the university as the major enemy, thereby obscuring the fact that it is precisely the tension in the university, between its corruption by outside influences and its continuing independence from them, that creates the possibility of a radical movement in the first place."[7]

Racial issues. Lipset (1968), in his comparative study on student activism perceived that unrest in the six-

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[7]Christopher Lasch, The Agony of the American Left, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 202.

ties arose as a response to the single issue of race relations and then moved on to focus on the Vietnam War. Many authors including Horowitz and Friedland (1970), Howe (1970), Bloomberg (1970), Cherry (1967), Califano (1970), Douglas (1970) and Wald (1969) agreed with this thesis.

The war, changing values, rejection of standardization. Yankelovish (1974), in a study which revealed twenty large scale changes which occurred between the late sixties and the early seventies, found that two unrelated factors caused most of the changes. One was the Vietnam War and the other the adoption of new values (more liberal attitudes toward the work ethic, marriage, family, religion, authority and patriotism). As an extension of this view on the importance of new values as a source of unrest, Franzen (1971) stated that the true goals of university leftists were to humanize society, to offer people more control over their lives, to activate participatory democracy, to initiate open discussions, collectivism and a redistribution of wealth, all of which were seen as missing by students.

Keniston (1971), in analyzing the sources of student dissent listed three general categories: revulsion against the notion of quantity, revolt against uniformity, standardization, equalization and homogenization, and finally, rejection of rigidity in any form. He noted that while most student critics argued that their societies had failed miserably, the problem was just the opposite, that industrial

societies had succeeded in some ways beyond all expectations. "Abundance was once a utopian goal; today in America almost the entire population completes high school, and almost half enters colleges and universities. Student unrest is a reflection not only of the failures, but of the extraordinary successes of the liberal-industrial revolution."[8]

Reactions From Student Activists

When student activists themselves spoke of the reasons for rebellion on the campuses and their own participation in the activist movement they tended to reiterate much of what researchers in the field had revealed. Lambrew (1966) at Stanford said, "I don't believe in the American ideal. Everything around me contradicts it. Our system is not democratic - it's each man for himself and the people get left behind."[9] Romaine (1966) at the University of Virginia commented, "Im not interested in filling one of society's niches - to be an ordinary guy, go to school, get a good safe job and shut up when something goes wrong."[10]

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[8]Kenneth Keniston, Youth and Dissent, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanoich, Inc., 1971), p. 316.

[9]Garrett Lambrew, "Students Speak", in Beyond Berkeley, ed. Christopher G. Katope and Paul G. Zolbrod, (New York: World Publishing Co., 1967), p. 223.

[10]Howard Romaine, "Students Speak" in Beyond Berkeley, p. 223.

One SDS member in an interview immediately following a confrontation at Cornell asked rhetorically of economist James Weaver, "How can a system be justified that manufactures eighteen different kinds of underarm deodorants and let's people in Harlem go hungry and get bitten by rats?"[11] And activist James Kunen (1968) after the Columbia crisis wrote, "America. Listen to it. America. I love the sound. I love what it could mean. I hate what it is."[12]

In moving from the question of why the student activist period took place to what forms it took, Howe (1970) and Hyman (1972) noted the trend from the more passive nonviolent activist in the early sixties to the aggressive and sometimes destructive student leftist of the late sixties and early seventies. Hyman traced the history of student involvement from the summer of 1963 when the SDS began to mobilize students for community organization work among poor whites and other minorities in the same way the Southern civil rights movement had been working among poor blacks. He stated that the hope of many students was that this new commitment to work in inner-city areas would result in an

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[11]Weaver and Weaver, The University and Revolution, p. 12.

[12]James S. Kunen, The Strawberry Statement: Notes of a College Revolutionary, (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 79.

organization of the poor so that large-scale reform could eventually take place in poverty and unemployment.

Unrest Precipitated by "Real World" Experiences

By the summer of 1964, thousands of students were engaged in northern urban ghettos and with this came "a gnawing discontent that seemed to permeate white middle class life - including collegiate life".[13] Additionally, Hyman noted that there was a strengthened conviction about the need for direct action and confrontation as the only way imperative social and political changes could be brought about. This belief was broadcast to other students on campus. A cardinal lesson had been taught by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and this was, according to Hyman, that the institution was hostile to humane values and to any kind of education that did not serve the productive needs of the controlling industrial regime. By the summer of 1966, Hyman found that the SDS had become much more radicalized and that working within the system was no longer seen as an effective way to bring about change.

Wills (1969) took the period of student unrest back to a different beginning; the emergence of the Peace Corps

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[13]Sidney Hyman, Youth in Politics, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), p. 56.

under President Kennedy, but he too agreed that students who came back to campus after a 'real world experience' tried desperately to maintain the high emotional intensity of that experience and injected other students with their sense of purpose. Keniston (1969), although believing that student activism was essentially constructive and that the actions of students were largely appropriate and a reasonable response to blatant injustices, agreed with Hyman that activists had become more aggressive during the late sixties. More angry and demanding, he found them not to be the gentle civil rights workers of the early sixties. Sociologist Daniel Bell in speaking about the change in tactics of activists blamed police for the radicalization of at least some students. In describing the aftermath of one sit-in by students he said,

> In all, about a hundred students were hurt by the police. But it was not the violence itself that was so horrible - despite the many pictures in the papers of bleeding students, not one required hospitalization. It was the capriciousness of that final action. The police simply ran wild. Those who tried to say they were innocent bystanders or faculty were given the same flailing treatment as the students. For most of the students it was their first encounter with brutality and blood, and they responded in fear and anger. The next day almost the entire campus responded to a call for a student strike. In a few hours thanks to the New York City Police Department, a large part of the Columbia campus had become radicalized.[14]

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[14]Daniel Bell cited in Youth in Politics, p. 93.

Unrest Translated Into Violence

Violence, as one of the forms of unrest, has been treated by a number of writers. Rossman (1969, Bloomberg (1970) and Hyman (1972) pointed out that historically America had always been a violent place and that violence had been romanticized in this country and legitimized even by those who were law enforcement supporters. "The fact is that America is now setting up to kill her children," said Rossman, "as you learn if you go around this country with long hair which makes you a new kind of a nigger and a genuinely new kind of underclass."[15] Kunen (1968) stated that "as long as the federal government considers it acceptable to kill hundreds of thousands for no reason, some will consider it all right to kill just one person whom they hate very much for what they consider to be a very good reason."[16] Reich (1968) insisted that the revolution he saw taking place in America could only succeed with violence, a position not popular with other researchers. Weaver and Weaver (1969) identified the phenomenon of "status quo violence"[17] which they found to be much more subtle than physical vio-

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[15]Michael Rossman, "Violence and Power on Campus - A Debate" Change, April 1969, p. 41.

[16]Kunen, The Strawberry Statement, p. 148.

[17]Weaver and Weaver, The University and Revolution, p. 12.

lence because its basic ingredient was tolerance and overt support for racial and economic injustices. Hyman (1972) contended that the violence of the sixties was not confined to a specific set of grievances however; that everything which had traditionally been revered came under attack. At peace marches in Washington one could see signs carried by marchers which said "Don't buy lettuce" and "Free women from oppression". Anger and violence against all aspects of the nation's internal life were observable because the politics of hope had moved on for some at least, to the politics of confrontation, according to Hyman. Spender (1969) agreed with this thesis but condemned students who turned their hatred of society into violence against their schools. "Students who attempt to revolutionize society by first destroying the university are like an army which begins a war by wrecking its own base."[18] (And Skolnick (1969) noted that he found violence to be spontaneous during the protest era, arising in response to the treatment given students during demonstrations.)

Portrait of Student Activists

Several researchers delved into portrayals of the student activist in order to answer the question of just who

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[18]Stephen Spender, The Year of the Young Rebels, (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 183.

this person was. Distinctions were made between alienated youth, members of the drug culture, activists and radicals, the last two groups containing students who were not merely sympathetic but took action of one kind or another (violent or non-violent) to demonstrate personal frustration over the events of the times. Newfield (1969) pointed out that the media had painted a tyrannizing caricature of this person which many Americans believed to be true but which Newfield felt was erroneous. This student, as depicted by many journalists, "has long dirty hair, an insatiable libido and a vocabulary plagerized from Portnoy's Complaint. He is violent, irrational and antidemocratic. He is humorless and hates America."[19] Becker (1970), Jacobs and Landau (1966), Lucas (1971) and McGuigan (1968) all argued that stereotypes of student activists were meaningless and that those involved in the movement were richly variegated and stubbornly idiosyncratic. Becker felt that since colleges and their issues differed so widely, their discontents were also very different and Gusfield (1970), although basically agreeing with this view, saw campus activists as "the same everywhere and yet everywhere different,"[20] referring to the similarity of motives but variety of tactics.

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[19] Jack Newfield, "In Defense of Student Radicals", in The University and Revolution, p. 44.

[20] Joseph Gusfield, "Beyong Berkeley" in Campus Power Struggle, ed. Howard S. Becker, (New York: Transaction Books, 1970), p. 27.

Perhaps the most detailed information about who the activists really were came from Keniston (1971) who outlined eight characteristics of the group. He found that generally they were outstanding students, whose parents held liberal political values, who were Jewish and from professional and intellectual families, of upper-middle-class status. Academically they tended to be non-vocational, desirous of a liberal education for its own sake, not dogmatic or authoritarian, dissatisfied with their college education at the same time that they attended the best schools.

> Students who mark 'none' for their religion, who have high I.Q.'s, who are intellectually oriented and politically liberal, and who come from educated professional families are likely to cause trouble, especially if you put a lot of them on one campus. In short, Harvard. Conversely, the best way not to have student protests is to congregate in a small college a homogeneous group of extremely pious, dumb, conservative students who view higher education as vocational training and come from politically inactive working class or lower-middle-class families. Most of America's seven million students are closer to this profile than the Harvard profile,"[21] asserted Keniston.

Katope and Zolbrod (1966) had noted earlier that the rank and file student was hardly likely to become a protester of any sort. "Most of today's students are not intellectuals, nor are they capable of becoming so. They do not object to large, anonymous classes. They have no ideas

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[21]Kenneth Keniston, Youth and Dissent, (New York: Harcourt, Brace Javanoich, Inc., 1971), pp. 345-46.

of their own to put forward and they want to be told what they have to know,"[22] stated these two authors.

Many writers agreed in their findings with the Keniston profile of the student activist, among whom were Block, Haan and Smith (1967), Katz (1968), Lyonns (1965), Somers (1965) Watts and Whitaker (1966) and Westby and Braungarb (1966).

Bettleheim (1969) and Flacks (1967) argued in their writings that the parents of activists played a large part in the formation of the ideas which these students held. Bettleheim felt the liberal parents of activist children had instilled in them notions of an idealistic society which they themselves had not been able to bring about, while Flacks stressed the nature of these values.

A large number of scholars of the period did not provide as complete a description of the student activists as did many of the above authors, but they did agree that the activist tended to be a better than average student, and in many cases, to be an outstanding student. This group included Lowenthal (1970), Jones (1969), Lipsit (1970), Bains (1968), Horowitz and Friedland (1970), Flacks (1967), Axelrod, Freedman and Hatch (1969), Peterson (1968), Altbach

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[22] Katope and Zolbrod, Beyond Berkeley, p. 208.

(1973), Wills (1969) and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970).

Two writers who disagreed with the thesis that activists were brighter and better students than many of their peers were Schwab (1969) and Kerpelman (1972). Schwab stated that he found students involved with the movement to be ignorant of the facts, impulsive, impatient and having no long range goals; that they were not in fact among the best or better students. Kerpelman noted that his findings showed no difference in intellectual ability between activist and non-activist students. He also found that while personality characteristics and emotional stability among the two groups were not different, activists tended to engage in more campus activities, valued leadership more, were more sociable, more assertive, were less needful of support and encouragement and were more often than not, younger students. This last category was not found by Roszak (1969) three years earlier who perceived the opposite to be true. "On the major campuses," said Roszak, "it is often enough that the graduates who assume positions of leadership contribute to student movements a degree of competence that the younger students could not muster."[23]

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[23]Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1969), p. 28.

Liebert (1969), although he agreed that the activist group was an elite group in virtually every respect compared to the general student population, nevertheless found in his work that there were two distinct personality types within the student movement. Discounting alienated youth or members of the drug culture, students were identified as either nihilists or idealists, the first being more destructive or ruthless, the later holding out more hope for change through non-violent methods.

Perhaps this idealist group comprised much of what Keniston (1970), Bloomberg (1970) and Wills (1969) saw in the involuntary student, that is, one who attends college in order to avoid the draft or who had strong social pressure put on him to continue his education. "A student who is pressured to attend and fearful of leaving college, but who would rather be involved in a worthy program of social reform or political action, inevitably pressures the university to allow him to undertake this program for academic credit,"[24] said Keniston.

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[24]Kenneth Keniston, "What's Bugging the Students?" in Perspectives on Campus Tensions, ed. David Nichols (Washington D.C. American Council on Education, 1970), p. 51.

Activists at Dartmouth

Dey (1972) in his study of Dartmouth activists found three commonly held characteristics which were less demographic and more subject to interpretation than Keniston's findings, but which touched on the issue of morality perhaps more than most other works. In addition to demonstrating the potential for making a difference and attempting to bring about change, his subjects were all "deeply troubled by seemingly archaic institutions and immoral national politics."[25] Flacks (1967) also found activists to be morally committed, but Schwab (1969), declared that student activists were no more moral than other less actively involved students.

Where Centers of Unrest Located

The contention that the centers of the student movement were at large and prestigious universities and colleges was upheld by Altbach (1973), Wills (1969), Lipset (1968), Keniston (1970, 1971), Peterson (1969) and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970). Altbach also asserted to some extent that students from campuses in metropolitan areas were heavily involved in the protest movement.

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[25] Charles F. Dey, "In Struggle: Dartmouth Activists of the 1960's Revisited", Underwood Fellowship Report (unpublished paper, 1972), p. 2.

Peterson summed up this group of researchers' findings by stating that "activists are found for the most part in the most selective and best-known colleges and universities...".[26] Willis remarked that the colleges most in need of reform were not usually where the action took place, but that the biggest problems occurred at the best institutions.

Keniston (1971) found that four criteria were necessary in order to generate large scale activism. These were, sufficient numbers of protest-prone students, opportunities for them to interact, leaders available to initiate and mount the protest and opportunities to support activist subcultures. All of these he said were present in large colleges and universities with high admissions standards.

Since, according to Lipset (1968), most elite schools have always recruited nationally, and are not dependent on nor desirous of exclusively local cliental, most students have not known each other when they arrived, and therefore there is a need to join new groups. He noted that putting a person in an unfamiliar social context was conducive to making individuals available for conversion to new religious or political beliefs, particularly those which involved commitment.

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[26] Richard E. Peterson, "The Student Left in American Higher Education", Daedalus, Winter, 1968, p. 303.

One author, Estrada (1971), did not find a higher degree of political or protest activity at well-known institutions than at state schools or small denominational or technical colleges. She noted that unrest took place at a range of institutions from community colleges to large universities.

Lack of Organization and Goals

One characteristic of the student activist era which was well supported by many writers on the subject was the apparent lack of planning, strategies and goals within the movement. Franzen (1970),Erikson (1970), Newfield (1969), Schwab (1969), Lasch (1969), Hellman (1975), Kunen (1968), Wills (1969), Keniston (1971), Goodman (1970), Jacob and Landau (1966) and Axelrod, Freedman and Hatch (1969) all affirmed the idea that activists failed to develop any rational objectives which were relevant to the immediate needs of the society they proposed to change. Schwab (1969) quoted an SDS member at the University of Chicago as having said, "We're meeting tomorrow to find out what our purposes are,"[27] to illustrate his assertion that the movement was basically without goals and organization. Franzen (1971) quoted Hayden, in response to the question

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[27]Joseph J. Schwab, College Curriculum and Student Protest, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 41.

of what his program's goals were as saying, "We haven't any. First we will make the revolution and then we will find out what for."[28] Kunen (1968) quoted from a journal he kept during the Columbia Crisis when he wrote,

> I am carrying a sign reading 'Columbia: Get Out of Harlem'. I consider this somewhat paradoxical because after all I am a Columbian and I am walking into Harlem. A black woman on the sidewalk says, 'What the hell do you mean, 'Get out of Harlem?'' My heart sinks. We look like an invading army and no one wants us here and what are we doing here anyway?[29]

Hellman (1975), Cousins (1968) and Erikson (1970) all asserted that activists needed to have some common values they could say yes to; that to coalesce around only negatives would destroy their community. Hellman wrote that, "No people can function for more than time's minute by knowing only what they are against. Man was made to fight well for something he truly believes in. And you can only believe in something by thinking about it, reading about it, appraising yourself. Thus when the Vietnam war began to be over - in the American Student sense ... that lack of belief began to show."[30]

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[28]Thomas Hayden cited by Don Erik Franzen, "Children of the Apocalypse", in The University Under Siege, ed. Jacqueline Estrada, p. 73.

[29]Kunen, The Strawberry Statement, p. 38.

[30]Lillian Hellman, "On Jumping Into Life", Mademoiselle, August 1975, p. 166.

Newfield (1969) further noted that the most distinct quality of the student movement was that its politics were existential, open ended and invented spontaneously in direct action because of a mistrust of dogma. The style of the movement was therefore free lance, ad hoc and responsive to intuitive passions.

In looking at a broad overview of the student movement, one finds various opinions on whether the protest and violence were produced by ideological, institutional or moral issues. Kelman (1970) noted that in the early days of student unrest, the SDS and other protesters identified with the university rather than attacking it. Mark Rudd himself considered the issues raised by students to be political and social and not predominately oriented toward the university.

> The movement can be defined in terms of being against racism, being for national liberation in the third world, being against the system of capital and private profit.[31]

Hyman (1972), Altbach (1973), Jacobs and Landau (1966) and Davidson (1969) agreed that the issues were almost entirely ideological and not institutional or academic, and Dey (1972) found that activism was triggered by moral, not institutional matters. Lipset (1970), in conjunction with

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[31] Mark Rudd, "Events and Issues of the Columbia Revolt" in The University and Revolution, p. 138.

this view, maintained that once the Vietnam War was ended, the activist period would end, since he felt the greatest amount of agitation had centered around the war and defense related issues, which were basically ideological and moral. Yankelovich (1974), in research done well after the period of unrest had de-escalated, found that the subgroup of college students which struggled to live by a new set of post-affluent values and had been involved in protests of one kind or another were inspired by two strong motivations, both of which were more ideological and moral than institutional. "One was private, directed toward personal self-fulfillment. The other was public, directed toward a vision of what a just and harmonious society might be,"[32] he stated.

One strong argument against the notion that the student movement was ideologically-based came from Estrada (1971) who asserted that since the New Left was more concerned with action than theory, and was not interested in ideas or reason, it could not call itself an ideological movement, and was therefore institutionally directed.

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[32]Daniel Yankelovich, The New Morality, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 9.

Outcomes of Student Activism

The results and outcomes of the student movement were pondered by many scholars. Mayer (1969) and Reich (1968) expressed confidence that the protest movement would continue even after the war ended since exploitation and injustices would not end with the war. Most writers agreed, however, that the movement was winding down by the late sixties, and that its major impact had been felt. Hyman (1972) found that the most noticable remnants of the period were young people's allegiance to liberal, program-oriented politics, their indifference to party loyalties (more responsive to issues and individuals), and their strong inclination to remain committed to established legal procedures and existing institutions as a means of attaining and applying these policies. In general, Hyman felt the student movement had helped shake up the unwarranted complacency that had infected most Americans. He was critical however of the fact that the revolutionaries had cheapened language, (by misusing words such as oppression and slavery) causing "a debasement of the integrity of words."[33]

He noted that, "many young people who had no revolutionary intentions have been affected by this corruption of

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[33]Sidney Hyman, <u>Youth in Politics</u>, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), p. 411.

the language. As a result, their perceptions are consequently distorted and the realities they mean to convey are frequently misunderstood or misrepresented."[34]

Altbach (1973), however, found that student activist had little or no impact on society or on the university. He did concede that certain issues which had been strengthened on campus had made many Americans aware of them for the first time, but basically his view of the movement was as a play-acting revolution, since it never seriously attempted to overthrow the government or transform American society. It died, according to Altbach, because its members could not sustain a peak of emotional intensity forever, and did little to end the war because it was dead before the war ended. "It was above all a search for something to believe in and something to belong to, and it turned out to be incapable of providing either faith or community. It was one more god that failed,"[35] stated Altbach. Glazer (1969) asserted that the impact would have been left had some new ideas emerged, and Kunen (1968) registered similar feelings on the lack of impact when he quoted from his journal after the Columbia riots,

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[34]Ibid.

[35]Philip G. Atlbach, Student Politics in America, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 47.

"It makes me feel quite sad. I mean, I'm an American and look at what my country is doing. And I can't seem to do a thing about it; me or anybody else. We've gone into the streets, and we've gone to Washington, to the pentagon, and what good does it do? You work in politics and you win the people to your side and what good does it do? I'm about ready to give up."[36]

Some authors suggested that the impact on society would have been greater had students used different tactics. Sociologist Philip Shils argued that occupying the country's vital institutions, those needed on a day to day basis, would have been more effective in bringing the country to its knees and because they were not, he maintained that the movement had accomplished little.

"If you want to make a revolution," Shils commented, "you make it by occupying the post office or the arsenal, not the Faculty of Letters. Those who think they can practice for the revolution by taking over the universities are like people who try to practice for a football game by kicking a ball around their living room. They may succeed in breaking a few lampshades, and knocking down some plaster, but they won't learn much football."[37]

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[36]Kunen, The Strawberry Statement, p. 79.

[37]Philip Shils cited by Steven Kelman, Push Comes to Shove, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 234.

Nader and Ross (1971) cited the problem of continuity as a major factor in the lack of impact of the protest movement on society. They noted that young people's stay on campus was punctuated by vacations and leave terms and thus, "student activism tends to be a sporadic response to a crisis situation, often followed by frustration and depression from lack of success."[38] They advocated having students hire professionals to lobby for their causes and provide a sustained impact on social action.

Yankelovich (1974), Lasch (1969), Harrington (1970), Haber (1966), Rapoport and Kirshbaum (1969) and Taylor (1970) all testified that the protest era had a favorable impact. Yankelovich felt there was, to a large extent, an adoption of new values by a large proportion of the population. The new values according to Yankelovich, has surfaced on the American scene in the form of a counter-culture which represented an antithesis to traditional values. Yankelovich in earlier research had predicted that the diffusion of the new values might take decades and even generations to accomplish, but his later work showed that this prediction was incorrect. Recent findings indicated that assimilation of new values was taking place with greater rapidity than had been anticipated. Two other authors,

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[38]Ralph Nader and Donald Ross, Action for a Change, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971), p. 23.

Bolling (1970) and Halleck (1970), backed up Yankelovich's findings with data which supported the diffusion of new values theme also. And Lasch expressed a more political view of what the student movement had contributed by stating that "...it has communicated to many people a sense of crisis, an awareness of the system's unresponsiveness to their needs, which has turned them from admirers of American democracy into harsh critics."[39]

Conclusions

Although many writers felt that betrayal and loss of the American dream was the motivating factor behind the student movement, I feel that the disillusionment and frustration which led to the growth of the protest era came about because the American dream was realized and was found to be a nightmare. Traditional American values and aspirations had led to gross injustices which younger people found intolerable, and therefore they down-graded every aspect of the culture from money to marriage, in an attempt to project the very antithesis of the values which had produced not only the dream, but the nightmare it became. Earlier generations had been taught that the country was large and rich, and that opportunities, for the white man

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[39]Lasch, The Agony of the American Left, p. 189.

at least, were for the most part unoppressive. The American dream meant that any white man could become president.

What the post second world war generations either did not realize or did not care to deal with was the fact that earlier generations had not reached the point where they could put their time and energy into criticizing the society, because they were struggling too hard to make the American dream a reality. The depression memories of their parents rarely touched the college generations of the sixties because they represented a post-affluent group which could afford to concern itself with society's inequities. Their parents had "made-it" for them. Most of the groups of people college students chose to help or align themselves with in the sixties, were groups they themselves were not members of; the poverty stricken, minority peoples, the working class and finally draftees, since those in college had been able to escape the draft. That students during this period were able to offer their support, indeed adopt these groups as their targets of concern, demonstrated that they themselves were in enough of a position of security and comfort to do this.

Since the university is usually the first place where people begin to question the conditions of their existence, it comes as no surprise to find that the institution was the center of the movement. That the period of discontent often took the form of irrational frenzy and inconsistent

objections should also come as no surprise. For good students at elite schools have, for the most part, been sheltered all their lives from any first-hand encounters with reality and are therefore dependent on what they read and hear. "Intellectuals are subject to the same brainwashing in almost every field as most Americans are in foreign policy matters,"[40] said Kelman (1969) in his analysis of the Harvard riots. Students looked to scholars like Herbert Marcuse to justify the sense of frustration which they felt, in a world where they were a privileged minority and where they enjoyed a great deal of freedom. Spender (1969) noted that students, "wanted it explained to them (by writers like Marcuse) that the whole democracy, with its governing class, big business, and mass media is a vast conspiracy of powers that makes their freedoms illusory."[41]

The range of involvement during any given year undoubtedly fluctuated, and on any given campus the amount and degree of involvement were also wavering variables. It is probably accurate to say that many more students were sympathetic to the ideas of the movement than were actually involved with militant activity directed against the university or the larger society. Those that counted themselves among the anti-industrial, production-oriented, humanistic

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[40]Kelman, Push Comes to Shove, p. 218.

[41]Spender, The Year of the Young Rebels, p. 104.

segment of the population were a much greater number than those who planted bombs in college buildings or planned violent activities of any sort. This range is best illustrated by the statements of two college administrators each describing an activist on his own campus. At Columbia, Vice President David Truman said of a leading student protestor, "He is totally unscrupulous and morally very dangerous. He is an extremely capable, ruthless, cold-blooded guy. He's a combination of a revolutionary and an adolescent having a temper tantrum."[42] At Dartmouth, Dean Charles Dey noted that he had introduced one student activist to an alumni audience as that student, "I would most like my own sons to take after."[43] Several years later he remarked that he had not changed his mind.

The simplistic answers to the question of why the protest era ended, are that the participants first ran out of energy and then secondly ran out of an issue, when the war wound down and finally ended. Their lack of organizational leadership, planning and reasoned goals also played a large role in the inability of the movement to move the country politically to its side.

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[42]David Truman cited by Howard S. Becker in Campus Power Struggle, p. 41.

[43]Dey, "A Report of Stewardship", p. 5.

This review of the literature tells us why the period of student activism came about, who the activists were, what their motives for activism were and what impact (or lack of impact) they had on the country. The following chapter looks at the protest era as part of a liberal society and attempts to show the similarities among Americans, whether protestors or non-protestors.

CHAPTER III

THE PROTEST MOVEMENT IN A LIBERAL SOCIETY

The Characteristics of Americans: The Coleman Findings

College and university students in the sixties were by no means the first group to express open and aggressive criticism of American Society, but perhaps no other group was researched and pondered over so extensively. Minority people and the poor had frequently been angry about the conditions of their existence and had blamed the American system for their degradation. They found, however, few in government or the society at large who would listen to them. Blue collar workers during the same time as the flowering of campus unrest were at least as critical of the factory as many students were of the multiversity, although their anger was directed at a different environment. Many found their work boring and their workplace dehumanizing. They had little control over their jobs and were forced to obey arbitrary decisions made by capricious supervisors. Others felt they were the veritable prisoners of the assembly line in much the way that students felt they were imprisoned by bureaucratic university administrations.

The minorities, the poor and the workers, however, were not the children of the middle classes and their grievances against America were not taken seriously. Student activists, however, were listened to and the response to

their demonstrations of anger were often displays of counter-anger. Even the quiet, non-violent and essentially passive manifestations of student criticism were found to be intolerable to many Americans, and aggressive, violent acts were looked upon with abhorrance and repugnance, as were their initiators.

A number of widely acknowledged characteristics seem to be responsible for the inability of Americans to acknowledge or accept critical appraisal of their society. These characteristics have been discussed, written about and analyzed by many researchers in an attempt to understand "Americanism", the "American Way" and "American". One of the most comprehensive studies in this area was carried out by Lee Coleman in 1964. He used data collected from a large number of books dealing with alleged American traits, ideals and principles characteristic of the country as a whole, and written by authors holding a wide variety of viewpoints.[1] He found that although there was perhaps more that these authors disagreed on, or at least more qualities they felt were not American than were American, it was possible to construct a list of traits which, "were so often mentioned and so little contradicted that they may safely

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[1]Lee Coleman, "What is American?", in The Character of Americans, ed. Michael McGiffert, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1964), pp. 21-30.

be assumed to constitute at least a preliminary list of important American characteristics."[2] In all, twenty seven tendencies were listed, of which more than half are pertinent to this research and relate to the question of American sensitivity to criticism.

"Individualism" was high on the list and is a characteristic one would expect to find included among American trademarks.[3] The notion of rugged assertion of self in all realms of life is commonly held to be an American trait. "Individualism", upon closer examination, however, is defined as doing for oneself, not doing differently from others, for the theme of assimilation, is well documented.[4] The idea of assimilation has historic roots which sprang from the notion that in order to build a new nation, the citizens of a country needed to hold the same beliefs and to share the same values. Immigrants and minorities were forced to Americanize their children by rejecting the cultural aspects of the old country as quickly as possible. To blend in and conform was thought essential.

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[2]Ibid., p. 26.

[3]Ibid.

[4]For more on the theme of assimilation see Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1973).

This intolerance of the life style of different groups led to a high regard for convention and conformity. Statements such as the one made by student activist Louis Cartwright in 1967 were thus met with dismay and hostility when he said, "Whose America is this? I no longer feel a part of her. I am a stranger in her schools and indifferent to or against her goals. (Or the possible lack thereof.) I've pulled my car off the circuit, quit the race to nowhere; now I drive where I want to and it is up to me to keep out of her way if I want to keep free. (Isn't that ironic? I have to fight America for my freedom!)"[5]

Thus, individualism as an American trait meant helping oneself to assimilate, which complements another characteristic from Coleman's list, "missionary spirit" (reforming others, interferring with their lives and making over the world.)[6] Gorer (1964) elaborated upon the concept of "missionary spirit" by pointing out that the reform process referred only to how one looked and behaved. He stated that,

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[5]Louis Cartwright cited by Otto Butz in To Make A Difference, (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 21.

[6]Coleman, "What is American?", p. 26.

> To the extent that a person is identified as different in a crowd, to that extent is he or she incompletely American; and those whose skin color or physical conformation makes it impossible for them to merge into the crowd are thereby debarred from ever being considered fully American. The conforming surface is not only important as a means of keeping up with the Joneses; it is an essential component of true Americanism.[7]

Gorer contended that if one's appearance and behavior conformed to the American standard, one's beliefs would be overlooked or ignored. This certainly was born out by the actions of thousands of college students in late 1967 and early 1968 when they cut their hair, shaved off beards, donned jackets and ties and politely rang doorbells in the primary campaign effort of presidential hopeful Eugene McCarthy. Temporarily, Americans forgave their children for past grievances because they were going "clean for Gene", although the student belief in American hypocrisy had not changed at all. This belief had in fact solidified in response to a candidate who they felt understood them and represented their values.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote more than a hundred years ago about the lack of tolerance in America and the "formidable wall" set up by the majority to exclude any deviations

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[7]Geoffrey Gorer, The American People, (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1964), p. 195.

from the standard,[8] and Philip Slater in his book the Pursuit of Loneliness pointed out that Americans in their almost pathological fear of not fitting in would rather quietly die than make a scene over anything.[9] Americans have never wanted to appear different to others and have had little tolerance for those who appeared different to them. Student activists, however, were not intimidated by a social milieu and were quite willing to make scenes, and this enraged their elders. They exhibited bad form by stepping out of line.

Slater also noted the need Americans have for feeling safe, and the amount of time, energy and money which has been spent on security. The threat of even small minority groups, student radicals and foreigners is a real one to many citizens who see these people as not having conformed to the American image. Thus, "individualism" and "missionary spirit" are not incompatible, they are in fact complimentary, for they allow persons to pursue through their own means, worthy and desirable goals which have already been well defined by the society.

Another Coleman characteristic commonly defined as American is "national self-consciousness and conceit",

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[8] Alexis de Tocqueville cited by Lee Coleman in The Character of Americans, ed. Michael McGiffert, p. 25.

[9] Philip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).

which includes "incessant bragging and boasting".[10] To other authors, this concept was seen as arrogance; the belief that American culture, values and ways of interpreting the world were the only right ones and all others wrong. Gorer (1964) contended that Americans believe there is a universal aspiration toward Americanism, and that many in our society feel that, "people so perverse as to choose to remain foreign deserve no help". For, according to Gorer,

> Americans differ from the rest of the world in their belief that nationality is an act of will, rather than the result of change or destiny. The message of General Patton...made the point with admirable succinctness when he contrasted his troops' ancestors "who so loved freedom that they gave up home and country to cross the ocean in search of liberty" with the ancestors of the enemy who "lacked the courage to make such a sacrifice and continued as slaves". In the view of General Patton, and probably of the greatest part of his audience and compatriots the fact that the Germans and Italians were Germans and Italians rather than Americans was a sign of their (and their ancestors') weakness of will and their contumacy by not choosing to be American; they had willfully rejected the best condition known to men and all its attendent advantages; they had shown individually their contempt for and their rejection of Freedom, Opportunity, Democracy, and all the other civic virtues embodied in the American Constitution and exemplified in the American Way of Life; from weakness of spirit they had chosen to be inferior, and should therefore be so regarded.[11]

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[10] Coleman, "What is American?", p. 27.

[11] Gorer, The American People, p. 188.

A number of Coleman characteristics centered about the theme of 'making good' and of 'getting ahead'. Among these were, "worship of schooling and universal public education", "opportunity" (especially the belief in equal opportunity for all and the fact of much greater opportunity than in most other countries), "mobility, migration, restlessness".[12] Perhaps the lack of any historical respect for the aged came from the feeling that the mark of a good father was to have children who surpassed him. This was particularly true for those who migrated to this country in the late 1800's and early 1900's and could find only menial work. In order to be considered a successful parent (and a successful American) one was supposed to produce children who exceeded one's own rank educationally, socially and monetarily.

The whole justification for living then was to "make good", and often this meant to make good things and lots of them. Work which involved ideas, or intangibles was not valued as highly as work which resulted in the manufacture of products. Twentieth century advances eventually led to the creation of a "superculture", a term coined by Michael Novak[13] to connote the modern values brought about

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[12] Coleman, "What is American?", p. 27.

[13] Novak, <u>The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics</u>, p. 27.

by science, technology and industry, which embodies "love of size and bigness" and "emphasis on money-making", two more American traits identified by Coleman.[14] These characteristics have contributed in the past to a confusion of moral values which in turn led to the accusations of hypocrisy from the younger generation. For everywhere in America, people enunciate values which they do not live by and which they do not want to live by. Business people and financiers who are over mortgaged themselves, want to hold the government to a balanced budget. These same people talk piously about home and the family, and yet between one third and one half of the marriages in this country end in divorce. Teamwork and cooperation have been replaced by a more competitive spirit, easy spending rather than frugality is in vogue, issues rather than persons are stressed and excitement not sobriety has been the watchword of the new superculture. Thus, values expressed by politicians and other leaders in the country are not the ones their constituents practice or want to practice. Simple honest rural values are no longer held in high esteem by a large percentage of the population, and this has led to a conflict between advocates of the superculture and the members of the counterculture. The young in the counter-culture during the six-

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[14]Coleman, "What is American?", p. 27.

ties would like to have taken the older generations back in time to adopt a value system less tied to production and technology, but if this proved to be impossible they at least wanted their elders to confront with honesty their own abandonment of idealistic virtues.

This complex state of affairs led many among young and old alike to accuse the country of being sick, because priorities and values appeared to many to be corrupt. Novak (1973) accused intellectuals of being unhealthy since they were primarily the people (journalists, reporters, professors, teachers) who delivered the news to the mainstream of America. He noted that, "One seldom hears advanced the possibility that America is sick because her intellectual classes are also sick; because what intellectuals think and feel and do is a primary conduit of disease."[15]

Student activist James Kunen made a classic kind of statement about America's illness when he wrote in his published journal, "I don't know if America is sick, but I would go so far as to say that I heard a button vender outside a funeral in New York yelling, 'Remember Bobby - fifty cents'".[16] These comments on the ailing health of the country may not help to pinpoint the disease, its carrier

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[15] Novak, The Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 169.

[16] James Kunen, The Strawberry Statement, p. 148.

or prognosis but they certainly indicate that the symptoms were apparent to many people.

Two qualities which are listed by Coleman as being typically American are "glorification of the commom man" (at the expense of the intellectual) and "practicality" (the absence of theories and philosophizing, and disbelief in them).[17] These traits are part of a larger legacy of anti-intellectualism which, according to Novak, "has run like a strong delta current through American history. In part, the excessive practicality of America was a reaction against the ideologies of Europe."[18] There has always been a feeling of animosity which the educated held toward the uneducated, but since the educated were always a small minority, this snobbery mattered little. The rise of a broad national popular culture has substantially supported this anti-intellectualism through movies, television shows, comic strips, athletic contests and even presidential elections where "egghead" candidates have been mocked and laughed at. Students have also been classified by many as members of the intelligensia.

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[17] Coleman, "What is American?", p. 27.

[18] Novak, The Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 159.

Activists and radicals held different positions toward the uneducated during various phases of the period of unrest and there was always ambiguity in these student attitudes. During the early sixties when much of the movement was aligned with the Civil Rights cause, student workers identified with the black lower middle class but not with white lower class peoples, since the latter were seen as bigoted and racist. Later students mocked and demeaned the values and culture of working class people, such as policemen, at the same time that they hoped and expected hard-hat laborers to join their cause. Thus, while there was a general distrust of intellectuals to effect change, there was also suspicion of the uneducated, for their values often clashed with those of the student activists.

The trait identified as "adaptability and freedom from the past",[19] is a characteristic common to groups which have had only a short past, and whose history is still being formed. The quality of "adaptability" has been associated less with the uneducated than with the better educated. Since the poor do not have easy access to new information and are not, as Daniel Bell stated, "trained to alter their

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[19]Coleman, What is American?", p. 27.

opinions under exposure to the public interpretation of events",[20] it takes this group a long time to form political opinions, especially about international matters, and even longer to change them. The major changes in this country have been instituted by those who read the editorial pages of newspapers and who follow the analysis of political situations. Once the educated classes bring to the attention of other groups their opinions and attitudes, however, they are often adopted by the majority as their own. John Gardner put this succinctly when he noted that, "The middle-of-the-road American is like a preoccupied King. He doesn't react readily but once aroused he rules the nation."[21]

The Yankelovich study of 1974 presented the thesis that changes are often initiated by small groups in the population and eventually picked up by the masses. This group rejects new ideas and then begins to selectively consider them, eventually accepting those which fit best with their own life styles, thus making "adaptability and freedom from the past" a viable American characteristic.[22]

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[20]Daniel Bell, The Radical Right, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 107.

[21]John Gardner, No Easy Victories, (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 11

[22]Coleman, "What is American?", p. 27.

The Coleman Traits and Student Activists

All the Coleman characteristics discussed above contribute heavily to any understanding of the society's inability to tolerate criticism, but many of the same traits could also be found in the student activists of the sixties, although a few were clearly antithetical to the values of the movement. A glance at the entire list of twenty seven mannerisms demonstrates well that student dissenters had much more in common with the "typical American" than would be expected, for among those traits included (but not mentioned previously) were; "desire for peace and disbelief in war", "ingenuity", "associational activity", "optimism", "liberty, freedom and independence", "humanitarianism", "distrust of strong government", "equality of all" and "sovereignty of the people".[23] Only four traits appeared to be in direct opposition to the goals and views of student activists, and these were; "love of size and bigness", "national self-consciousness and conceit", "emphasis on money-making" and "party government and party loyalty".[24] It would seem then that the typical American and the typical student activist shared many commonalities. If this is so, it is worth examining the area of political thought and

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[23]Ibid., p. 28-29.

[24]Ibid.

persuasion, since in the sixties, non-partisan politics was responsible for intense turmoil.

Liberalism in Classical Terms

Louis Hartz in his book The Liberal Tradition advanced the theory that there have never been major significant differences among political groups in this country.[25] While differences have arisen over domestic and foreign priorities, budgets and national goals, no group of any significant size has suggested abandoning the constitution, the judiciary system, the executive or the legislative branches of government. Basically, most people have believed in the threads which have made up the American political fiber, according to Hartz. Further, he pointed out that America has never contained the huge warring factions which many European countries have had to tolerate, noting that Alexis de Tocville believed everyone was born equal in this country because of the lack of a feudal system. Having had nothing to revolt against, there have been no real revolutions nor any true revolutionaires.

Both the political Left and the political Right have supported the American political system while maintaining

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[25] Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1955).

righteous attitudes toward their own distinct position. In analysing these attitudes during the later part of the decade, Michael Novak claimed that,

> whereas those on the Left tend to think that a 'military-industrial' alliance of the Right runs the country, those on the Right feel 'bulldozed' by a value system forced upon them by the Left. Each side pictures itself as the underdog, each is a small, faithful remnant guarding America's true morality.[26]

While the term "Left was acceptable to student activists and radicals in the 1960's, the term "Liberal" soon came to be a stigma used to caricature those whose rhetoric was unacceptable, and whose activity was tired and outdated. "You're all shine on the outside and rust on the inside" said one student activist to a progressive liberal candidate running for the senate in the late 1960's.[27] The radicals of the 1930's had gradually become, as they won their battles, part of the establishment, and by the 1950's many of them were welcomed as government advisors. It was not so much that they became co-opted by more conservative forces, but that, as they became older, the edge of their radicalism was smoothed off.

The New Left as it emerged from the activist period was pluralistic, amorphous and multi-layered, containing,

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[26]Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 141.

[27]Interview with Dartmouth Administrator, Hanover, N.H., October 1975.

according to Newfield (1966), the three political strands of "anarchism, pacifism and socialism--mingled in different proportions in different places."[28] The highest virtue of the New Left was its stated tolerance of differences. It espoused to have no fixed standards of right and wrong, and its working thesis declared that everything was relative.

It is fairly well documented that neither pole of the political spectrum characterized the vast majority of college students from 1965 to 1970.[29] Probably most were neither liberal not conservative in classic terms and in the sense of holding deeply conceived opinions about political philosophy. The bulk of them might be called Liberal in the American sense, because, having arrived at colleges and universities, they became surrounded by faculty, textbooks and media which tended to be more liberal than conservative, particularly on issues such as civil rights and the war in Vietnam. They, themselves, became part of this campus conformity toward liberalism, for any commitment or persuasion comes easier if everyone is doing it.

Coleman's data on commonly held American traits, Hartz's interpretation of the lack of a revolutionary

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[28] Jack Newfield, A Prophetic Minority, (New York: The New American Library, 1966), p. 30

[29] Philip G. Altbach, Student Politics in America, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973).

environment conducive to developing revolutionaries and the more contemporary research done on the country's political ideologies agree on at least one point. Americans for the most part share common beliefs about the nature of the country's political system. Furthermore, they have shared these ideas for over two hundred years. It is not surprising, then, to find student activists and conservative middle class citizens in agreement more often than in disagreement.

American characteristics and political stances had an enormous impact on the country's institutions. These systems had been founded according to the principles of "Americanism" and were intended to elicit the best of what those qualities meant, for every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members, and in turn provides them with a small world. Upsetting institutions threatens a whole way of life for most people in any society. What was it, then, that student activists of the 1960's found so demeaning about institutions and which aroused their hostility and antagonism toward these places?

The Nature of Institutions and Organizations

Most institutions and organizations represent places where decisions are made in the name of the common good, and where the pressure to conform is great. The idea that the result of all this produces nothing but mediocrity has been proclaimed often and loudly by those both inside and

outside institutions. For while the pressures within the group work to keep harmful elements in check, they also serve to impose upon individuals restrictions which stifle creativity. Every institution, then, has what Erving Goffman labeled, "encompassing tendencies", which led to the dehumanizing aspect which students found so reprehensible.[30] The student movement, therefore, specifically became concerned with human needs, and thus anti-institutional. Students, who during the sixties preferred to be someplace other than at an institution of higher education and who may have enrolled primarily to avoid the draft or to please their parents, often pressured schools to allow them to earn academic credit for what they considered to be worthwhile and humanistic projects with a social-service orientation.

A proliferation of these programs, courses and projects was born during the late sixties at colleges and universities around the country when students became dismayed at the institution's isolation from the nation's social problems.[31] A concern with the role of the university in society rather than as a place geared toward study for the sake of study was the impetus behind many of these

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[30] Erving Goffman, Asylums, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1963), p. 4.

[31] Lewchuk, Ross C., ed., National Register of Internships and Experiential Education, (Washington, D.C., Acropolis Books Ltd., 1972).

programs. Students hoped to see their schools become more involved with improving the quality of life and promoting desirable social change. For this reason, many set out, with the help of equally concerned faculty and administrators, to develop projects which would involve large numbers of students, and commit institutional resources to serving those segments of society which had traditionally been ignored not only by colleges and universities, but by the nation also.

Student Activists at Elite Institutions

Since we have seen that activists were predominantly bright students who clustered at elite schools, one would expect that more pressure to develop programs of this nature would occur at these schools than at less well-known institutions. At large prestigious universities such as Stanford, Berkeley and Wisconsin this was in fact the case, but smaller schools which had long traditions of conventional learning were less able to absorb experiential programs. Granting permission, much less credit, to undertake a project of social-action or community involvement presented major difficulties.

The undergraduate schools of Ivy League institutions were places where a disproportionate amount of visible activity in connection with civil rights, ROTC, the war in Vietnam and related issues went on. They were also places where traditional modes of acquiring knowledge, the library,

lecture and examination system were honored. The fact that these older, conservative schools spawned so much anti-institutional activity resulted in tension and frustration on the part of faculty, administrators and students when the latter began to lobby for a broader interpretation of what constituted acceptable and creditable learning experiences.

The image of the Ivy League has changed vastly from what it was during the early days of its identification, but not significantly in the past forty years. When these schools were founded, the reasons for attending one of the seven institutions were primarily family custom, social ties and convenience. If all previous members of a family had attended a particular school there was no reason not to attend, for the Ivy League represented to the upper classes a kind of social self-respect which was handed down from one generation to the next. If the emphasis was less on academic excellence than on social advantage it hardly mattered, for one did not have to demonstrate scholarship for admittance, only the ability to pay the bill. Ivy League schools were known as gentlemen's institutions and one could more easily be expelled for conduct unbecoming a gentleman than for poor grades.

Not until the 1930's did these seven elitist schools begin to take serious measures to screen students academically. As it became more and more difficult to gain admit-

tance without a track record of previous academic excellence, graduation from an Ivy League school came to spell success for many, and this was born out by the large numbers of graduates who became top officials in industry, business, government and education. Michael Novak described the inhabitors of the Ivy League schools as "honored, established, accomplished, serene, mostly white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant",[32] and were it not so un-American, he could have added aristocratic, for this was how not only students but faculty and administrators of the sacred seven appeared to many in the general public.

Dartmouth President Ernest Hopkins typified this elitism in a statement he made in the late 1930's on who should be allowed to attend college.

> Too many men are going to college! The opportunities for securing an education by way of the college course are definitely a privilege and not at all a universal right. The funds available for appropriation to the uses of institutions of higher learning are not limitless and cannot be made so, whether their origin be sought in the resources of public taxation or in the securable benefactions for the enhancing of private endowments. It consequnetly becomes essential that a working theory be sought that will operate with some degree of accuracy to define the individuals who shall make up the group to whom, in justice to the public good, the privileges shall be extended, and to specify those from whom the privilege should be withheld![33]

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[32] Novak, The Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 161.

[33] Ernest Hopkins, "This is Our Purpose", (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth Publications, 1950), p. 141.

Institutionalizing Conscience

In more recent times the Ivy League schools have made their goals (stated or implicit) that of training leaders. Many people connected with the institutions, including students, have been reluctant to talk about the idea that these places may be special or different, for the very reason that in the past they elicited a kind of pomposity which is no longer in vogue, and is seen today as being very anti-democratic. There is, however, a widely held view that an Ivy League education opens certain doors for its graduates and provides a social polish which is not found among the alumni of other schools. No matter how one argues against this or knows intellectually that is not the case, it is still believed by enough people to keep the myth intact. The importance of this group of schools was best summed up by Daniel Bell when he noted in the sixties that, "Forty or so years ago, American education was dominated by the Eastern Ivy League Colleges, because these schools, in the composition of their student body, reflected the existing status structure of the society. Today with higher education as a chief route of social mobility, the elite universities determine the new status positions of the post-industrial society."[34]

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[34]Daniel Bell, The Reforming of General Education, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 96.

The mind set of the Ivy League and the attitudes of a large section of society toward these schools embodies many of the characteristics of Americanism, and thus they have always been revered by many people. To send a child to any Ivy League school was to have "arrived"; to be proud, to have accomplished something important as a parent, because these schools produced those who would go on to achieve and succeed and in the end fulfill the American dream. This is still true to a large extent today. However often this group of schools is termed haughty and snobbish, their graduates have traditionally been granted all of the privileges our society has to offer--entrance to graduate and professional schools, good jobs, positions of responsibility, leadership roles, solid respectable careers and money. One of the most dependable ways to "make good" and "get ahead" was through the gates of an Ivy League school. To have students (and sometimes faculty) at these institutions reject the opportunities and ridicule the virtues of these places which the general public held in such high esteem, was more than most middle class Americans could bear in the nineteen sixties.

One Ivy League President who had sought well ahead of his time to inject into the liberal arts program of his college a need for purpose which embodied conscience and commitment as well as the acquisition of knowledge was Dartmouth's John Sloan Dickey. Distressed at the Philip

Jacob's study[35] in the fifties of college students (which found that generation of youth to be passive, complacent and totally devoid of concern for others) Dickey set out to institutionalize a concern of his own--the development of conscience, by helping students realize their moral potential through service. The result of this concern was the establishment in 1951 of the William Jewett Tucker Foundation, a branch of the college which was to undertake responsibility for the "moral and spiritual concerns of the institutions".[36] To develop within Dartmouth students a deeper sense of conscience was Dickey's goal in establishing the Tucker Foundation, named after Dartmouth's ninth leader and the last of its great preacher-presidents. To President Dickey, conscience was the step beyond responsibility and although Dartmouth students were thought to be responsible (an American trait), the development of "conscience and heart" had largely been ignored by institutions of higher education, by the Ivy League and by Dartmouth College in particular.

John Sloan Dickey was advocating for Dartmouth students a step beyond the realization of the American dream. He wanted them to do better, by injecting conscience and heart

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[35]Philip Jacobs, Changing Values in College, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957).

[36]Interview with John Sloan Dickey, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. October 1975.

into what he hoped would become characteristic of Dartmouth students of the future. He believed that older schools with prestigious images had a responsibility to do more than turn out the next generation of leaders in American business and industry, and he intended, through the establishment of a department, to deal specifically with matters of conscience. Thus, he began to speak to student activists' concerns before activists themselves had emerged on campus or their concerns identified. He anticipated a need which did eventually develop but which at the time he hoped would enlarge the basic American characteristic of humanitarianism.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE INTERN PROGRAM, 1967-1971

The Beginnings - the Appointment of Dean Dey

On January first, 1967, Charles F. Dey officially took over the post of Dean of the William Jewett Tucker Foundation at Dartmouth College. Appointed by President John Dickey the previous spring, Dey was the first lay educator to hold the position, all former Deans having been members of the clergy. The Tucker Foundation, had, up to the time of Dey's appointment, been concerned mainly with running Chapel services and bringing visiting ministers and theologians to the campus for varying periods of residence.

Dey, a 1952 graduate of Dartmouth, taught history and was a resident housemaster at Phillips Andover Academy for four years. After a stint in the Navy, he studied at Harvard for an M.A.T. degree which he earned in 1957. He returned to Dartmouth as Assistant Dean of the College and was appointed Associate Dean in 1962. The following year, he took a leave of absence to serve in the Peace Corps as a supervisor of volunteers in the Phillippines. From 1963, he served as the first director of the A Better Chance Program (ABC) pioneered by Dartmouth for educationally deprived high school students. Under Dey's leadership, the ABC program gained national recognition and became a model for other colleges to follow.

President Dickey, in announcing Dey's appointment, stated that the new Dean would continue to work with the ABC program while developing "opportunities for Dartmouth undergraduates to apply their liberal learning in other areas of social concern."[1]

In accepting the position, Dey emphasized that he hoped to give Dartmouth students an increasing sense of opportunity in service to mankind. "To be truly liberal, an education must permit an undergraduate to test himself against the stark realities of hunger, ignorance, mediocrity and sham; to find out how desperately the world needs his talents; to discover that to individual human beings, he can make a difference; to reap the personal fulfillment that comes from putting his talents in the path of a significant enterprise."[2]

This philosophy of social or public service had long been a prevalent one in eastern liberal preparatory schools and colleges. It stemmed primarily from the notion of noblesse oblige, the feeling on the part of many that if one had money, education and social standing in the community, one had a responsibility to serve others. A member of the Dartmouth faculty summed it up this way: "Dey had come up through all those fancy schools and then turned around and

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[1]"New Dean for Tucker Foundation", The Daily Dartmouth, 19 October 1966, p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

taught or worked at the same places. He only knew people like himself, but through his Peace Corps and ABC experiences he learned first hand about the less fortunate...Look at all those prep school mottos. The word "service" or "serve" comes up time and time again. Those kids are taught early that they're going to make it but that they also have some responsibility for those who aren't going to make it. That attitude was inherent in Dey."[3]

John Dickey had searched very hard for a someone with just these characteristics and a personal philosophy which paralled his own. In appointing Dey, he was institutionalizing his own concerns about conscience and service and their part in a Dartmouth Education.

The Tucker Foundation's staff and budget in 1967 were small, and Dey's first job was to appoint a chaplain, Paul Rahmeier, so that pastoral concerns would be taken care of and Dey himself freed to put his energy into financial matters, experimental ideas and program development. Dey's recurrent theme in the early years was that the Foundation should not do anything simply because it was safe; that it was a place where risks could be taken, ideas tried out, and where people who had certain convictions about moral and social issues could work together to witness change in these

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[3]Interview with former Dartmouth faculty member, Chicago, Illinois, March 1975.

areas. Thus, the first year of Dey's appointment was spent in finding ways to deal concretely with moral concerns, and identifying people who would make the personal commitment of working with undergraduates to further these concerns.

The time was ripe for such a direction in the Tucker Foundation. Nationally the urban crisis, escalation of the war and student activism were becoming ubiquitous topics of discussion in institutions of higher education. Charges of irrelevant courses, passivity in the learning process and hypocrisy on the part of the faculty and administration were being made by students across the country.

The Hanover campus, however, seemed peculiarly out of touch with the larger issues of race and war. Most of the social action work in 1967 was carried out by a small organization called the Dartmouth Christian Union whose activities included tutoring in rural schools in the Upper Valley, chopping and delivering wood to elderly people and maintaining a "Negro Recruitment Committee" which helped solicit and interview the handful of Black students who were admitted to the College each year.

One faculty member described the college as "flat-footed and boring, both intellectually and socially. Nothing was happening here, and compared to Oberlin, where I had come from the year before, the place was really behind the times. Students all over the country seemed to be aware of the major issues and were beginning to commit themselves

to real change but that hadn't reached Dartmouth yet."[4]

Actually, things had begun to slowly perk a year before when a demonstration by students against presidential-hopeful George Wallace, who had visited the campus to deliver a speech, turned the campus into an uproar. But the offenders, who tried to topple the governor's car, were identified later as a small group of militant activists who did not represent the sentiments of most Dartmouth students. The incident received attention from the national press however, and probably marked the beginning of an awareness of the anger toward society some Dartmouth students were starting to express.

Jersey City Site - Winter, 1968

While Dey was searching for ways in which students could "make a difference", a group of campus leaders presented a proposal shortly after convocation in the Fall of 1967 which suggested setting up a program in an urban ghetto where Dartmouth students could live and work for a term. They presented the following arguments for the program:

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[4]Interview with former Dartmouth faculty member. Boston, Massachusetts, November 1975.

--That the students of Dartmouth College, many of whom will assume future leadership in their communities, have little opportunity to investigage the realities of urban poverty and racial prejudice.

--That to understand living in the ghetto, one must live there as an inhabitant.

--That the college years are the best time to respond to interest with greater opportunity for such a challenging experience.

--That cross-cultural understanding within our own country is useful to the individual in later life and necessary for the maintenance and well-being of a democratic society.[5]

The proposal further stated that ample precedent existed at Dartmouth for such a program. The Fall Term Abroad program gave students the opportunity to pursue their studies while living in a foreign country. The College also sponsored two summer programs with an emphasis on social involvement: the Dartmouth Project Mexico and the Dartmouth Talladega program. Tutors in local ABC houses also received regular course credit for their involvement with ABC students in the Upper Valley. They cited these instances as a reflection of the College's awareness of the problems of the society to which it belonged.

Dey was clearly interested in launching a program for Dartmouth students in an inner city community. The exploration of Jersey City, New Jersey as a possible site was first

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[5]Robert Reich et. al., "Proposal to Set up an Urban Program for Dartmouth Students", 1967 (Mimeographed).

made by contacts with Julian Robinson, another 1952 Dartmouth graduate who carried important responsibilities as Director of Health and Welfare in that city. Robinson, a Black who had the strong support of Jersey City's Major Whelan also served as a Trustee of Jersey City State College and was the Director of the City's Community Action Program. His reaction to the prospect of Dartmouth College's involvement in Jersey City was favorable and encouraging. Jersey City seemed to have other advantages for reasons beyond Robinson's interest. It was large enough to represent the gamut of urban problems, yet small enough to have a distinct identity. Its racial mixture included 25% Blacks, 10% Puerto Ricans and 65% Whites, although the percentage of Whites (mostly Irish and Italians) was steadily declining. Dominated on one side by New York City and on the other side by Newark, it seemed to be a city which had been passed over. There were few federal projects in the city, no available monies to start programs, and only two local colleges, Jersey City State and St. Peter's, each serving large numbers of white students from outside the community.

In early January, almost one year exactly after Dey's appointment, a meeting was held in Mayor Whelan's office in Jersey City to discuss a possible Dartmouth-Jersey City venture. In addition to Whelan and Dean Dey, President Dickey and Julian Robinson were also present, and plans were made to initiate a pilot project aimed at helping to solve

the city's educational problems. Further talks during the winter with Jersey City school officials resulted in the placement of two Dartmouth sophomores as teacher's assistants and tutors in P.S. #22 in the city's Lafayette section during the spring term. Both received academic credit from Dartmouth's Education Department (a one person department consisting of Professor Donald Campbell), for their work in the school while living with a Lafayette family.

"This is just a beginning," Julian Robinson said at a forum on education conducted by the Education Department of the Local NAACP in Jersey City. "The Program sprang from the belief of a Dartmouth Dean that a College has the obligation to extend its educational commitment beyond the campus borders."[6]

The problems inherent in a program of this nature were well understood by those who were working to develop Jersey City as an urban base for the college. One administrator who helped to coordinate the college's efforts in that city said, "How do you get Dartmouth College, an Ivy League, white traditional college to function in the inner city? You have the problems of being an outsider coming in without any special feeling for that community. People have been living there all their lives and suddenly you come in

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[6]"Dartmouth College in Jersey City", The Jersey Journal, 18 April 1968.

and pretend to know more. Not only are community people offended, but people who have been there trying to work with those people are offended. Then there are the questions about the College's motives in doing this. To what extent is it willing to work in the community, to what extent is it willing to stay there and hassle it out, to what extent might it only be a Colonialistic experience - something where Dartmouth is seeking to get relevant educational experiences at the expense of the city. As outsiders, as whites, as people who might not be staying there, I just hoped Dartmouth was willing to continue a presence."[7] Thoughts similar to these were also expressed by a number of Dartmouth people who were working with officials in Jersey City to launch the venture between the College and the city.

Compton, California Site - Spring, 1968

Meanwhile, four other students were working in Compton, California, a town adjacent to Watts, as tutors with a Head Start program, a project for exceptional learners, and a local high school. These students were also earning education credits from Professor Campbell. This program evolved through the efforts of a Dartmouth student whose father was

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[7] Interview with former Dartmouth Administrator, Lebanon, N.H., August 1975.

an Episcopal priest in the area and who introduced Dey to another member of the clergy who was very involved with educational projects in the Compton community. The students were housed at St. Martin's Episcopal Church, a complex of buildings including a Head Start Center, Teen-Center and top floor apartment for the Dartmouth students.

Thus, two internship sites had begun, and in a memo to the College's Associate Provost in April of 1968, Dey stated that,

> "During each term of the 1968-1969 academic year, I anticipate that we will have thirty undergraduates off-campus, teaching and studying as Tucker Foundation Interns. These internships represent three kinds of educational experiences. In each term, 14 interns will serve in public school ABC programs, 10 in Jersey City and 6 in two projects which the Foundation now sponsors in an Episcopal parish in Los Angeles and a Lutheran parish in New York.[8] The interns pay tuition to Dartmouth and receive course credit for Education 42, 43, and 44. (Regular reports are submitted to Professor Campbell by the local supervisory teachers.) In most cases, room and board is provided by local agencies in return for Intern Services. Interns are responsible for travel and incidental expenses."[9]

Credit Arrangements with Education Department

The arrangement made with the Education Department to award academic credit for these experiences began by working

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[8]The New York project never materialized.

[9]Charles Dey, memo to Leonard Reiser, Dartmouth College, 20 April 1968 (Typewritten).

out the necessary details with students on an individual basis. Since the Education Department was anxious to establish a teacher-training program at this time, making the arrangements for a group rather than a single person was not difficult.

As Don Campbell put it, "We were at that point interested in urban education but access to urban schools -- we didn't quite know how to do it. We didn't have the staff to start an urban project, by which I mean have a group in Boston where we were commuting. So the alternative was to find other sponsorship.

I had been in touch with the Tucker Foundation through the ABC program. I taught the first ABC course for ABC tutors going to go into the field. We had a course called "Teaching the Disadvantaged". That's how it got formalized. Having once done this, then you had a model. Not that that course was a model. In fact, it needed a lot of revision - but it was based upon what we found out as we took the course."[10]

In soliciting funds for faculty support, Dey noted that in 1968-69, Tucker Foundation Interns would be enrolled in a total of 270 courses which would generate $63,000 in tuition. He requested $31,000 to be allocated for half

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[10]Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., 12 August 1974.

time salaries for those faculty members who would be working on design, preparation and evaluation of Tucker Internships. "Without proper background reading and exploration, without tough, hardheaded objectivity, without high standards to which they are accountable, without the mental discipline of having to digest information and experience, extract essentials and relate them both to man's accumulated knowledge and to immediate issues, there is the likelihood that these internships will be superficial in substance and transient in value. The kind of rigor for which we are striving requires close faculty involvement."[11]

Although Dey tried to involve faculty members in departments other than Education, this never really happened. Members of the Sociology and Government Departments were sometimes willing to grant independent study credits to students on an individual basis but no group arrangements were ever made. Since the program was developed by Dey, in attempting to sell it to other departments, the package was presented as a "fait accompli",as something they were asked to support but had had no hand in designing. Most faculty members were not eager to be involved with these kinds of tailored programs, and since their advice and input had never been called for originally, they were under-

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[11]Charles Dey, memo to Kenneth Davis, Dartmouth College, 5 April 1968 (Typewritten).

standably reluctant to become involved in granting credit for such programs.

Class of 1952 Reunion Resolution

In June of 1968, Charles Dey's Dartmouth Class of 1952 held its 15th Reunion and passed the following resolution:

> "Recognizing at our Fifteenth Reunion the urban turmoil and the trend toward racial polarization in our country and believing in the capability of the Class of 1952 to contribute in some way to the solution of these problems (as set forth in the President's Riot Commission Report of March 1968, and reviewed in our Reunion Seminars,) the Class resolves to respond, under the leadership of our Class Executive Committee, by involving the Dartmouth Class of 1952 between now and our next Class Reunion in an appropriate project relevant to these problems and to be endorsed by the Class."[12]

Dey accepted this resolution as a challenge to the Foundation. It had the potential of involving significant numbers of Dartmouth alumni and was an opportunity to broaden the base of participation in the Tucker Internship program.

Administration of the Internships

The summer months of 1968 were used to work out the supervisory aspects of the Internships in Jersey City and the Public School ABC programs in the Hanover area. (There would be no Interns in Compton for the Fall term, although

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[12] The Class of 1952, Dartmouth College Reunion Report, June 1968 (Mimeographed).

four had been recruited for the following winter.)

In the ABC Programs, 11 Dartmouth undergraduates would live in teams of 2 or 3 in each ABC residence with 10 ABC students, a resident eacher and his family. Seven communities had ABC houses and the Tucker Interns taught in the local high schools of these communities, tutoring at night in the ABC House. The Director of ABC, Tom Mikula, held a Lectureship in Education and was charged with selecting and supervising the Interns.

In Jersey City, the administration of the program was more complex. Richard Regosui, an Associate Professor of Romance Languages, and Lecturer in Education, was appointed to supervise the Interns and assume over-all responsibility for the program in Hanover. Assisting him as the co-ordinator in Jersey City was a member of the Class of 1968, Woody Lee. Lee, a life-long resident of Jersey City, and his wife, were to live in the residence with the Interns and be responsible for the day to day operation of the program. Because Lee had not completed his degree requirements, having taken a term off the year before, he himself would be serving part time as a teaching assistant in P.S. #22 and completing the final three credits towards his Dartmouth degree in conjunction with one of the Jersey City Colleges. In addition, Henry Homeyer, a recent Dartmouth graduate, was to begin a permanent teaching assignment in P.S. #22 and would live in the residence with Lee, his wife

and the five undergraduates chosen as Tucker Interns. The residence which would serve as living quarters for future Interns was a four story tenement on Whiton Street in the Bergen-Lafayette section of Jersey City.

Interns in Compton would be selected by Paul Rahmeier, the College Chaplain, and would work closely with the local supervisor, Father Williams, the vicar at St. Martin's Church in Compton.

Brasstown, North Carolina Site - Summer, 1968

Another Internship, not originally planned for in the spring, but which began to take shape during the summer months and materialized in the fall term with two Interns, was in Brasstown, North Carolina. Dartmouth students who knew of the John C. Campbell Folk School in Brasstown initiated correspondence between the school and the Foundation. The Folk School became the actual center for the Interns' activities, where the emphasis lay on teaching and learning the rural acts of dairying, blacksmithing, woodcarving, weaving, farming and folk dancing. The Interns' chief daytime activity, however, was teaching in a public high school in Murphy, S.C., 10 miles from Brasstown. The Folk School's director, John Ramsey, assumed responsibility for supervising the Dartmouth Interns who were also selected and oriented by the College Chaplain, Paul Rahmeier, and awarded credit through the Education Department.

Although the Fall Interns were the first Dartmouth students living, working and receiving credit for the Brasstown experience as Tucker Interns, three students from the College had worked at the Folk School during the Spring term of 1968, and had established a working relationship with the local townspeople. Thus, Dey's initial communication with Ramsey for a more formal structuring of a process whereby Interns could come to the area on a regular basis was well received.

Fall Term 1968 - The Beginning of Problems

The Fall term began, then, with 18 Tucker Interns at three sites. It became clear that the Foundation's main thrust would be in Jersey City. While other sites would be developed and maintained as Internship centers, the idea of an Urban Center in Jersey City which would use Dartmouth Resources, both human and fiscal, was developing as a real goal for Dey and other Foundation personnel. Far from being merely a place for Dartmouth students to carry out a term's work, the notion of a Dartmouth educational annex in the city to be used by community people was being discussed.

There was at this time the beginning of concern on the part of the Education Department for the attention Jersey City was receiving as opposed to the other Intern programs. As Don Campbell put it, "In my judgment, Jersey City got all the emphasis because of Dey's vested interest. That was where all the money went to and most of the energy and time

in terms of Tucker Staff. Nobody from Tucker worked on the California program - at least not at first. I don't mean that individuals didn't get involved here and there, but for a couple of years I was the agent, flew out every term, supervised students and all that."[13]

The feeling on Campbell's part was that students in the Tucker Intern programs handled by the Education Department were getting better experiences than those handled by the Tucker Foundation, although all Interns were earning the same academic credits. Jersey City became a place where community work was emphasized over teacher training or work in the schools, which was of course the reason for the Education Department's original interest in the program.

In November of 1968, Woody Lee, the Jersey City Coordinator for Tucker Interns, sent a memo to Dean Dey which he labeled "the beginnings of a proposal". In it he wrote, "Even if we accept the proposition that Jersey City desperately needs a major input of technical skills, financial resources and human energies, why Dartmouth? Despite her liberal traditions, Dartmouth's experience in urban situations is woefully lacking. Is it not too absurd to suggest that she may become another in the long list of wealthy patronizers about whom Lorraine Hansberry, a Black

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[13]Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., August 1974.

playwright, commented while talking to a group of Whites--"It isn't a matter of being hostile to you, but on the other hand, it's also a matter of never ceasing to try to get you to understand that your mistakes can be painful, even those which come from excellent traditions. We've had great wounds from great intention."[14]

Lee continued by stating that, although Dartmouth's presence in the city was an inherent contradiction, the school could no longer immunize itself from the urban struggle. "Perhaps it is still not too late to renew and reinstitute her efforts on behalf of the questions of human survival and dignity for all peoples. As we approach Dartmouth's third century, the time does, indeed, seem appropriate to face the challenges that lie in Jersey City. Our efforts in "social action" have been sincere and rewarding, but at best limited and piece-meal. The time is now to rededicate the institution's resources in a substantial way to the aching problems that besiege this society. Perhaps I am being somewhat idealistic, but I honestly feel that Jersey City represents that opportunity for Dartmouth to pave an imaginative and creative course that seriously addresses the questions being posed for wealthy institu-

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[14]Woody Lee, memo to Charles Dey, Jersey City, New Jersey, 25 November 1968.

tions in this country. Today we must begin."[15]

Lee continued by proposing that Dartmouth establish a Center of Urban Science Education for Dartmouth undergraduates and the Jersey City community. This center would have its own faculty to instruct curriculum courses for both Dartmouth students and Jersey City residents. The curriculum would center around solving urban problems. The Center would also house an independent school for Jersey City's lower-income students, a professional staff from the Dartmouth Medical School, the Tuck School of Business Administration and the Thayer School of Engineering[16] and a city and community liaison staff to channel ideas, programs and models from the Center to Jersey City and other Urban Communities.

Plans for Jersey City Urban Center

The year ended with a lengthy memo from Dey to Dickey centering on the subject of a Jersey City Urban Center. Dey's conversations with a number of faculty people in the three graduate schools and various undergraduate departments had been positive, for most of them supported the idea of a Dartmouth urban base in Jersey City.

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Dartmouth College's graduate schools.

Dey reported to Dickey that an after school tutorial program had been started, an elementary science program for grades 5-8 involving not only Dartmouth Interns, but teachers from P.S. #22 had been organized, twenty ABC students from Jersey City were being identified, a more permanent residence for Interns was being sought, the Dartmouth Club of Bergen County had met with the Tucker Interns and was offering support, and the possibility of a summer program was being discussed.

Dey's suggestion to Dickey was the establishment of an Urban Center in Jersey City which would include.

1) Interdisciplinary courses in urban studies with field work done in the city.

2) Continuation of the present Tucker Intern program.

3) Opportunities for graduate projects in an urban setting.

4) A close working relationship with agencies and institutions in the city.

5) An independent school for lower-income students addressing itself to problems of education for the urban disadvantaged.

6) A Jersey City core staff of faculty and local administrative people to develop the broader program.

7) Residential and classroom facilities for 30-40 Dartmouth students each term.

In Dey's own words:

This Center would be characterized by people, not buildings, by interaction with existing organizations, rather than competition with them; it would make use

> of existing facilities and local initiative wherever possible; the components would be geared to long-range improvement, not short-run excitement or dramatic efforts; it would emphasize not huge grants, but rather modest amounts of money judiciously used to generate other activities; it would require a core staff in Jersey City; its central purpose would be education--the development of that competence which frees people to control their own destiny. We believe that our initial request for funds should be for a period of three to five years with the understanding that, if the program develops as we hope, we would need refunding for a second comparable period. In our budget for 1969-70, we should think in terms of $150,000, a portion of which represents student tuitions, room and board, a portion of which represents funds to be raised from outside sources.[17]

Thus 1968, marked the year in which the Tucker Internship Program became rooted. (A breakdown of all Tucker Intern sites and placements is listed in Appendix B.)

The '52-'72 Project - Winter, 1969

In January of 1969, the 1972 Freshman Class Council passed the following resolution:

> "We the members of the Class of 1972, feel that part of the responsibility of a liberal arts education should be the opportunity for involvement in the many areas of social turmoil evident in our society today. In accordance with this belief, we resolve that the class project for the class of '72 should deal in some significant manner with the urban problems facing our nation."[18]

This commitment together with the resolution passed by the Class of 1952 at their 15th reunion constituted the

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[17]Charles Dey, memo to John Dickey, Dartmouth College, December 1968.

[18]Joel Zylberberg, Resolution of the Freshman Class Council, January 1969, (Typewritten).

start of the 52-72 Project, a program directed by the Class of '72 Project Committee under the aegis of the Tucker Foundation. The 52-72 Project was to be initiated within a year by three teams of Interns working in three different urban areas. The Interns would be members of the Class of '72, but all subsequent classes would be eligible after the first year. As with other Tucker Internships, students would serve as teaching assistants in local schools and involve themselves significantly with supplementary tutorial programs or other community service work for which they would earn education credits. Individual members of the Class of '52 residing in project areas would be available to the Interns as resource persons. The project was slated to terminate in June of 1972 when the 52's held their 20th reunion.

The conception of the 52-72 project brought out in the open a basic hostility and distrust between the Tucker Foundation and the Education Department which had been smoldering for some time. Don Campbell, the department's chairman recalled the incident this way:

> "The 52-72 project is an interesting case in point. Joel Zylberberg was the originator and he came over in the spring of his Freshman year with the proposition. And I said, 'we aren't really looking for things to do. We have ideas for some projects ourselves, but we'll listen. I did, and then I told him he'd have to keep me informed and show me the drafts of what he was proposing. And that was the last I saw of him until November of the next fall at which time he walked into my office and said, 'here is the plan; we're going to

Chicago, Boston and Richmond, California beginning in the winter term. And I said, no you're not. I mean you can go, fine, but not with the Education Department credit, because I told you to keep me posted, to see the drafts of what was being committed in our name and you blew it...Anyway I said no way. I can't. How can I? I can't hand out credit for students for anything they want to do. I don't know who is supervising it, I don't know what the arrangements are...He went back to the Tucker Foundation which had been sponsoring them, the agent for what ever the hell they were doing. In fact Dey was saying he'd supervise the Boston one, to help out, and we were agreeable. See, all the supervisors over there (Tucker Foundation) had teaching experience. This was another issue. One term we had them all put on the faculty as lecturers to make their positions legitimate. Of course we didn't have to pay them. Anyway, Dey, Fox and Mikula were all working for us as agents...A week after my talk with Zylberberg, orders came from the Dean of the Faculty's office - that we would give credit for the 52-72 project. The reason given was alumni involvement vis-a-vis the Class of 52. So I wrote back and said we were told we had to have supervisors (this was before we'd appointed them to the faculty) and now you're letting us give credit without supervisors. But that tells you I think where the power base lay - obviously on the Tucker side of things rather than on the Education side. That was pretty overt."[19]

Despite the problems of supervision and the Education Department's discontent, five Intern sites with a total of 27 Interns operated in the winter of 1969. Compton continued again with four students in addition to 11 ABC Interns, 7 in Jersey City, 2 in Brasstown and 3 in a new Internship at Clarksdale, Mississippi.

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[19]Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., September 1975.

Clarksdale, Mississippi Site - Winter, 1969

Clarksdale had come to the attention of Dey through the national ABC offices which had recruited ABC students from the Immaculate Conception School in that city. A town of about 20,000, it was considered a progressive Southern community, although dependent almost entirely on cotton for its industry. About half of the population was Black, and half White.

Immaculate Conception was a private school run by the Roman Catholic Church and composed of a grade school and a high school with 500 Black students and very little White student attendance. The teaching staff consisted of five White nuns and seven Black teachers. The Dartmouth Interns lived in the rectory above the church and ate their meals with the nuns. During the day, they taught at the school and worked with a variety of extra curricular organizations after school, for which they earned Education credits.

Intern sites now included an inner city neighborhood in the North, a middle sized southern town, a west coast ghetto, a small rural Appalachian area and a complex of Northern New England communities. These same sites continued serving as Intern centers during the spring and fall of 1969.

As Tucker Intern sites sprang up around the country and increasing numbers of Dartmouth students became involved

as Interns, the Dartmouth faculty which had at first been tolerant and even somewhat supportive of the program, soon become alarmed. As one Dean described it, "You'd read in the paper one day that a new Tucker Program had opened, and the next week another one somewhere else, half way across the country and suddenly everyone was saying, "what the hell's going on over there at the Tucker Foundation? I thought they were supposed to be running Chapel services... Dey's stuff and the times really intersected perfectly so he got away with it, but everyone could see that with each new program there were no faculty involved. People kept telling him this -- that without faculty he'd never make it, but I think he thought that with Dickey behind him he was O.K."[20]

One faculty member saw it somewhat differently. He felt that many in the faculty and administration were very supportive of the Intern programs, especially at the beginning, but saw them as excellent leave or vacation term opportunities, not as part of the academic offerings of the college. "Dey insisted that the programs could not exist unless they had credit, and he refused to consider any other way of promoting them," said this member of the

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[20]Interview with Dartmouth Dean, Hanover, N.H., October 1975.

Sociology Department.[21]

Other faculty members began to object to the programs because they took so many students off-campus each term and away from their studies. If a particular student elected an Intern program for three education credits rather than an Honors program in his major, the criticism was made against Dey and the Tucker Foundation.

The Parkhurst Incident and the Protest Movement Nationally

During the spring of 1969 Dartmouth students seized Parkhurst Hall, the central administration building at the College, at the end of a month long debate over ROTC. A referendum which called for the phase out of the current ROTC program had been passed by faculty, students and administrators, but a group of students who were not pleased with the results of the referendum delivered an ultimatum to the top administrators at the College to either remove ROTC from Dartmouth at once or they would be disruptive. The administrators did not act on the ultimatum. The building was seized during an afternoon in May and by early evening, 150 N.H. and Vermont state police had to be mobilized to move into the building if necessary. Governor Peterson spoke to the group of law officers and urged non-

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[21]Interview with Dartmouth faculty member, Hanover, N.H., November 1975.

violent behavior toward students if the building were taken. A warrant was issued to the group inside Parkhurst, but by the early morning hours, the students still refused to leave, and officers entered the building, taking the undergraduates in a van to the county jail. They were tried, found guilty and most served three month sentences at prison farms in Vermont and New Hampshire. ROTC was subsequently phased out at Dartmouth.

On other campuses across the country, administration buildings were also seized during the winter and spring months of 1969. Campus turmoil was often related to the ROTC issue specifically, and the anti-war movement in general at many of these schools and the "Parkhurst Takeover", as it came to be called, received national attention from the media along with disruptions at many other prominent schools.

Although the incident had nothing directly to do with the Tucker Intern Program, it heightened the contrast between the two very different kinds of activist behavior at Dartmouth. The result was to make people aware of positive action on the part of Dartmouth students toward a troubled society, and thus temporarily less critical of the Internships.

Jersey City: Appointment of Michael Bailin

In Jersey City during the same spring, Woody Lee, the coordinator of the Intern program, had directed much of

his energy at Jersey City politics and had involved the Dartmouth Interns in these activities also. Julian Robinson, the Dartmouth graduate who had helped to establish the College's Jersey City project, was running as the first Black mayoralty candidate in the city against incumbent Mayor Whelan who had originally met with Dey and Dickey to establish the Dartmouth-Jersey City link. Lee took on the job of organizing Robinson's campaign and battling a well-entrenched Jersey City machine, in addition to mediating the political infighting within the city's Black community. Julian Robinson lost by a large majority. Woody Lee was evicted from Jersey City by Mayor Whelan and the Dartmouth-Jersey City project was in jeopardy.

The summer months were spent in retrenching in Jersey City. Michael Bailin, an Urban Studies professor at Dartmouth, was hired to head the program in Jersey City and Jared Haynes, a recent Dartmouth graduate, accepted the position as resident director at the Learning Center. Bailin was a member of the Class of 1964 at Dartmouth and a Yale Law School graduate. He was well acquainted with the urban scene, having not only lived in New York City most of his life, but also as a scholar and teacher of urban problems. Bailin decided to place Interns at two parochial schools in the Bergen-Lafayette neighborhood -- All Saint's School, located down the street from the living residence rented for Interns, and Saint Bridgets, a school with a

large Spanish-speaking student population. The Intern foothold at P.S. #22 had become shaky after the spring's political activities, and other schools were needed to accommodate the growing number of Dartmouth students applying for a Jersey City Internship. Tuck and Thayer School students would be recruited for the Fall and Winter terms, and it was anticipated that with them would come computer expertise and the installation of computer terminals.

Bailin was exactly the sort of person Dey wanted to see in charge of the Jersey City site. He had deep convictions about moral and social issues yet he was far from radical. In Dey's words, "If you give a Mike Bailin a base from which he can witness his concern-well, that's really what the Foundation should be doing. Mike cared so much about the issue (of the urban crisis) that he was willing in his personal life to go to Jersey City and live there and develop a program. With Mike Bailin living right there with his wife and those students, that kind of personal witness made the whole program go."[22]

Don Campbell in the Education Department viewed the appointment somewhat differently. "When the command came down to have a faculty member in charge, it wasn't specific about what faculty so we just picked one who was available.

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[22]Interview with Charles Dey, Wallingford, Connecticut, August 1974.

He (Bailin) was an interested party. Dey liked him. He was interested in Jersey City. He was on the faculty (government). We needed a faculty member in Jersey City. One follows the other. We weren't given authorization to hire another faculty member, we had to use an existing one."[23]

Bailin was eager to begin, and the Foundation was eager to begin again in the city which it had officially adopted as its own. Dey and others at the Foundation had examined their position in Jersey City and decided they could be effective in the area of education. The institution's strengths were assessed to be the energy, good will and educational skills of students and staff.

Overview of Internships - Fall, 1969

Fall term found new developments on several Intern fronts. The 52-72 Project had begun to take shape after much correspondence with alums in Boston, Chicago and Richmond, Califronia. Interns were being recruited for the Boston and Chicago experiences for the winter of 1970.

The Brasstown Internship received the assistance of resident coordinators, Robert and Peggy MacArthur, who moved to Brasstown from Hanover, where MacArthur had been

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[23]Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., August 1974.

an Episcopal priest, to assist with the Intern Program there. Although officially working for the Campbell Folk School as a teacher, MacArthur assisted John Ramsey in making arrangements for the Interns and was available to them as they worked to develop their opportunities at the school. He was also asked to submit detailed evaluations for formal grading of the Interns' work.

In Jersey City, a series of robberies at the Whiton Street residence precipitated the decision to move and subsequently buy a three-story 80 year old building down the street and directly across from All Saints School. The programs at All Saints and St. Bridgets were progressing rapidly and the Jersey City project was back on the road to becoming a stable contribution in the community.

The decision to buy the Whiton Street property was made by Bailin and Dey, who shared the conviction that if Dartmouth committed itself financially, it would not easily be able to pull out of that community. Buying the building represented a locked-in position which both these men favored. Dey was able to convince Dickey and the Board of Trustees of the need for permanent housing for students, and several thousands of dollars were allocated to renovate the facility and make it useable as both a residence hall and a Community Learning Center.

In late summer of 1969, Dey prepared a proposal to submit to various foundations as he began soliciting out-

in teaching Science. Dartmouth would underwrite their participation in the program.

7. Business School Initiatives
Two Tuck School students would be spending the summer in Jersey City to determine the role Dartmouth's Business School might play to foster small business initiatives by minority group residents. Preliminary plans call for the establishment of a Free Consultant Operation and the development of an elementary course in accounting and other business techniques.

8. Participation of Dartmouth Graduates
As Dartmouth students who have participated in Jersey City graduate from the College, many are desiring to return and play a supportive role in the activities of the Dartmouth Learning Center. Several already teach in schools in J.C. Through their teaching efforts they broaden the potential contribution of the residence to the community. They are being subsidized by Dartmouth.

Dey's formal proposal stated:

> With this variety of educational programs under way or about to begin next fall; with the continuity and competence provided by the resident director and the graduate teachers; and with the fresh infusion of energetic and enthusiastic undergraduate interns each term, we believe that a relationship between Dartmouth College and the Bergen-Lafayette inner-city neighborhood can become a productive and meaningful way of involving an institution of higher learning with the urgent problems of urban America.
>
> In developing this venture, Dartmouth College thus far has invested $25,000 from its own resources. We anticipate an increased commitment on our part for the next three years at a level of $35,000 per year. However, in order to implement the new dimensions described above, we will need help from outside sources in the amount of $60,000 per year over the next three years.

> Dartmouth College therefore requests a three year grant of $180,000 to sustain and broaden its educational activities in Jersey City, New Jersey.[24]

The proposal was sent in the fall to large Foundations and funds were ultimately received from several donors.

Money for projects which dealt with urban problems was not difficult to identify in the sixties and Dey quickly became a master at touching the right Foundation at the right time. Since funds were continually coming in to the College to support Foundation projects and good public relations were generated, it was difficult for administrators at Dartmouth to be critical. Faculty however, were sometimes disapproving, for often their own research grant proposals were not accepted from the very places which generously supported the Tucker Foundation.

Credit Problems

The credit granting mechanism for Tucker Internships rested almost exclusively with the Education Department, which allowed students to enroll in three Education courses, be supervised by a local principal or teacher who submitted evaluations to a faculty member at Dartmouth or Foundation staff person who in turn graded the student. Several

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[24] Charles Dey, "Proposal to Create the Dartmouth College Urban Educational Program", August 1969, (Mimeographed).

Foundation people were appointed "Lecturers in Education" in order to comply with the institution's policy of allowing only faculty members to give out grades. In the fall of 1969, several faculty members, concerned about this loosely fashioned system of granting credit for off-campus programs, circulated a proposal for tightening this mechanism. Noting that increasing numbers of students were taking advantage of the expanding opportunities for off-campus study, they stated that it was reasonable and necessary to formulate a structured policy toward granting credit. Their approach to the problem was three pronged:

> 1) A term off campus must be considered part of a broader educational framework. It must be integrated into the preceding and following terms when the academic preparation, the intellectual analysis and evaluation consistent with traditional academic endeavor can take place.
>
> 2) A body must be created (or an existing body called upon) to draw up rigorous and academically valid orientation and evaluation programs. Orientation and evaluation could take the form of a series of seminars, papers, lectures, discussions, or can be an informal course.
>
> 3) During the term off campus, the student may be involved in any number of activities: teaching, research, social action. This will be determined by the nature of the program in which he participates. The orientation and evaluation programs should integrate this experience into a formal academic framework, making it a more profound and meaningful learning experience.[25]

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[25] "Proposal to Tighten Credit-Granting Mecahnism for Off-Campus Programs", October 1969.

The group proposed that the social science division assume responsibility for awarding credit in off-campus programs, since the activities of those programs appeared most often to fall naturally within its scope. They further suggested that a steering committee be appointed to create academically valid preparation and evaluation programs to precede and follow the term off-campus. This committee could also draw up guidelines and approve orientation and evaluation procedures proposed by any specific group sponsoring an off-campus program.

There were three options presented in the proposal for how full course credit could be granted:

1. Under the present 36 course requirements:

    a. Three social science credits (not related to any particular department) might be awarded; or two social science and one humanities credit. These might or might not fulfill distributive requirements.

    b. Three new courses might be introduced to cover the total internship experience: these courses could resemble the present French 29, 30, 31: "Credit for this course is awarded students who have successfully completed the program of the Dartmouth Foreign Study Program at one of its university centers in France."

2. The present 36 course requirement might be reduced to 33. In early December of 1969, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences recommended and passed a resolution which stated that:

    > An ad hoc committee of the faculty be established for the purposes of reviewing the supervising in a continuous manner all off-campus academic programs and activities. The committee, to be called The Committee

> on Off-Campus Activities, should consist of two faculty members from each division, a staff member of the Tucker Foundation, and two students.

In conjunction with this recommendation it suggested that:

> In order for any student to receive specific course credit while enrolled in an off-campus academic program (e.g., Foreign Study Program) a member of the Dartmouth faculty must instruct in and/or directly supervise the program of the student. Thus, the presence of a faculty member or members at the off-campus site is normally a requisite for the students obtaining regular course credit (and grade).
>
> The Faculty also noted that:
> Only members of the Dartmouth Faculty can award and certify course grades. This responsibility cannot be delegated.
>
> Course credit requirements for the A.B. degree were reduced from 36 to 33 credits.[26]

It was clear now that the visitation system which the Foundation had established and which the Intern program was dependent upon, did not meet the faculty's conception of a faculty presence at the off-campus site.

The problems associated with awarding credit for Tucker Internships had finally been brought out into the open and dealt with squarely by faculty. The conflict between Dey's emphasis on service and the faculty's emphasis on the values of the Academy was a real one which Dey frequently acknowledged during his tenure as Dean of the Foundation.

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[26]Ibid.

"That was the major tension. And I couldn't carry faculty with me because I couldn't provide leadership in terms of my scholarly attainments. After all, your faculty are a group of men that have come through a process that has increasingly winnowed them according to their scholarship and promise in a particular discipline. That's not my own background nor my primary interest. I respect it and I respect them. But I was really at odds with a lot of them as they perceived it because I was diluting student focus. You would be a less good chemist if you spent a term in Jersey City or you'd be a less good philosopher. I'm not sure that's true, but that was a more typical faculty perception."[27]

Mike Bailin concurred with Dey's thoughts on the credit problems associated with the Internships, noting that "...the problem of Jersey City from Dartmouth's perspective, and the problem with most off-campus experiential projects at Ivy League schools, is that there is prevalent a certain sense that things are or are not credit worthy, and that things are or are not academic. The kind of experience students had in Jersey City from almost any measurement you take was a valuable learning experience for the students, but whether it was credit-worthy for Dartmouth College is where

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[27]Interview with Charles Dey, Wallingford, Connecticut, August 1974.

it begins to break down. The Tucker Foundation ran a project. It was a project designed to give students that kind of experience. It didn't really have the cover academically that it really needed. What it had was the cover of the Education Department, which was itself a weak department, and it was weak almost for the same reason - a bias that the College has about what is and what isn't valid education."[28]

The Dean of the Faculty felt in retrospect that support for the Internships was separated from the credit problems for most of the faculty, however. "Many saw those experiences as really important, but that doesn't mean they were credit-worthy. After all, the faculty is concerned with affairs of the mind and they see credit as something given for work in that area."[29]

Chicago, Boston, Richmond, California Sites - Winter, 1970

Winter term 1970 found new Intern sites opened in Chicago, Boston and Richmond, California as part of the 52-72 Project. In Chicago, two Tucker Interns lived at the Freed Residence, a home sponsored by the Robert McCormick Boys Clubs for teenagers who had no homes and who had been in

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[28] Interview with Michael Bailin, Hanover, N.H., August 1974.

[29] Interview with Dartmouth Dean, Hanover, N.H., November 1975.

trouble with the law. In addition to tutoring the six boys in the home, the Dartmouth students also worked as teaching assistants during the day in Senn High School. Various activities at Chicago Boys Clubs during the after school hours consumed the rest of their time for which they were awarded the customary three Education credits. A coordinator in Chicago, Fred Chivers,assisted with the supervision and evaluation of their Internship, and Paul Rahmeier from Hanover made visits to Chicago to coordinate the program for Dartmouth, and to award grades.

In Richmond, four Interns taught English, French and Mathematics at John F. Kennedy High School, a multiracial school in that city. Two of the Interns did tutoring work at a neighborhood center after school, and the other two worked with a community group which was establishing a credit union in a Black neighborhood. Housing had been arranged through a local motel owner, but this had proved to be less than satisfactory, and Richmond organizations were being solicited for help in locating housing so that the next group of four could live together.

Rev. David Gordon, Rector of an Episcopal Church in Richmond, was designated the local supervisor while Richard Fox, assistant Dean of the Foundation, made periodic visits to the site from Dartmouth.

Four more Tucker Interns were working in Roxbury, a Black section of Boston, and living at the South End

Community House. This team was divided between King Junior High School and a private Community Center for Children with Special Learning Disabilities, with two Interns at each school. William Wimberly, the Executive Director of the Roxbury YMCA, served as the Community Supervisor along with Robert Brace, a member of the Class of '52. Rich Fox was the Dartmouth evaluator for this Internship also.

Each 52-72 location had a "resource man", a member of the Class of '52 who, through his contacts in the city, attempted to offer additional opportunities and experiences to the students with whom the Interns were working. It was the hope of the '72's that the '52's would become increasingly active as the Project continued, and that the project would afford an opportunity for members of the business world to become involved in the inner city apart from the normal avenue of monitary contributions.

Eight Tucker Intern sites operated in the winter of 1970, with a total of 59 undergraduates involved. In the spring of that year, the same sites were active, with approximately the same number of Interns, but because of the large numbers of applicants, many students were not able to be placed. The programs were proving to be enormourly popular at every site and growing numbers of students were asking to be placed. (See Appendix B)

Students who came in to the Foundation to apply for internships and those who were successful in finding place-

ments were a self-selected group. Most were acutely sensitive to at least the theoretical aspects of the urban crisis or minority problems in general, and wanted desperately to give of themselves in a practical way, to the city. They bore little resemblence to the radicals on campus who had participated in the Parkhurst takeover. Although students themselves did not mention the word guilt in connection with their desire to serve as Tucker Interns, many faculty and administrators felt this element was a strong one in choosing to go off-campus for a term in one of these programs. As one Dean said, "Most of them knew others their own age who were in Vietnam, and they knew about still others, contemporaries who were trapped in ghettos. So they knew they were different. They had all sorts of advantages that other kids their age didn't have - good homes, affluence, and Ivy League schools to go to: Life was comfortable. So they looked for ways to justify this, to assuage their own guilt over having so much. They really needed to be doing something, contributing somehow to others who had less. And when they came back to Hanover they were so high from these experiences they turned on other students and the whole thing really snowballed."[30]

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[30] Interview with Dartmouth Dean, Hanover, N.H., October 1975.

Student response to the Intern program was overwhelmingly positive. Many students claimed it was the best experience of their lives or at least the one which had had the most impact on them. Their enthusiasm became a cliche which the Foundation at times had to put a lid on since it annoyed so many faculty members at the College. There was strong support for the Foundation's programs at this time from students and strong personal support for Dean Dey, with whom many students were able to identify.

Appointment of President John Kemeny

Spring term of 1970 found a new President taking over at the College. John Kemeny, the chairman of the Mathematics Department at Dartmouth and one of the founders of the Kiewit Computation Center, and of the computer language, BASIC, replaced John Sloan Dickey as head of the Ivy League school. John Dickey's retirement brought to a close 25 years as president of the school from which he graduated in 1929. As the founder of the Tucker Foundation, Dickey had written these words at the time of the Foundation's inception:

> There are no panaceas in education and I claim no patentable novelty for the individual features of the Tucker Foundation. Taken together, however, I wonder if they do not add up to an approach that is genuinely responsive to the problem of keeping conscience to the fore as an

> indispensable ingredient of an education that can commit a man to a better life as he liberates himself from a lesser one.[31]

The close working relationship which Dey had enjoyed with John Dickey would end with his retirement from the Presidency, and the base of support which Dey had always been able to count on was now gone. Dickey had created the Foundation and the values it embodied were his own. He had also selected Dey as its Dean. The new President came to the office in an era when the institution was having to turn itself to other issues and other problems, and the Tucker Foundation would no longer hold the attention of the College's President.

Continuing Problems - Education Department

As the spring progressed and summer began, a complete renovation of the recently purchased Whiton Street residence in Jersey City was undertaken. The building had formerly housed three separate families simultaneously and was now planned as a living center with sleeping and cooking facilities for twenty students on the top two floors, and a learning center for the neighborhood on the first floor and basement level.

The rooms on these two floors were converted to classrooms, a library, one smaller room for tutoring, a science

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[31] John Sloan Dickey, "Conscience and the Undergraduate", *Atlantic Monthly*, (April 1955), p. 35.

laboratory and a computer room to house several computer terminals.

Fall of 1970 arrived with a record number of twenty Interns in Jersey City. Unfortunately, the construction was not yet finished and plans to use the residence as a neighborhood educational facility had to be forestalled. The Interns spent most of their spare time working on the house, letting this serve as their community project.

Personnel changes during the summer resulted in more supervision for the Intern program. Del Benjamin, an ABC resident director in Hanover took on the responsibility of supervising the 52-72 Project as well as the Mississippi project, Clarksdale. In addition, two new members of the Education Department were appointed to assist Don Campbell. Dan Lindley, would be the faculty member in charge of the Chicago program, and Roy Keith would hold a half time appointment in the department and take on the duties of Director of Tucker Interns for the Foundation. These positions would be coordinated, as Keith would teach a pre-departure course for Interns in addition to administering the entire Internship program. Additionally, students at Dartmouth who had been Interns worked for the Foundation as recruiters of new Interns for each site.

The increasing number of Tucker Interns and other students interested in education as a vocation had put demands on the Education Department for more courses and classroom

supervision which required an enlarged staff. Other departments were critical of these demands by the Education Department for more faculty and a larger offering of courses, and some were quick to tie the upsurge in course enrollments to the large number of high grades which were given for Education courses. Others felt the vocational aspects of the Department took away from the Liberal Arts emphasis which the college revolved around.

In talking about the problem the Education Department had with adding new faculty Don Campbell stated, "We went from an enrollment of fifty students in 1964 to 1050 in 1971! We'd always been behind in our staffing because the College did not want to get overstaffed. I tried to compare us to how much income we were producing for the College in terms of tuition generated minus department overhead; they were obvious arguments that didn't work. But it gets back to the question of how much does the College want to push Education. The answer was obvious."[32]

The Foundation relied on the Education Department to give academic credit for the Intern experiences. The Education Department relied on Tucker Interns to justify increased need for faculty and courses. In a memo to Dey

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[32] Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., August 1974.

in the fall of 1970, Campbell stated the importance of the Foundation and the Department working together.

> Specifically, we feel that the Department should be included in the policy level when new Intern assignments are proposed which would use academic credit in Education. This fits in with our looking at what kinds of projects now are receiving credit and what the requirements for granting should be. Obviously on this score we are aware of the presence of the Off-Campus Committee and must be in a position to justify to them the use of Education course credit. So far as the working out of the administration of this credit, Roy Keith and the various faculty coordinators are responsible. But at the beginning approval must come from the Department.[33]

The Education Department felt strongly that their credit was being bastardized in order to allow students to go to Jersey City, California and Clarksdale. But as Dey put it, "they were willing to go along because they needed students in their department. The more students they got, the more they could justify a larger department, more FTE's, etc. They had a self-interest and we had a self-interest. As Dean of the Tucker Foundation, I didn't want to fight all those battles of academic versus experiential, but I wanted a vehicle. I was perfectly persuaded that that was legitimate; using Education credit. It's too bad; it

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[33]Donald Campbell, memo to Charles Dey, Dartmouth College, September 1970.

weakened us because the department just didn't have any standing with the rest of the faculty."[34]

Another member of the Foundation staff viewed the Education Department's problems with the rest of the faculty as similar to the Tucker Foundation's own problems here. "You had an interesting situation with the Education Department. Vis-a-vis the rest of the College, the Education Department was a weak sister, and they had an inferiority complex and really had the same trouble with the academic world at Dartmouth as we did. Yet when we tried to get together, this is where the Education Department's inferiority complex flared, because vis-a-vis us, there was the same kind of condescension that existed between them and the stronger academic departments. And of course part of it was personal. We just didn't enjoy a very warm relationship with the people in the Education Department."[35]

Problems - Brasstown, Boston

At two Intern sites major problems had arisen. In Brasstown, the MacArthurs had made a decision to terminate their positions at the Folk School, and would leave Brass-

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[34] Interview with Charles Dey, Wallingford, Connecticut, August 1974.

[35] Interview with Dartmouth Administrator, Hanover, N.H., September 1975.

town in the Fall. Differences between MacArthur and John Ramsey, the Folk School's Director, had led the couple to feel they could no longer be effective at the school. The implication of this decision at Dartmouth was that no new Interns were recruited for the Fall Term for Brasstown and the site as a Tucker Internship was closed.

At the Boston site, all was not well either. Two Interns placed for Fall Term in Dorchester at the Community Center for Children with Special Learning Disabilities had reported difficulty in locating housing and found little community support. Both these problems (according to a report from their supervisors at the school to Dean Dey) showed lack of interest from the 52's in the area. Del Benjamin, the Foundation's Supervisor of the Boston project, reported that the Interns had not received proper orientation, were confused about the nature of the Internship and in general were not performing satisfactorily. It was clear that work on the Boston Internship needed to be done before another group of students could be sent to this site.

In conjunction with this problem, a Structured Orientation for all Interns had been proposed by the Education Department, and would be instituted with the Winter Term. This orientation involved:

1. A seminar of general information in which ex-Interns would give descriptions of their programs, explaining the historical aspects of each, and how future Interns would be involved with the programs.

2. Dialogue sessions in which experienced Interns and prospective Interns could interact in small groups.

3. A cooperative venture called Techniques of Teaching Reading to Disadvantaged Students which would be conducted by local public school teachers and an outside consultant. This "course" would consist of workshops, demonstrations, classroom observations and practice teaching experiences.

4. A seminar on the techniques of teaching Math and Science including demonstrations and discussions.[36]

During the Internship the requirements for earning three course credits in Education were:

1. reading four required books.

2. sending a journal of activities every two weeks to the Hanover Supervisor which included 14 entries.

3. writing a 15 page paper which combined elements of the actual experience with reflections on the experience.[37]

One of the newly appointed faculty members in the Education Department noted that he found a qualitative difference between the prospective Tucker Interns and the students who were planning to make teaching a career. "In class, they just had different orientations to begin with. The kids who wanted to teach had a real seriousness of

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[36]"Orientation for Tucker Interns", Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., 10 September 1970, (Mimeographed).

[37]Ibid.

purpose, they wanted to learn the skills of teaching. The Tucker kids had been told by the Foundation staff that all Education courses were lousy and they wouldn't learn anything until they really got to their sites. So two different messages had been handed out. To our students we said, Be sure you're trained and know what you're doing before you go into a school! The Interns had been told that to teach you only needed to be a good person, to be sensitive and committed, and besides, the community work was always stressed more for the Interns than the teaching."[38]

While the Foundation staff went along with tightening up the academic requirements in order to appease the faculty, or at least "hold them at bay", according to one Foundation person, many of them never really believed in the importance or value of these prerequisites to the Intern experience.[39]

End of 1970 - Faculty Committee to Study Intern Program

As 1970 drew to an end, an ad hoc faculty committee charged with examining the Tucker Internships and making recommendations consonant with Faculty policy on off-campus study submitted its report. The committed noted that,

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[38]Interview with Dartmouth faculty member, Chicago, Illinois, March 1975.

[39]Interview with Dartmouth administrator, Hanover, N.H., September 1975.

The rapid growth and general prosperity of the Tucker Intern Program have largely outpaced the response of the faculty to its educational potential. The proliferation of off-campus sites, and the rush to provide some kind of academic recognition for the work of the interns, have occurred without a serious examination by the faculty of the program's educational objectives and without the adoption of clear guidelines for the awarding of course credit.

The committee proposed;

1. That the number of off-campus sites be reduced from six to <u>three</u>. (Our discussions with Dean Dey, Professor Campbell and Professor Keith have convinced us that a smaller number of centers would permit better supervision, a more substantial contribution to local needs, and an end to the sense of isolation felt by some interns in the very small groups. Our choice of centers builds upon current strength and provides a variety of milieu.)

2. That a regularly appointed member of the Dartmouth faculty be in residence at each off-campus site during the term of the program's activity. (Our investigation of the program had convinced us that only in this way can the activity of the interns have the direction, supervision, and articulate self-study necessary to give their work a dimension of intellectual rigor, making of it a genuine learning experience.)

3. That students be enrolled in three courses in absentia (with letter grades) for each term of work. (This is not a new departure, of course. We feel, however, that if Recommendation Two is adopted, the award of academic credit will be fully justified under the new faculty rules. If, in exceptional circumstances, it should prove impossible to provide a resident faculty member in a given term, the interns should be encouraged to apply to COCA for permission to reduce their A.B. course requirements by three. We note with satisfaction that the Department of Education will shortly propose three new courses intended to correspond to the work of the interns, as well as a new on-campus course to be taken as a normal prerequisite to participation in the program. The arrangement to

date has been to use Education 41, 42, 43, and 44 for these purposes. These courses are not strictly descriptive of, and therefore not appropriate to, the work of the interns.)

4. That these recommendations be fully in force no later than the beginning of the fall term of 1971, and that the 52-72 program be exempted for the academic year 1971-72.[40]

This report was approved by the executive committee of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences shortly after it was submitted.

Since Chicago, Richmond and Boston, as 52-72 sites, would be temporarily exempt from this ruling, three sites were left; Jersey City, Clarksdale, and Compton. Brasstown no longer existed and the local ABC Internships were not considered off-campus since they were in the Dartmouth environs. At least for the winter and spring terms of 1971, then there would be no changes made in Internship sites.

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[40]"Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Tucker Intern Program", Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., 2 November 1970, (Mimeographed).

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE INTERN PROGRAM, 1971-1975

Reduction of Internships, Kicking Horse Site - Winter, 1971

The decision by the Faculty to reduce the Tucker Internship structure to three sites did not prevent Dey from pursuing the establishment of two new Intern sites. The Committee on Equal Opportunity at Dartmouth had recommended three years previously that the institution provide the opportunity for disadvantaged groups to receive assistance in their desire to attend college. The North Country (Northern New England) was one of three groups which were identified for this assistance. Blacks and Native Americans constituted the other two groups.

The Foundation interpreted this recommendation as a commitment to the North Country, and proposed an Intern program which addressed itself to the needs of that area. The Internship would follow the established pattern of the other Tucker programs, using classroom experience and community service activities as a core. Since the site would probably be within a few hours of Hanover there would be no problems of on-site faculty or supervision.[1]

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[1]The North Country site never materialized as interest from students in a placement so close to Hanover was never high.

The College's long standing commitment to Native Americans[2] had recently been challenged by undergraduates who found the school's Indian Symbol offensive, and had launched a campaign against it and the lack of Native-American students at the College. Dey's contacts in Washington had made him aware of Kicking Horse, a Job Corps Training Center near Ronan, Montana for Indian youths west of the Mississippi. Consequently, Dey and an American Indian student named David Bonga flew to Montana in the winter term of 1971 to visit Kicking Horse and ascertain whether there was a possibility of it becoming an Intern site. Dartmouth alumni in Missoula, Montana, met with Dey and Bonga, and offered support in establishing the program. It was decided that Kicking Horse would indeed offer that opportunity to Dartmouth students for personal growth and service, and preparations were begun for sending the first Interns to Kicking Horse in the Fall of 1971.

Meanwhile the decision was made to officially identify Jersey City and Compton as two of the three permanent Intern sites, but a third was not immediately identified.

In a letter to Compton Supervisor, Father Williams, Don Campbell explained the reasoning behind the Compton choice.

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[2]The original charter of the College states the purpose of Dartmouth to be the education of Indian youths.

> Very simply, we have decided to expand the Compton project into one of three off-campus sites where students will carry out the internship program in education. One of the others is in Jersey City, New Jersey; the third place is yet to be determined. There are several reasons explaining this decision, the chief ones being the requirements voted by the faculty to have regular college faculty "on-site" to work with the students, which called for consolidation and the agreement here that the Compton project is well enough established to support further development in conjunction with you, St. Martin's, the diocese, and the community at large.[3]

Campbell further noted that a new faculty member would be appointed in the Department of Education who would be on site in Compton, giving a seminar and supervising the Interns' work in the schools and in the community.

By late winter of 1971, Brunetta Wolfman, a West Coast resident who had recently completed her doctoral work at Berkeley was appointed an Assistant Professor in Education on a half time basis, and was given the responsibility of supervising both the Richmond and Compton Interns. This was to become a full time appointment for the 1971-72 academic year when she would fly from Oakland to Los Angeles each week to meet with and observe the Interns. Her initial impressions of the Compton program were not positive upon visiting the site for the first time in late winter. In a memo to Roy Keith, she cited over-crowded living facilities for the Interns, little communication from the College to

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[3]Donald Campbell, letter to Father Williams, January 1971, (Typewritten).

the Interns, a constant turnover of visiting personnel from Hanover and Father Williams' criticism of the Interns' attitudes about regulations and rules.[4]

Later memos show that Wolfman effectively reorganized the Compton Internship for spring and by the following fall, when her responsibilities to Dartmouth became full time, the program was on a much more solid footing.

Boston, Clarksdale Closed, Growth of Chicago

Although the Boston Internship recovered briefly during the winter of 1971 after its difficult beginning in the fall, spring of 1971 would be the last term when Tucker Interns were placed at the Dorchester-Roxbury site. A year-end report on Boston, written by Del Benjamin, stated that,

> As a result of our inability to involve more than two students per semester in the Community School, the time lost in terms of travel, and man hours utilized dealing with small numbers of undergraduates, because of the inability of the class of '52 to follow through on their commitment to this project, it has been recommended and implemented that our association with the Community School be discontinued.[5]

Boston was not the only program to close at the end of Spring Term. In early March, Benjamin wrote a letter to

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[4]Brunetta Wolfman, memo to Roy Keith, Compton, California, February 1971, (Typewritten).

[5]Del Benjamin, "Year-end Report", Hanover, N.H., June 1971, (Typewritten).

the Sisters at the Immaculate Conception School in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and told them that the Tucker Foundation after the Spring Term would no longer be sending Interns to the Clarksdale community.

> This decision, as you know, is based upon the new guideline that, "a regularly appointed member of the Dartmouth faculty be in residence at each off-campus site..."; the decision that a minimum of ten undergraduates be based at a given site; and our belief that we are not able to identify the necessary numbers of interns for Clarksdale each semester nor, if we were able, that the Clarksdale community could support our interns in the manner that we desire.[6]

If a fact sheet on the Clarksdale Internship which alumni of the program distributed with the hope of regenerating interest in the program, another reason was cited, however, for the decision to terminate Clarksdale.

> The most important factor in this decision involves the Clarksdale community. As stated above, the Tucker Internships are meant to provide an opportunity for undergraduates to work within the community where their internship is based, as well as working in a classroom situation. However, there is no opportunity, practically speaking, for such community involvement in Clarksdale. Politics in the Mississippi delta do not lend themselves to activism as yet, and aside from voter registration, Interns have been able to do little. This fall the Interns offered their help to the local NAACP office for whatever purposes were needed during the fall campaigns, but nothing ever came of it. The community action program in Clarksdale meets all the requirements of the Green Amendment at Board meetings, but insofar as could be determined,

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[6]Del Benjamin, letter to the Sisters at Immaculate Conception School, Clarksdale, Mississippi, March 1971, (Typewritten).

> most of the work was done by members of the Board and there was practically nothing available that Dartmouth interns could contribute to. Little by little Clarksdale has become a one-sided teacher-training oriented program.[7]

If all was not well with Boston and Clarksdale at the end of Spring Term, Jersey City and Chicago were surging ahead, and the California sites were attracting growing numbers of students. The Bailins had given the Jersey City program respectability in the Bergen-Lafayette neighborhood, and a record number of 44 students served as Interns during winter and spring of 1971.

In Chicago, Interns continued to work in Senn High School during the day, the McCormick Boys Club in the afternoon and tutor in the evenings at the Freed Residence. The program was well accepted, each pair of Interns having been introduced on the floor of City Council by Mayor Daley himself.[8] In the fall, the number of Chicago Interns doubled, and another high school, Kelvyn Park, and the Logan Square Boys Club would be utilized also.

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[7]"Fact Sheet on the Clarksdale Internship", Dartmouth College, May 1971, (Mimeographed).

[8]Mayor Daley had been made aware of Dartmouth's involvement in Chicago during the winter of 1971 when a Tucker Intern working at Senn High School stepped between two gang leaders who had drawn switch blades in the school's main corridor and averted a potential fight which could have involved hundreds of members of both gangs. After the incident occured, Daley showed his appreciation by introducing Dartmouth Interns each term to the City Council.

Student Support for Internships

During the Spring Term a group of Dartmouth students conducted a survey for a Sociology Course on the Tucker Intern programs. A questionnaire was designed to probe into a number of areas. Primary concerns of the study were:

1. to determine the level of awareness and degree of knowledge about the Tucker Foundation and its programs.

2. to determine if there existed basic philosophical or personality differences between students who participate and those who do not.

3. to determine the reasons why students participate and why others do not.

4. to determine the image of the Tucker Foundation.

A random sample of 1,325 questionnaires were sent to both undergraduates, and graduate students. There were 504 completed questionnaires returned and the following conclusions drawn from the data:

With respect to the issue of the level of awareness and knowledge about the Tucker Foundation and its programs:

1. Among the undergraduate body, the level of awareness was high except for a few programs, but the level of perceived knowledge could be significantly higher for most all programs.

2. The level of awareness and knowledge within the graduate schools was extremely low.

3. The level of knowledge concerning the programs within the undergraduate school increased from the freshmen to the senior classes.

Concerning the philosophical and personality differences between students who participated and those who did not:

1. Participants and intended participants were more conscious of and involved in social issues.

2. Participants and intended participants more strongly preferred to see the College actively involved in social issues than did non-participants.

On the issue of why students participate or do not participate in the program:

1. The primary reasons for participation were to apply what one has learned in school and to work with people.

2. Non-participants generally did not have negative feelings about the Tucker Foundation, but had other campus conflicts which prohibited their participation, or they felt they could not afford the loss of an academic term.

3. Athletic participation did not hinder participation, and participants and intended participants revealed a more favorable attitude toward athletics than did non-participants.

4. Professors were not a source of discouragement to non-participants.

The responses to the question on the image of the Tucker Foundation itself showed the following:

1. The image was generally favorable among the student body though, as can be expected, this impression was not crystal clear.

2. Most respondents feel the Foundation was a definite asset of the College and that students benefited from participation.[9]

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[9] "Questionnaire and Analysis of Tucker Intern Program", Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., May 1971, (Typewritten).

The positive image which was held by students, however, was not supported by large numbers of faculty and administrative officers at the College. Fear that a liberal arts education was being diluted by credit bearing experiences which were vocational in nature, was expressed by many. Not only were the credit and vocational problems widely discussed, there were other more subtle criticisms which were noted. These ranged from the feeling on the part of older faculty members that it was not appropriate for Dartmouth gentlemen to go slumming, to the unease connected with having Dartmouth men working with small children. This later anxiety even surfaced among members of the Tucker Foundation, and there were discussions (although never any actual policy stated), about the advisability of placing Tucker Interns only in high schools. "The image of the aggressive Dartmouth male might possibly be tarnished by too much contact with little kids," said one Foundation Staff person who was critical of this stance. "You could go down there and help Blacks; that was okay, because it was a tough, man's problem, and it was even alright to show compassion in doing so, but not through working with elementary school kids. That's the stuff that women had always done."[10]

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[10]Interview with Dartmouth administrator, Hanover, N.H., October 1975.

As student support grew, faculty criticism grew also, almost as if in response to the popularity among students for these programs. Faculty members who had been trained in traditional academic disciplines were alarmed at what they viewed as erosion of something they deeply believed in: that academic learning should stress the development of cognitive skills. It was clear that because Internships took large numbers of students out of classrooms, libraries, laboratories, and direct faculty scrutiny, the program was a threatening one.

Continuing Credit Problems - Fall, 1971

Fall of 1971 began with forty Interns at six sites - ABC, Jersey City, Compton, Richmond, Chicago and Kicking Horse. The North Country Internship had been abandoned, and Dave Bonga was the lone Intern in Montana, with the hope that several others would follow in future terms. Since no faculty were present at Kicking Horse, and it was not part of the 52-72 Project, a three credit reduction was to be awarded for the Internship.

There had been several attempts made at establishing relationships with departments other than Education, in order that more academic departments be brought into the Internship Program. The results were unsuccessful. For several terms, the Sociology Department had awarded independent study credits to some students who had made arrange-

ments prior to going to Jersey City, but this was the only way students had gained credit outside the Education Department.

A memo to Dean Dey from an ex-Clarksdale Intern noted that:

> Given the aims and scope of the Tucker Internship, it seems strange that the Education Department alone should grant credit for internships. Having been a part of an internship experience, and now having had the time to reflect on the whole experience, I can understand why members of the Education Department would be reluctant to grant full term-credit for an Internship. How indeed does one objectively evaluate another's experience and put a grade on it? As things stand now, credit is granted on the basis of teacher's evaluation of an Intern's class preparation and performance; on body count attendance at the Faculty seminars which pass for orientation; and on the reports and readings which, because the Education Department grants the credits, tend to deal only with the educational (that is classroom) part of the Internship. Personal experiences usually find their way into the reports, but as non-sequitor observations rather than a "study (of) those issues which will confront them through out their lifetimes."
> I realize I speak mainly from my experience in the Clarksdale program, but from what I have seen of materials from other projects, I suspect that what I say is probably uniformly the rule.[11]

Even the Education Department was beginning to rethink the blanket offering of credit for all Tucker Internships. Since support for more faculty members to supervise Interns was not forth coming from the Dean of the Faculty's office,

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[11]Former Clarksdale Intern, letter to Charles Dey, Hanover, N.H., October 1971, (Typewritten).

Campbell was reluctant to further extend the department's staff. In a memo to Roy Keith, he wrote:

> The key to my reservations comes from a meeting yesterday with Dean Smith (Dean of the Social Sciences Faculty) about the matter of staffing for education department enrollments which can only be called unsatisfactory. I gained no sense that the College wishes to commit staff for the projects, both on and off campus, already going on. Indeed the Dean's office took a position on the issue that it had argued against only a month ago. Because of this kind of uncertainty I believe we are not now in a position to make new commitments.[12]

And finally, in 1971, a re-structuring in the top level of administration in the College found the Dean of the Tucker Foundation reporting for the first time to a Vice President rather than the President. Dey recalled in a Stewardship report written for the years 1967-1971, that when President Dickey and the Board of Trustees had chartered the Tucker Foundation, it was stated explicitly that the Dean was accountable only to the President and to the Board of Trustees. The Dean was to report to a Vice President from hence forth and for the first time the Tucker Foundation was listed in the College directory under "Student Services".

Dean Dey took a Sabbatical during the 1971-72 academic year to do a study on the Dartmouth activists of the 60's. His intention was to determine where they were, what they

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[12]Donald Campbell, memo to Roy Keith, Dartmouth College, October 1971, (Typewritten).

were doing and how they now felt about the part each had played during those years. In his absence, Paul Rahmeier served as both the Acting Dean and the College Chaplain. Roy Keith had resigned from his job as Director of Tucker Interns, but was appointed an Assistant Dean of the College, and thus had to divide his responsibilities equally between the Education Department and the Dean's office. John Mitman, an Episcopal priest, replaced Keith as Director of Tucker Interns on a full time basis.

Chicago, 52-72 Project Terminates - Winter, 1972

Six Intern sites were in operation during the winter of 1972, in Jersey City, Compton, Chicago, Kicking Horse, the ABC projects and in the East Bay area of San Francisco. (East Bay now included Oakland as well as Richmond). All were holding up well, although recruiting for Internships was no longer the easy job it had once been. There were fewer applicants for each site and a more rigorous enlistment program had been instituted.

In Jersey City, several alumni who had once served as Interns took permanent teaching positions in the schools where they had worked as undergraduates, and provided a support system for each group of new students while they usually lived in apartments close to the Whiton Street residence. They took their evening meal at the learning center with the Interns. This phenomenon was happening at

the Chicago site also, and growing numbers of ex-Interns were returning either after graduation or on leave terms to work again with the people and projects which had constituted the core of their Internship.

In Chicago, Fred Chivers had been idenfitied as a Field Supervisor, and found placements and housing for students in addition to supervising and evaluating their work.

In the fall of 1972, Dan Lindley left the Education Department at Dartmouth and accepted a position at the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle Campus. From there he acted as the on-site faculty person by virtue of an adjunct appointment, assisting Fred Chivers with the Chicago program. This arrangement satisfied the requirement for a Dartmouth on-site faculty member.

During the winter of 1972, Rahmeier wrote to Father Williams in Compton regarding the future of the Compton program. Brunetta Wolfman's weekly visits were no longer considered to be "adequate faculty supervision", and consultations by Rahmeier with various members of the faculty and administration had persuaded him that there was no chance of appointing another member of the faculty in Southern California. Therefore, continuing the program with academic credit was no longer an option. Rahmeier told Father Williams that there were in fact just two options open in Compton:

1. Either you or we could decide that an Internship without academic credit is not worthy of our support. You could--or we could--decide to drink a toast to happy memories and close the program with as much grace and style as possible.

2. We would convert the Internship to a voluntary program, in which Interns would do precisely the same work in the schools and community they presently do, but would receive no academic credit. If we chose this option, interns would not be required to pay tuition to Dartmouth. Indeed, they would be using one of their "leave" terms to serve as a Tucker Intern in St. Martin's Parish. They would be volunteers, subject to no academic requirements, but responsible to you and the other community leaders who work with you in directing this program. We at the Tucker Foundation would of course, continue to be deeply interested in the activities of these Interns and would want to offer as much support as possible. We would do our best to recruit a full complement of interns, but do not know how many students are seeking this kind of volunteer experience.[13]

Father Williams response was a desire to continue with a smaller group of students under the second option. Brunetta Wolfman meanwhile, had moved from California to New Hampshire to begin her new duties as Assistant Dean of the Faculty, a position which had been offered her during the previous year. Her replacement to supervise the East Bay Interns was Ethel Ruymaker, who had been appointed an Assistant Professor of Education at Dartmouth to live and work in Oakland, thus making possible the continuation of the East Bay program.

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[13]Paul Rahmeier, letter to Father Williams, Dartmouth College, January 1972, (Typewritten).

In discussing the idea of a Compton no-credit Internship, Rahmeier said:

> "With luck, we hope to find strong candidates for this Internship (for Fall '72). As is always the case, however, we are having an exceedingly difficult time recruiting candidates for the Fall Term. This applies to all Internships, not simply California. At the present time we have approximately 30 candidates for 50 positions.[14]

By summer, it was clear that students were unwilling to go to Compton without earning credit, although a recruitment program for a new Compton project was launched. Spring of 1972 then, became the last term for the Compton Internship.

The month of June found the Class of 1952 convening for their twentieth reunion and 72's graduating. The 52-72 Project terminated as planned, but both Chicago and East Bay, two of the original 52-72 sites, were continuing because Dartmouth Faculty at both locations were there to supervise the student's experiences.

Recruitment Difficulties - Spring, 1972

When Paul Rahmeier stated in his memo to Father Williams at the Compton site that there was difficulty in recruiting Interns, he was referring to a fairly recent phenomenon. The winter term of 1971 had seen the largest number of students applying for Internships, but with 20% of these candi-

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[14] Ibid.

dates not selected for placement. This was largely due to the fact that there were not enough spaces to accomodate everyone who applied. By the fall of 1971 however, just two terms later, the number of applicants was less than half of the winter number, and by the spring of 1972, when Rahmeier's letter was written, spaces in all Internships were not filled, and the total number of Interns was the smallest it had been in four years, when the program was emerging.

Most faculty members at Dartmouth viewed this decline as a function of the changing times, but more specifically as a loss of guilt on the part of students. One humanities professor said, "Originally many Interns were propelled by a sense of guilt which they assuaged by going off to Jersey City, or Kicking Horse, or Chicago or wherever. When the guilt vanished, the programs began to vanish also."[15]

There were several reasons which faculty and administrators at Dartmouth felt were responsible for the "vanishing guilt" which was being witnessed at Dartmouth. One reason concerned the climate nation-wide, which was becoming less active and more passive as the war wound down and the energy level for protest activities of any kind lowered. A second set of reasons centered on the realization that

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[15]Interview with Dartmouth faculty member, Hanover, N.H., October 1975.

middle class students were incapable of making an impact in a ghetto situation during a three month period of time. Moreover, it was becoming less and less legitimate for Whites to enter Black peoples' lives with the intent of either offering services or effecting change. Another reason was that the College itself was sending out signals that Tucker Internships were not important. The political battles over credit arrangements and the Education Department's role in the program were not lost to students, who were beginning to feel pressure from within their major departments not to spend a term in this way. Thus, Rahmeier's letter to Father Williams indicated recognition on the part of the Foundation of the changing mood at Dartmouth, and the implications of this for the recruitment of Tucker Interns.

Fall of 1972 brought a major change to the Dartmouth campus. The Trustees had voted the previous year to institute coeducation in conjunction with year round operation of the College. Three hundred women including Freshmen and transfers were now attending the College as matriculated students, and the College switched from a trimester system to a quarter system, with summer a full-parity term. Students were required to spend at least one summer on campus and at least one fall, winter or spring term away. During any given term one thousand students were off campus.

Although the number of off-campus programs subsequently increased, most students needed to earn either money

or credit during a leave term, two commodities the Foundation was finding scarce. The three credit reduction was no longer an option, since all students had been given a three credit reduction with the implementation of year round operation. Only 33 credits were now required for graduation. Kicking Horse became a leave term option which continued to attract Interns because of the geographic location and general charismatic image of the Internship. Although offering no credit or pay, board and room were provided by the Job Corps Training Center and this alone was enough inducement for many students.

New Director in Jersey City

In Jersey City, the Bailins had left the Learning Center and were replaced by Earl Byrd, a former instructor at St. Peter's College and a friend of the Bailins. Jackie Lockerman was appointed as a half time faculty person in the Education Department to supervise and grade the Interns. Byrd had been a life long resident of Jersey City and had children who attended All Saints School, across the street from the Learning Center. He was well known and respected in the city's Black community due to his wide range of civic involvements.

Bailin had come under enormous pressure from the Education Department to resign, and had finally done so. According to Campbell, Bailin's concern with community involvement

rather than school projects caused the Education Department to have to constantly justify to the Dean of Faculty's office their involvement with the program. According to Campbell, when two members of the Education Department visited Jersey City, "They came back with the report that nobody was doing anything in the schools down there. That is, students were in the schools, but nobody was helping them do anything and they were floundering. They were probably teaching the wrong things under the guise of doing some teaching - there was no focus...Bailin was the supervisor but it turned out later that he did not understand that he was. We pay supervisors; we don't pay community organizers - that's some other department."[16]

In addition to surmounting the constant hassles with the Education Department, the Dean of Faculty's office and the College in general, Bailin also felt that the Learning Center should have a director who was from Jersey City and who knew and understood first hand the problems of the community. Although the neighborhood adults and children had come to accept and welcome the Dartmouth students who lived and worked at the Center each term, Bailin felt hampered because he was not a native. The necessary cooperation from the Jersey City School Board and City Hall officials to

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[16]Interview with Donald Campbell, Hanover, N.H., August 1974.

implement programs was withheld because Bailin lacked the proper connections in a city which was extremely political. Although Foundation members felt that Bailin's leaving the Center would be a loss to Dartmouth students, there was hope that Earl Byrd would provide the necessary connections for extracting support from the city.

Dean Dey Resigns, Green Report Issued - Fall, 1972

The faculty recommendation that Tucker Intern sites be reduced to three had finally become a reality in the fall of 1972, although the original choice of Compton as one of these had been replaced by the East Bay Internship. In addition to the California site, Jersey City and Chicago were holding their own with strong programs at each. The ABC programs were experiencing a drop in participation, but Kicking Horse was growing. Both of these two sites were considered outside the "limit of three" since ABC Interns were supervised by Education Faculty locally, and Kicking Horse was a non-credit Internship.

Dean Dey had returned after his one year sabbatical to announce that he would resign from the position of Dean of the Tucker Foundation as of July 1, 1973, to become the Headmaster of the Choate - Rosemary Hall Boarding Schools. A new Dean was to be appointed within the year.

During the winter and spring months of 1973, the Tucker Council had met to review the current activities of

the Tucker Foundation in order to understand these activities, and thus, better advise the new Dean of the Foundation. Their paper, issued at the end of spring term and labeled "The Green Report"[17] after Ronald Green, President of the Tucker Council, covered a wide range of Foundation activities.

The following statement was made:

> Many of the Foundation's activities are now experiencing, or will soon experience, difficulties associated with a changed national mood and a troubled economy. The Internship programs have already noted a decline in student enrollment partly attributable to the more inward focus of students over the past few years and to their lesser concern---or, perhaps, disenchantment---with activist programs of social reform. This decline is likely to be accentuated by the advent of the Dartmouth Plan and the reduced course requirement for graduation which together leave students with less time for Internship-type programs. Diminished enrollments will force Foundation programs to consider their priorities for the allocation of scarce student manpower.
>
> A second set of difficulties is raised by the Foundation's collaboration with the Department of Education. This department is presently under faculty review, and its uncertain future jeopardizes all those Foundation programs which rely upon it for academic credit. As things now stand, some programs depend significantly upon the Department of Education's ability and willingness to commit its resources. We realize that this relationship resulted partly from the unwillingness of other departments to cooperate with Foundation programs. Nevertheless, until bridges are constructed to other departments, a number of programs and activities of the Foundation will remain in jeopardy.

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[17]"An Assessment Report of the Tucker Council", Dartmouth College, May 1973, (Mimeographed).

In a specific review of the Tucker Intern Program, the Green Report stated:

> This program perhaps suffers most acutely and directly from the relative decline in student social concern and from the competition of the Dartmouth Plan and other activities. It would seem, therefore, that some decisions concerning priorities will have to be made. Specifically, it may be asked whether Dartmouth should continue active involvement in the Chicago area where the earlier Foundation Years basis of the program has withered. The same kind of question may be asked of Kicking Horse, Montana. Here a decision must be made over whether Dartmouth's commitment to the education of Native Americans is to be vigorously implemented in this setting or pursued elsewhere and in, possibly, a different way. Decisions concerning these programs are required not merely for economic or manpower reasons. What is at stake is the vigor and integrity of the Internship idea. Weak links in a program debilitate the program as a whole. As far as this larger Internship program is concerned, it seems in its basic conception to meet the criteria for a Foundation activity well. It may be asked, however, whether the California sites, however attractive they may be to some students, really merit Dartmouth's concern. With desperate problems identifiable in the local area, it seems subversive of Dartmouth's moral commitment to neglect them partly in order to furnish undergraduates with an opportunity for travel. What must be clearly demonstrated, if this distant specific program is to continue is that it furnish the Foundation with an opportunity for service and students with a quality of educational experience not available in the New England region.

The report on Jersey City was as follows:

> The Council feels that Jersey City is presently one of the strongest aspects of the Foundation's entire program. Jersey City represents a unique opportunity. As a rural institution, Dartmouth requires some kind of involvement with the inner city where so many of the nation's problems are evident. In view of the planned investment of funds in Jersey City of the Port of New York Authority and others, the area represents an ideal selection for this involvement.

> After some reverses, the Foundation has managed to orient itself successfully to the needs and demands of the local community. In keeping with the dynamics of such a situation, a good deal of control of Dartmouth's involvement has been turned over, in one way or another, to that community. This is appropriate.
>
> If there are any weaknesses in the present program, they have to do with the education focus of the involvement. Lack of full-time commitment by education faculty has generated some complaints among Interns. In addition to this, the Intern's experience of the community has necessarily been limited by this focus. The Jersey City program might be substantially enchanced by the development of the alternate kinds of public service Internships discussed above, and by connection with other Dartmouth departments and programs.

In making recommendations for the future of existing programs, the Green Report, among other suggestions, recommended:

> The tightening up of the total Intern program to eliminate those specific programs which do not adequately express Foundation aims or which do not carry their own weight in terms of administrative time or student involvement. The development and coordination of effort with other departments should also be extended.
>
> The maintenance and strengthening of the Jersey City program and the use of this program to facilitate alternate kinds of student involvement in this inner city setting.

During the summer, a decision was made by the Education Department not to extend Dan Lindley's contract or to replace Lindley with another faculty supervisor, and the Chicago program was terminated. Few students were on campus when this announcement was made, and although several ex-Chicago Interns wrote letters of protest to President Kemeny,

Chicago was not an Intern site after Spring of 1973.

The Education Study Committee Report - 1973

An Education Study Committee was appointed during the winter of 1973 to define the role of the Education Department in relation to the College, and to make suggestions as to the future of the Department. Chaired by the Assistant Dean of the Faculty, Brunetta Wolfman, the group made several recommendations, including two which were of importance to the Tucker Foundation.[18]

1. Education should no longer be a Department but an academic program called Educational Studies and should be a member of the Council of Special Programs.

2. All Education courses, their administration, and staff should be the sole responsibility of the Educational Studies Program; furthermore, in order to facilitate their supervision, all practice teaching courses should be at sites within easy commuting distance of Hanover.

In further elaboration of the group's findings the report stated that:

> We found no unanimous conviction within the Department that distant Intern sites were essential, or much indication that its on-campus members would be interested in directing any of the present off-campus programs.

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[18] "Report of the Education Study Committee", Dartmouth College, April 1973, (Mimeographed).

The Committee also noted that:

> The Department has little relationship to the rest of the campus and does not communicate with those faculty members in other departments who are teaching courses which qualify for teacher certification. A partial explanation for this isolation might be attributed to the indifference of the Dartmouth faculty. But there has been little effort by the Department of Education to involve other faculty in discussing issues of common concern. The Department's lack of an organized approach to the supervision of student teachers and poor communication with the local teaching sites and their Master Teachers concerns the Committee. This seems to be the result of poor administrative practices.
>
> There is a group of students on the campus who have developed a loyalty to the Education Department for two reasons: the convenient courses and practice teaching which lead to a teacher certificate; and the warm, individualized concern of some of the faculty members in the Department. The Study Committee was impressed by the expressions of loyalty and interest generally shown by the student informants.
>
> We found evidence of a continuing suspicion among the faculty member of Arts and Sciences that the Department has graded its courses too loosely and generously--a suspicion partly supported by the figures to be found in Appendix C. The Study Committee did not try to investigate current practices in the Department, but we do note the general concern over "grade inflation" in making our recommendations for off-campus courses, practice teaching supervision, and an interdisciplinary program which would have strong connections with academic departments.

And finally in direct reference to the Tucker Internship program the report said:

> Other than independent study arrangements between individual faculty and students, the Study Committee strongly recommends that the Education Department free itself of its course credit arrangements through the Tucker Foundation; these tend to be redundant and economically wasteful. The Tucker

> Foundation would then be free to undertake new programs, but the total responsibility for any recruitment, orientation, placement, supervision, and evaluation of teachers would remain with the Education faculty. Independence would force the Education faculty to have closer control over its own program, being guided not by "consumerism" but by sound academic principles.

Don Campbell resigned as Chairman of the Education Department shortly after the Wolfman report was issued and Bill Smith, Dean of the Social Sciences Faculty, became the Acting Chairman for the 73-74 academic year.

Brunetta Wolfman, who engineered the report which leveled heavy criticism against the Education Department and called for its demotion from a Department to an academic program, was, of course, a member of that Department herself just two years previously. Since Campbell had hired her for the position in Education, the report was a blow he was totally unprepared for. The result was the complete breakdown of any means of rational communication between the Education Department and the Dean of Faculty's office.

During the summer term Paul Rahmeier again assumed responsibilities as interim Dean of the Tucker Foundation following Dey's resignation, since a new Dean had not been appointed. Recruitment for this position was a top Foundation priority for the coming year.

The Beginning of the End - 1974

In the fall of 1974, only 18 Tucker Interns were in the field; four were at ABC projects, four were in Jersey City, seven were at the East Bay site and three were in Montana. A new program of individualized leave term experiences which paid a stipend, but would not be undertaken for credit, had been initiated. These were called Tucker Fellowships and were administered out of the Intern office. John Mitman now became the Director of Interns and Fellows and Joanna Sternick was hired as the Assistant Director of the joint program.

With the small number of students serving as Interns in Jersey City and the increasing number of personnel working at the Jersey City Learning Center (plus the continued expenditure of large amounts of money at that site), it became clear that the Foundation needed to consider the long-term future of the Center. In the fall of 1973, Paul Rahmeier met with Earl Byrd, the Center's Director, to work out possible ways whereby the Learning Center could attain greater independence from Dartmouth. In a memo from Rahmeier to Vice President Kreider, the Acting Dean stated three reasons for taking such a step:[19]

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[19]Paul Rahmeier, memo to Donald Kreider, Dartmouth College, November 1973, (Typewritten).

1. It has always been our hope that the Learning Center would eventually come under Jersey City ownership and control. Indeed, when Earl and I were discussing his assuming the leadership of the program two years ago, we talked at length about the necessity of developing local control for the program. The primary reason for this is philosophical or ethical: long-range paternalism (or "absentee landlordism") should be avoided whenever possible.

2. Dartmouth is not in a position to maintain long-term commitments to this kind of program. The Tucker Foundation, if it is to be true to its mission, should not allow itself to develop into a static bureaucracy.

3. For better or for worse, Dartmouth undergraduate involvement in Jersey City probably hinges upon the academic component of the Tucker Internship, and that component is in serious question.

Rahmeier's specific proposal was to have St. Peter's College in Jersey City join with Dartmouth in the operation of the Learning Center, with the intention that St. Peter's in the near future could assume ultimate responsibility for the Center.

In his own words about the Center Rahmeier said:

> Many of us believe that the Jersey City program has been one of the most exciting and productive programs sponsored by the Tucker Foundation in recent years. The Learning Center is important to the students, families, and teachers of that neighborhood. I firmly believe that the steps we are trying to take in Jersey City will guarantee, insofar as possible, the continuing vitality of the Learning Center.

Two newly appointed members of the Education Department visited the Jersey City site early in the winter of 1974 and supported the idea of allowing Dartmouth students to

work in the City's schools, receiving St. Peter's credits and transferring those credits back to Dartmouth. However, the Acting Chairman of the Education Department, Bill Smith, informed Rahmeier in February that the Department of Education had discussed the idea and had concluded that it could not recommend acceptance of transfer credit in Education from St. Peter's College on a programmatic basis. Thus in a letter to Smith, Rahmeier suggested the following alternative:[20]

> Allow us to develop the design described earlier, permitting any Dartmouth undergraduate in good academic standing to participate in a Tucker Internship in Jersey City and transfer Education credits from Saint Peter's to Dartmouth, for the academic year 1974-75, on a trial basis. Within a few months, presumably, you will have identified a new Chairman of the Department of Education, and a new Dean of the Tucker Foundation will have been announced. At this point in time, let's keep options open for them, and allow them to make their own best judgments about the Jersey City Internship during the course of next year. In the meantime, we can gradually involve Saint Peter's College in the leadership of the Learning Center, so that--if the new leadership at Dartmouth deems it appropriate--the transfer of ultimate responsibility for the Learning Center from Dartmouth to Saint Peter's can be accomplished more smoothly and effectively.

A decision was ultimately made not to involve St. Peter's College but to allow Dartmouth Education credits to be awarded for the Jersey City Internship for one more year, in order to allow the new Dean of the Foundation and the new

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[20]Paul Rahmeier, letter to William Smith, Dartmouth College, February 1974, (Typewritten).

Education Department Chairperson to work out suitable arrangements. It was also decided that Jackie Lockerman would be retained as a half time faculty person in Jersey City and that at the same time Ethel Ruymaker's contract (East Bay) would not be renewed, and thus to terminate the Oakland-Richmond program which she supervised as the faculty on-site person.

New Foundation Personnel

While these discussions were being held and arrangements worked out for the 74-75 academic year, John Mitman resigned from his position as Director of Interns and Fellows and Joanna Sternick took over this position.

Several other administrative posts at the Foundation also changed hands. Paul Rahmeier left to become the Headmaster at the Northfield Mt. Hermon School, Richard Fox moved to a new position within the College, and a new Dean of the Foundation was identified.

Warner Traynham, who had graduated from Dartmouth in 1957 was appointed new Dean of the Tucker Foundation, and with this appointment also became the College's highest ranking Black officer. His previous position had been at the Boston Theological Seminary where he was the Director of Black Studies.

Traynham's first piece of business was to re-evaluate the Jersey City program and subsequently make the decision

that Jersey City should not be phased out, but that the Center as a site for service-learning Internships and personal growth experience would continue. He asked the Dean of the Faculty to appoint an ad hoc committee to consider the future of the Tucker Internship Programs, and he also resurrected the East Bay program for two more terms, rehiring Ethel Ruymaker as faculty supervisor. Since both Jersey City and East Bay would carry no Education Department credit at the end of the 1974-1975 academic year, any suggestions this committee could make would not hurt the program.

The group met throughout the fall months, issuing its reports just before Christmas. The option it offered as an alternative to the extinction of the Internship program was to establish a new Tucker Community Service Fellowship Program.[21]

> We have concluded that the most promising alternative would be to establish a non-credit student fellowship field program for a two-year experimental period. We believe such a program should provide student participants with room and board, plus a modest stipend along the lines of the Public Affairs Center Internship program. Assuming ten students were awarded fellowships for three terms (fall, winter, spring) during each academic year, the program would involve a total of 30 students per year at a cost of approximately $35,000 to $30,000 per year. President Kemeny has indicated the possibility of providing $20,000 per year for a two-year trial period is a reasonable one.

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[21]"Report of the Ad-hoc Committee on Tucker Internship Programs", Dartmouth College, December 1974, (Typewritten).

> If such a Fellowship Program were initiated, it would provide maximum opportunity for experimentation, since it would be flexible enough to allow student participants with different academic backgrounds and interests to be assigned to a variety of community projects in fields such as public health, mental health, community organization, welfare administration, education and the like. In addition, the Tucker Foundation could work out arrangements with faculty from different departments and programs in the Arts and Sciences and Professional School levels to make occasional, short-duration visits to field sites to conduct evaluation seminars and discussions with the student participants if this proved to be desirable.

Although Jersey City was not specifically mentioned in the report, the money provided would be enough for only one site and it was clear that the commitment to that city from Dartmouth was a long standing one which would not be terminated now.

The winter term of 1975 was the last one for the East Bay Internship since a large enough number had not been recruited for spring term. Ethel Ruymaker's term by term contract was not renewed and the Tucker Internship Program, with the exception of Kicking Horse, had revolved back to its status of 1967, with a single Intern site in Jersey City. The difference, of course, was that no academic credit was offered for even this one existing Internship.

Internships for Credit Phased Out

A program which had virtually sprung up overnight and shortly found itself enrolling one tenth of the student population at Dartmouth had died, almost as quickly as it

began. For seven years its impact on the Ivy League campus was felt by faculty, administrators, students and even alumni who for the most part were either passionately in favor of its continuance or violently opposed to its very existence. Few remained neutral.

The success or failure aspect of the program was rarely argued, however, for even those who represented its severest critics were unable to point to even a few students who found their experiences as Tucker Interns less than rewarding. From faculty and administrators came the following comments:[22]

> Did it fail? Absolutely not! The learning experience those students had was always more powerful than the superficial reasons they gave for going. Their guilt was valid because they saw first hand that things were not only bad, they were worse than they ever could have imagined.
>
> There was an anti-intellectualism to the way the programs were presented but I could never say they failed. They succeeded admirably, as a matter of fact, because they did for students exactly what they stated that they would - showed them how really ugly life was for many Americans.
>
> The Foundation played a crucial role during the late 60's and early 70's and without those programs the College might have had to deal with a lot of real trouble. Those Internships were successful and I don't think anybody, no matter what side of the fence they were on could say otherwise.
>
> Tremendously successful. Best thing Dartmouth College has ever done.

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[22]Interviews with Dartmouth faculty members and administrators, Hanover, N.H., September-November 1975.

> It was such a radical thing for an Ivy School to do, and it worked. Those experiences led to changed people. Their consciences will always bother them and the things that happened to them as Interns will always stay with them.
>
> You could never say those programs failed. They provided an outlet for students who needed this in their education, and lots of them did.
>
> The best thing was that they learned so much about themselves. They'll go on to be vice presidents of this and that and not forget their Intern experience ever.
>
> An out right success. Those kids who participated got a handle on their lives and on who they were.
>
> Well I always looked at it with a jaundiced eye and so did most of my colleagues but the students who came back really got something out of it. So I'd have to say it was a good thing. Too bad it got out of hand with the credit business.

From members of the Foundation Staff, as one would expect, reactions were extremely favorable.

> Well, what can I say, it was fantastic. I don't know whether it was preselection of students or what, but the feelings of accomplishment we all got were enormous.
>
> I will never be in another work experience with people who gave so much so intensely.
>
> The best part of the job was when those students came back and they told you about what had happened to them. They were so turned on you couldn't help but feel the world was going to be an alright place with them running it.

One of the growing concerns with which the Foundation had to cope was the enthusiasm returning Interns brought back to the Hanover Campus because faculty were extremely critical of this anti-intellectual excitement. For most

students, the Intern term was a frustrating and difficult one filled with tension, anxiety, and often unhappiness. Nonetheless the total impact was an overwhelming one which students wanted to share with others, particularly their peers, in order for more Dartmouth students to experience what they themselves had lived through. A sampling of comments from the journals of Interns at different sites from 1967 through 1973 follows:[23]

> I find it very difficult to express all that the Compton program meant to me. I can say, however, that this short two month period is one of the most important experiences of my life. I learned more in April and May than could ever be listed in a course guide. To see children learn, to work with them, to understand their way of life and to see their interest grow in your own is to say the least, an enriching experience. This human education is a necessary compliment to the scholarly pursuits of Hanover.

> It is a wonderful paradox that the most satisfying, stimulating, and fulfilling term of my Dartmouth experience was not spent on the Hanover Campus at all. For the past two and one half months I have learned and taught, participated and provoked in the distinctly different culture of Brasstown, North Carolina.

> This has been an immensely valuable experience for me. There's no other way I could have learned the things I did here. I hope the kids I came in contact with will be able to use some of the things I taught them. I am positive I will use what I learned here for years to come.

> I devoured books and traded ideas to satisfy, not deadlines, but my own curiosity. I did

[23]Comments from Tucker Interns' journals and papers, Dartmouth College, 1969-1974.

more reading than I had ever expected, did more self-evaluation and critical thinking than during any campus term. And for once I found an unpressured desire to keep on going. This is what Chicago did for me.

Finally, I felt like I was involved in something worwhile, not academic trivia. This was a very positive asset to a complete Dartmouth education.

I never felt that I was "helping" for I was unprepared and our stay was far too short. Yet it was satisfying in that it was a personal confrontation with reality.

In the protection of an academic environment, I found myself, as well as most others, generalizing about a remote situation, proposing solutions which took into account no notions of personal concern. I was concerned about the racial and urban problems, but from a very detached, impersonal point of view. My concern was with "the ghetto" and "the Negro" - not with Wilmington Avenue or 132nd Street, or Frank Price or Charles Kelly. My only contact with racial issues was in the form of a late-night fraternity bull session, the Black Arts Festival, speakers such as Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick, and an occasional Afro-American Society symposium. But, in the remoteness of Hanover, New Rochelle, Beverly Hills - anyplace outside the ghetto is remote - one learns very little that applies to reality. To have a feeling of true understanding, one must walk down 103rd Street and see the burned-out buildings still standing; one must be cornered by a gang of hoodlums out to get whitey's billfold to pay for a bottle of rotgut whiskey; and one must play basketball with a group of sixth-grade Negro boys. It is only with personal involvement that one can hope to understand and to solve this pressing social crisis. And for the opportunity to at least approach this knowledge, I am grateful.

"Where you going when you graduate from All Saints, Simon?"

"Don't really matter much...I ain't going' to wander far...no place to go really..."

> "Mr. Kimball, it's funny, but I couldn't leave this place. My people and my friends are here...It's kind of a dump but everything I know is here...as bad as it is, I just wouldn't feel right if I wasn't livin' in Jersey City."
>
> The words hung in the air like a foul odor. They permeated the atmosphere; I breathed them in. No escape. I could feel their grime stick to my skin and clog my pores. "As bad as it is, I just wouldn't feel right if I wasn't living in Jersey City." I lay awake that night pondering the depth of this statement--an absolute acceptance of a monstrous environment. In deep sadness I thought of all the people and my inability to cope with this hopelessness. Somewhere in the minds of the young slept a kernel of hope and ambition that had to be awakened. Miserably, I reviewed my futile efforts to jolt the children from their stupor. Then, leaving only a tattered rank book and a promise to return, I sought to escape before I was engulfed.

The Tucker Intern Program represented so sharp a deviation from the traditional academic offerings at Dartmouth College, one would be hard pressed to explain its creation without understanding well the times from which it sprang. No other college or university in the country invested so heavily in the life of the inner city through student participation from such a geographic distance as did Dartmouth. And no other school supported a non-violent activist program of such magnitude for academic credit as did the Hanover institution. Most faculty and administrators agreed in 1975 that the political and social conditions which spawned the program would probably never again be present or capable of launching a similar undertaking.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Review of the Research Purpose

Historical analysis of a single happening or phenomenon provides a substitute for actual experience and an opportunity to learn vicariously. George Gallup stated that, "Each new generation stands on the shoulders of the last in respect to knowledge. But wisdom is more than knowledge--it is the distillation of man's whole experience."[1]

The wisdom gleaned from this particular case study and the learning which comes from it are closely tied to the purpose of the research. The purpose of this study has been to examine in-depth the history of an unusual academic program, in order to better understand ideas about change in a liberal society and at an elite liberal institution of higher education. The 1960's activist period served as the backdrop for this service-learning project. Thus, an attempt has been made to further comprehend the complexities of social and political change during times which fostered swift and often violent alterations in behavior and attitudes.

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[1]George Gallup, <u>The Miracle Ahead</u>, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 86.

A review of the literature pertaining to the period of unrest indicates that the times spawned an unusual amount of social and political activity at many solidly respectable schools by outstanding students. According to the literature,[2] the reasons for this activity, both violent and non-violent, included the war in Vietnam, the permissiveness of parents, the hypocrisy of the older generation, the over abundance of wealth in our society and a feeling that much of the academic work required at institutions of higher education was unrelated to problems in the larger society.[3] The present study shows that guilt also played a large part in student decisions to become socially and politically active.

This activity of the late 1960's was met with a large degree of resistance from those Americans who were unable to comprehend the rapid changes which were taking place in the country by ever increasing numbers of people and institutions. The study of the clash between those who promoted change and those who resisted it provided a wealth of information about the nature of change at different levels.

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[2]See Chapter Two.

[3]Seymour L. Halleck, "Twelve Hypotheses of Student Unrest", in Twenty Five Years: 1945-1970, ed. G. Kerry Smith, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970).

The Nature of Change

The vast majority of all people will cling tenaciously to the status quo in some areas but not in others. Change, when it is labeled progress or growth, and is associated with the improvement or invention of material things, is usually welcomed. A new machine, which works faster or better than an older model, is quickly sold to the general public even if it costs more money or if it puts large numbers of people out of work. Similarly, new drugs, cures or treatments in the field of medicine are easily marketed, even in cases where they have not been properly tested or their true value determined. The word NEW on the packaging of items, whether machines, gadgets or medicines is often enough to sell them alone, for to be out-of-date or behind the times in these areas is undesirable.

Resistance to Change

Confusion of goals and means. Newness associated with changes in political and social forms and practices is altogether different, however. Here, time-honored respect is given even when it may not be deserved.

There seem to be several areas of resistance to change which are always observed in our society but which were particularly prevalent during the activist period of the

1960's and early 1970's.[4] There is, first of all, some confusion over goals and means which leads people to resist change. Often it is not made clear to the general public that goals can remain intact even when the means to achieve these goals are altered. Thus disruption may produce desirable end results if one has the patience to tolerate chaos until the results are achieved.

An example of this confusion of means and ends can be found in the Tucker Intern Program. The stated purpose of Dartmouth College is to educate for leadership;[5] to offer bright and talented students a superior liberal arts education so that they may assume leadership positions in later years. Although faculty members in general were not supportive of the Intern Program because it deviated so sharply from what had always been credit-worthy in the past, the program nonetheless contributed to the general goal of producing leaders. Indeed, it helped to make leaders who were sensitive and committed human beings. Large numbers of Dartmouth students who served as Tucker Interns five and six years ago and who are now in positions of responsibility in government, business and education have commented exten-

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[4]For a more thorough discussion of change and resistance to change see John Gardner's, No Easy Victories, (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

[5]Dartmouth College Catalog, Hanover, N.H., 1975.

sively on the impact of their Intern experience. The impact of their Intern experiences has made and continues to make an important difference in their professional lives. As one alumnus noted, "It's not that I think about those three months in Jersey City very much or dwell on what happened there. After all it was a long time ago. But I know that every important decision I make is somehow influenced by having lived in that subculture of American Society for a while."[6] Faculty members at the College did not perceive this ultimate result of the program. They accepted the traditional means (rigorous academic work) as the only path to the goal (the education of leaders).

Best choice of options. A second area of resistance to change arises out of the idea that the present way of doing things came about after a great deal of deliberation, careful analysis and choosing a best way from among many options. In fact, this is not generally true, for a quick look below the surface will demonstrate that most social forms arose in response to an immediate need, were the result of sheer accident or represent compromises. The lecture format, for example, the most widely used method of teaching in higher education, arose out of the tutoring method of the middle-ages in which one master of the subject

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[6]Interview with Dartmouth graduate, 1969, Hanover, N.H., December 1975.

conveyed to one student his knowledge. That this procedure is often the least desirable way to stimulate learning in a group has only recently been challenged. It remains as the most common and popular way to teach in colleges and universities today. The maxim that "it must be the best way, it's been used the longest" is believed by many and is an obvious deterrent to change.

Lack of motivation to change. Still another set of resistances to change fall into the category of lack of effort and motivation. Change requires readjustment of thinking and behavior which in turn requires time and effort. Since it is easier not to change than to change, and because leaders who advocate change are vulnerable to a great deal of criticism and scorn, suggesting a deviation from the standard form must be done carefully. People are not expected to seek or want changes in their lives. They are also not prepared for change, which makes it more difficult to accept or absorb. Often change is made mandatory by the creation of a new idea, a new way of approaching a problem or a new solution to an old problem. This indicates that someone else is thinking harder or is more creative. It is especially difficult for some academics to accept change as the result of new ideas simply because they have not been the ones to suggest the ideas in the first place. Change is thwarted when new ideas suggested by someone else are rejected.

Vested interests. The last area of resistance to change is that of vested interests. Those who have emerged victorious by playing the game using the ascribed rules are not apt to be desirous of changing those rules. No matter how faulty certain customs and forms are, retaining these practices will be the most obvious course of action for those who have been successful under them. Vested interests are even more important in old, traditional institutions where established procedures and time-honored ways are revered because of their age. In a college such as Dartmouth, certain things remain unchanged for no other reason than that changing them would challenge the advantages, privileges and authority of specific interest groups. John Gardner noted the importance of vested interests as a block to effecting change when he said,

> "As a society becomes more concerned with precedent and custom, it comes to care more about how things are done and less about whether they are done. The man who wins acclaim is not the one who "get things done" but the one who has an ingrained knowledge of the rules and accepted practices. Whether he accomplishes anything is less important than whether he conducts himself in an appropriate manner."[7]

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[7]John W. Gardner, No Easy Victories, p. 44.

Resistance to Change in Institutions of Higher Education

Thus we have learned that the resistance to change is great indeed and occurs for many reasons. Perhaps the most interesting, for the purposes of this research, is that even if logic and reason mediate for new approaches, this is no guarantee of change. Since logic and reason are the watchwords of the academy, resistance to change in the university is a curious phenomenon.

We should learn too that those institutions which favor the liberal arts (or liberating arts according to John Sloan Dickey) and which call themselves liberal are in fact quite conservative. One definition of the term liberal indicates a willingness to do things differently, to accept the new and innovative. Many of the oldest and most renowned institutions of higher education run by excellent people are not responsive to new situations, changing times or a need for a fresh challenge. Much of this attitude comes from the areas of resistance to change cited previously, but there is in addition a fear of failure if change is undertaken. When an institution rests on the laurels of two hundred years worth of achievement, the willingness to risk failure by attempting change rarely exists. If one fails, it is felt that a great deal more is lost than when a younger institution fails. Additionally, prestigious schools are not expected to fail in any area.

If and when they do, the shame (imagined or real) is far greater than at new institutions where failure is expected as a part of establishing oneself.

The College As A Place of the Mind

A characteristic of prestigious schools which also relates to change and the resistance to change, concerns the idea of what is credit-worthy. These institutions honor the traditional modes of learning in the library, laboratory or classroom which center on the use and acquisition of cognitive skills. Since this type of learning has normally been the only kind deemed worthy of academic credit, the reluctance to change is very great, not only at Dartmouth, but at other elite institutions also. Academic life has come to place a great deal of emphasis on cultivation of the intellect; on logic, reason and objectivity. The college or university, then, is fundamentally a place of the mind. The Carnegie Commission in their work on changing academic programs noted that, "...the campus must be oriented basically toward subject matter and toward mental skills. The orientation does have elements of discipline and constraint in it. But basic orientations in other directions run contrary to the inherent nature of academic life..."[8] Perhaps nowhere is this view more cherished and

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[8] Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Reform on Campus, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 32.

protected than in Ivy League institutions. When larger, newer or more egalitarian houses of learning began to flirt with and then incorporate experiential programs into their educational offerings, the elite private schools stood firm, refusing to "prostitute" themselves. For most of this latter group, altering the curriculum was never necessary because enrollments did not go down. Even in the midst of the current crisis over smaller enrollments at many schools, the number of candidates seeking admission at Ivy League schools continues to go up each year. Thus there has been no need to institute new and innovative programs with which to lure prospective candidates.

Faculty Reactions to Experiential Education

This state of affairs made the Tucker Intern Program at Dartmouth all the more unusual and significant, but explains at the same time the enormous hostility on the part of the faculty toward its very existence. Perhaps the most crucial factor governing the acceptance of experiential education in traditional colleges and universities is the attitude of the faculty toward this kind of education, and their attitude also toward their own discipline and research.

A number of fields such as medicine and engineering have always included a period of practical, field-based experience in their degree programs and this has been fully

accepted. The social sciences in following the sciences has had a more difficult time explaining the need for experiential or field work, however. While the laboratory was always seen as an integral and essential part of the science curriculum, a laboratory for the social sciences, the world outside the classroom, has not been viewed as a necessary component of learning in those disciplines.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing recognition on the part of non-science faculty that practical experience in tandem with theoretical knowledge could contribute to the learning and methodology in these fields. With this initial acceptance of experiential work, the first instinct of faculty members has been to follow the lead of their colleagues in the sciences and make students passive observers in experiential work. Gradually, the role of the student as a participant has been incorporated into field work.

Service-learning, (programs such as the Tucker Internship), by their very definition, imply participation, however, and in some ways are a separate category of field work. These programs begin with decisions about who is to be served, and how they will be served, and are clearly biased. For this reason alone, service-learning is suspect at traditional institutions and by traditional faculties.

In addressing the problem of faculty acceptance of work done in the field, Mary Ellen Quinn, in a dissertation

designed to investigate programs of an experiential nature at Michigan State University, quoted one faculty member as saying,

> "There are elements in the University that still regard learning as attending classes three hours a week and reading your homework. Also there are many in the legislature who do not think "running around town supporting Joe Blow for Congress" has anything to do with education. So we do not seek publicity. We just do it."[9]

The acceptance of non-cognitive learning for academic credit by conservative faculty members, (some of whom are present at almost every college or university), is a problem tied directly to the theories of resistance to change. For the same reasons that Congress is not eager to change the electoral process, faculty, especially senior, tenured members are opposed to altering a system which they have helped to build and maintain; which has in fact produced them.

John Gardner has argued that change should come about, "to meet the challenge of altered circumstances".[10] Change which takes place because of guilt or coercion will probably be problem-prone or will be only temporary. But "altered circumstances" are not always easy to identify and even if

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[9]Mary Ellen Quinn, "An Investigation of Undergraduate Field Study Experiences at Michigan State University", (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972), p. 81.

[10]John W. Gardner, No Easy Victories, p. 50.

they can be identified, it is important to determine whether they are short-term or lasting.

Factors Responsible for Inception of Intern Program

Mood at Dartmouth, in country. Four factors or "altered circumstances" were largely responsible for the creation of the Tucker Intern Program. The overriding one was the mood of the country, particularly at colleges and universities, during the time the program was instituted. The literature review discusses at length the essence of that mood, which found so many in the country dissatisfied with much of what American idealism has actually fostered. The collective conscience began to bother many Americans, as they witnessed a powerful and affluent nation attempting to police the world with little sensitivity toward what it was actually doing to human beings in that process.

Charles Reich, in viewing the nature of the American crisis of the late nineteen sixties, found seven areas of discontent.[11] These were:

1. Disorder, corruption, hypocrisy, war. This grouping speaks to the lawlessness and "disintegration of the social fabric" in the country, and found its greatest expression in America's continued involvement with the

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[11]Robert Reich, The Greening of America, (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 4.

Vietnam War.

2. <u>Poverty, distorted priorities and law-making by private powers</u>. Inequity in the distribution of goods and services is the primary thesis of this category. The fault lies with economic planning by a small number of private interests without assuming responsibility for the public good.

3. <u>Uncontrolled technology and the destruction of environment</u>. Reich attacks technology and production here as the twin culprits in the destruction of man's environment, both physical and psychic.

4. <u>Decline of democracy and liberty; powerlessness</u>. This area deals with the decline of democracy and the individual's inability to exercise control over his life. The pervasiveness of surveillance has led to a changed definition of liberty.

5. <u>The artificiality of work and culture</u>. Meaningless, boring and mindless work contribute to a plastic and commercialized society.

6. <u>Absence of community</u>. Loneliness and isolation have replaced affection and warmth as more and more people pay allegiance to bureaucratic organizational structures.

7. <u>Loss of self</u>. A loss of wholeness in peoples' lives as the outcome of over emphasis on professions, careers, roles and jobs.

Reich's characterization of the times dovetails with the literature's conclusions, which speak to the same categories of alienation and malcontent. This, then, was the mood of the country for many Americans at the time the Tucker Intern Program began.

Several other factors which were distinctly unique to Dartmouth were also apparent. The College's geographic isolation in Hanover, New Hampshire, not even connected to more populous areas during the late sixties by the present two interstate highways, was certainly important. This physical distance was partially responsible for the detached stance toward the entire urban scene. There was in addition a psychological distance, for Dartmouth students (and faculty) had traditionally been recruited from the upper middle class which had little first-hand knowledge of or experience with inner city turmoil. The profile of the Dartmouth community was the antithesis of the profile of any inner city in America, if education, income, race and class were used as criteria. These distances helped to create a mood at Dartmouth which, combined with the national mood, made the institution ripe for activist involvement of some kind.

Appointment of new Foundation Dean. A second "altered circumstance" was the appointment of a new Dean for the Tucker Foundation. John Dickey's choice of Charles Dey as the Foundation's leader brought to the department a

new type of administrator whose vision was clearly aligned with the emerging values on college campuses. With Dey's appointment came the guarantee that service-learning programs of some type would be instituted, for his philosophy was well matched to that of liberal students at Dartmouth. His Peace Corps experience had generated within him a renewed sense of service to others, and this coupled with his non-clerical background made his leadership appealing to undergraduates. Additionally, his energy and charisma won him enormous support from the President and the Board of Trustees.

Dean Dey's first piece of business was to appoint officers within the Foundation who were like-minded men; whose values and life styles were similar to his own. Paul Rahmeier was to become the College chaplain and his experience included many years of civil rights activity, draft counseling and problem pregnancy work. His social concerns were parallel to Dey's, and his relationships and interactions with students were genuinely warm and open. Others of this mold were recruited by Dey and brought into the Foundation ranks. Although none of them were scholars, all demonstrated a concern for the personal lives of students rather than interest in their academic careers. They represented at the time a new breed of administrator who could counsel and address social sensitivity, that aspect of students which had not been counseled for many years.

Dey quickly succeeded in building an empire of colleagues who shared his concerns and hope of making the College accountable for a previous lack of conscience, through development of programs which dealt with an awakened awareness of the country's ills.

Presence of the Lipset profile. A third factor or "altered circumstance" was the presence of large numbers of Dartmouth students who were a perfect fit with the descriptive profile Seymour Lipset drew from his research on student activists. Lipset found that the greatest percentage of activists were bright students from upper middle class families. They were well educated, economically successful, politically liberal, socially progressive and more often than not, committed to social issues. Lipset also found that large numbers of these students were enrolled at Ivy League schools, and the Dartmouth profile of Tucker Interns concurs with his findings.

It would appear, however, that this was the same type of student which had been attending the institution for many years and therefore not constitute an "altered circumstance". While it is true that many former undergraduates at the Hanover campus were from wealthy and educated families, these same students were also apt to have parents who were politically conservative, and not at all concerned about social issues. Except for those few students who got excellent grades in high school and came from poor New

Hampshire families (and who were on "scholarship" at the College), the student roster for the first half of the 20th century was filled with names from the social registers of every big city and suburb in America. Until the mid nineteen sixties, these students and their families were unlikely to be terribly concerned about the plight of the poor, Blacks, Native Americans or other minorities. After the civil rights movement began and the problems in cities had been labeled "the urban crisis", more of these students, especially those with liberal political leanings, became committed to changing American Society. The old Dartmouth student was still around, but he was more apt to hide his background than flaunt it, as the new Dartmouth student became prevalent.

Presence of guilt. The last factor which represented an "altered circumstance" was the presence of guilt on the part of students and others at the College. It was a difficult time to be affluent and many Dartmouth students hid their wealth behind patched jeans and worn overalls. During the early years of the Internship Program, expensive stereo equipment, cameras, radios and typewriters were often stolen from the living quarters at Intern sites. Gradually students learned not to bring these items with them. One year a Tucker Intern flew himself and a girlfriend back to Hanover from Chicago for two days over Dartmouth's Winter Carnival Weekend, enraging his fellow Interns at the Chicago

site because of his lack of sensitivity in doing so. Again and again students expressed in their papers and journals a sense of guilt over the fact that they had been granted so many opportunities which the children or clients they worked with did not even know existed. There was an overwhelming need to share the benefits of these opportunities with others less privileged.

Faculty and administrators at the College also admitted to guilt feelings over status and physical removal from the country's urban plight. When students applied pressure to members of the faculty and administration for the expansion or continuation of programs, they used tactics which played upon the guilt of that group. They graphically illustrated the vivid contrasts between the lifestyles of academics and those of inner city residents. When Interns returned from their term in the field, they brought back word that their guilt was indeed valid, and the information they disseminated to substantiate their feelings worked effectively to further the programs. One speaker who was sponsored on the Dartmouth campus by the Government Department to speak on the general topic of poverty in America quickly displayed his ignorance of the true situation and its implications, and was challenged by several former Tucker Interns. The discussion turned into a showdown when the speaker acknowledged that he had not spent any time in the inner city and spoke only from an historical and theoretical

perspective. The Interns then proceeded to dominate the evening with rich and vivid stories of their own experiences.

Factors Responsible for Demise of Intern Program

These, then, were the "altered circumstances" which brought about the implementation of the Tucker Internship. The College in small part did respond to these conditions of rational mood, supportive leadership, a changing student body and guilt by supporting a program which addressed them. It was another set of facts which upturned the program and ushered in its demise. In essence, the Internship Program ended because all four of the previous conditions found at the College in 1968 no longer existed in 1972. A national mood characterized by people critical of the war, the government, big business and the depersonalized nature of the country, became quietly passive as the war wound down and the problems accompanying a troubled economy were more apparent. The nation shifted its concern to unemployment, increasing prices and energy consumption. Students also began to worry more about jobs or admittance to graduate schools than they had in past years when money was readily available to support both graduate programs and a vast selection of government jobs. Priorities and values shifted markedly on the part of undergraduates as the mood of the country changed.

The leadership of the College and then at the Tucker Foundation changed at this time also. When President Kemeny took office the Foundation lost a measure of the autonomy and support it had enjoyed under President Dickey. The new president's time was consumed with the implementation of year round operation, co-education and relieving the financial pressures all private colleges and universities were under. Although President Kemeny was concerned about the Foundation's programs, problems of greater magnitude took precedence. The Foundation's operational leeway was further reduced when administrative restructuring by the new president found the Dean of the Tucker Foundation reporting not to the President but to the Vice President for Student Affairs. The Foundation also saw Charles Dey move on to a new post outside of the College. A new Dean took over the helm who was a clergyman, and who revived chapel services at the College and made traditional religious issues more important again.

The students at Dartmouth who had formerly committed themselves to "causes", to social action and concern over the less fortunate, had graduated and been replaced by younger brothers (and sisters!) who were influenced by a different set of circumstances. Many had watched their older siblings and classmates expend great amounts of energy and time on "good works" and had seen them become frustrated and spent over the slim results they received.

In talking with undergraduates today one finds the emphasis is definitely on having a good time and finding a job. A typical comment from a Dartmouth sophomore of 1976 is, "College should be fun, not filled with heavy stuff. A lot of playing and just enough work to get a decent job."[12] The striking contrast between students of the late sixties and students on Dartmouth's campus today was mentioned without provocation by every person who was interviewed for this research.

The final factor of guilt, so obvious in the classes of students who were at Dartmouth from 1968-1972, is almost totally absent now. A large part of this is due to the inevitable realization on the part of undergraduates (and all liberals) that it is no longer appropriate to step into inner city or even rural neighborhoods where the predominant values, culture and lifestyles are not middle class, and attempt to help, solve problems or "aid the needy". Since Interns could always retreat to their safe environments when the term was over, their motives were always suspect, a fact that earlier Interns simply did not acknowledge. Philip Luce, in his book on the New Left, voiced this feeling succinctly when he said:

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[12] Interview with Dartmouth student, Class of 1978, Hanover, N.H., December 1975.

> One of the inevitable consequences of sending middle class students into ghetto areas is the immediate disparity between the helpers and those to be helped. No matter how hard these young rebels tried to acclimate themselves to the community, it was a rare case when they were accepted as anything more than temporary allies against slum lords or the welfare agencies. After all, these young people were not an endemic part of the ghetto and were at liberty to go back to the relative isolation and security of the middle class.[13]

The presence of an increased number of Black students at Dartmouth made White students aware also of the dim view taken by Blacks of their social action work. What was once looked upon as "giving of oneself" was seen by the early seventies as paternalism, and was not well accepted. Additionally, the Foundation's old admonishment that Interns could make a difference was not being witnessed, and students began to realize more and more that the problems of urban America were beyond their ability to deal with.

Conclusions - Change in a Liberal Society

This discussion of how altered circumstances brought about the Intern Program and then witnessed its collapse, brings us back to the idea of change in a liberal society and what we can learn of change from this case. The academy may wish to remove itself from altered circum-

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[13]Phillip Luce, The New Left Today, (Washington, D.C.: The Capitol Hill Press, 1971), p. 74.

stances in the larger society, but it will be affected by them whether it wishes to be or not. A good example of this is operating at the present time as the concern over careerism is forcing the College to deal with problems associated with pre-professionalism. This includes the major problem of a lessened interest in the Humanities and an increased interest in the hard sciences. In responding to the altered circumstances of the sixties activist period, the College supported the Tucker Intern Program. In responding to the careerism of the seventies, the College is attempting to respond by providing strengthened counseling services and increased faculty in those departments which offer courses in particular demand.

We have learned that there is a resistant character to institutions, particularly those which have survived time and honor tradition. We should probably not expect a great deal of change or innovation to come about at places like Dartmouth College for all of the reasons we know about why people resist change. Even at more progressive institutions, change does not come about easily. In the country, it often takes a catastrophe to bring about change. Sometimes this means a war, an earthquake or a fire which requires a chance to rebuild on a new theme. And major change rarely comes from within an institution. Most changes occur because factors (altered circumstances) in the larger society force a review of current behavior or attitudes in the

smaller subculture. John Gardner illustrated this idea well when he said,

> "The body of custom, convention and reputable standards exercises such an oppressive effect on creative minds that new developments in a field often originate outside the area of respectable practice. The break with traditional art was not fostered within the academy. Jazz did not spring from the bosom of the respectable music world. The land grant colleges, possibly the most impressive innovation in the history of American higher education, did not spring from the inner circle of higher education as it then existed. Motels, the most significant development of this generation in innkeeping, were at first regarded with scorn by reputable hotel people."[14]

We should not lament the passing of programs like the Tucker Internship, nor the inability of institutions such as Dartmouth College to foster change. We should instead express surprise and pleasure that projects of this nature are supported at schools of this kind for even brief periods of time. For no other Ivy League school invested so heavily, either monitarily or with student participation, in a social action program of this scope. We should expect traditional behavior from elite institutions but we should also hope that there will always be a handful of people at each who will help to instigate exciting moments (change) which respond at least temporarily to the altered circumstances in society.

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[14] John W. Gardner, No Easy Victories, p. 42.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Dartmouth Faculty and Administrators Interviewed

Name and Position at Time of Interview	Date of Interview
Donald Campbell, Professor of Education	August 1974
Charles Dey, Headmaster, The Choate-Rosemary Hall Schools, (former Dean, Tucker Foundation)	August 1974
Michael Bailin, lawyer in private practice (former Director, Jersey City Program)	August 1974
Daniel Lindley, Professor of Education University of Illinois, (former Professor of Education)	March 1975
Floyd Brady, Director, ABC Program, Tucker Foundation	March 1975
William Lingelbach, Professor of Education	March 1975
William Smith, Professor of Psychology	September 1975
Robert MacArthur, Director, Outward Bound Program, Tucker Foundation	
John Sloan Dickey, President Emeritus	September 1975
Richard Fox, Director of Development, Dartmouth Medical School, (former Assistant Dean, Tucker Foundation)	October 1975
Ronald Green, Professor of Religion, President, Tucker Council	October 1975
Frank Smallwood, Vice President for Student Affairs	October 1975
Paul Rahmeier, Headmaster, The Northfield Mt.Herman School, (former Chaplain, Tucker Foundation)	October 1975

Donald Kreider, Professor of Mathematics, (former Vice President for Student Affairs)	October 1975
Leonard Reiser, Dean of the Faculty	October 1975
Leroy Keith, Chancellor for Higher Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, (former Director of Tucker Interns)	November 1975
John Kemeny, President	December 1975

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

1. What was your position at Dartmouth in 1967?
2. What was the social and political climate at Dartmouth during the late 1960's?
3. Why do you think the Tucker Foundation was instituted?
4. Why do you think the Tucker Intern Program was started?
5. What problems do you feel it encountered as it began?
6. What problems did the Education Department encounter working with the Intern Program?
7. What mistakes did the Foundation make with the Intern Program?
8. What mistakes did the Education Department make with the Intern Program?
9. What mistakes do you feel were made by others at the College concerning the Intern Program?
10. Who were the students that elected to go on Tucker Internships?
11. What do you feel the student response to the Intern Program was?
12. What do you feel were the reasons for the program's demise?
13. What forms of opposition to the program surfaced?
14. What forms of support for the program surfaced?
15. Do you think the program was more of a failure than a success? Why?
16. Would you support a program of this nature in the future at Dartmouth?
17. Could this kind of program happen again at Dartmouth?

18. How is Dartmouth different now from what it was like during the late 1960's and early 1970's?

19. Do you feel the country learned anything from the activist period?

20. Do you feel Dartmouth learned anything from this same time period?

APPENDIX C

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF MAJOR CAMPUS PROTEST ACTIVITY FROM 1968-1970

APPENDIX C

A Chronological Listing of Major Campus Protest Activity from April 1968 (the Columbia Uprising) to August 1970 (the killing of a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin)

4-23 to 4-26-68	Columbia University	SDS and Student African Society were main groups involved in take-over of five buildings during this 4-day period; a dean was held hostage in his office on the first day and released on the second; on the fourth day one of the main demands--halting of construction on a controversial gym--was granted.
4-23-68	Trinity College (Connecticut)	200 students invaded administration building offices for 32 hours, held president and trustees captive for 3 hours; demanded that school create more scholarships for Blacks and a course on the "Psychology of the Ghetto".
4-24-68	Boston University	125 Black students took over administration building for 12 hours; president agreed to recruit more Black students and faculty and to start Black studies program.
4-26-68	Ohio State University	Police removed students from occupied buildings and cleared campus; 712 arrested, 148 injured. Most sutdents put on disciplinary probation.

4-30-68	Tuskeegee Institute (Alabama)	12 prominent trustees were held captive by protestors for several hours. The National Guard was called; school closed temporarily.
5-1-68	New York State University (Stoney Brook)	22 students took over business office to demand removal of police from campus; police had been stationed there after a January narcotics raid.
5-4-68	Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois)	60 Black students seized finance office, barred school officials from entering building. Demanded more Black enrollments, Black studies courses, hiring of Black teachers, etc.
5-6 to 5-8-68	Stanford	200 students held 57-hour sit-in in administration building protesting suspension of 7 students; ended when faculty recommended granting of demand. ROTC building destroyed by fire on 5-7; $70,000 damage, arson suspected.
5-7-68	Southern Illinois University	$100,000 damage done to Agriculture Building as a result of bombing.
5-17-68	Columbia	Sit-in held in Columbia-owned tenement; 117 arrested, including 56 students.
5-18-68	Brooklyn College	40 students barricaded themselves in registrar's office in demand for more Black students, teachers, and courses. All arrested and expelled.

5-20 to 5-23-68	San Francisco State College	400 students held sit-in in administration building to emphasize 5 demands.
5-21-68	Columbia	Students occupied building to protest disciplining of 4 SDS leaders; police emptied building and cleared campus; 138 arrested, 66 later suspended; 17 police, 50 students injured.
7-5-68	Stanford	Fire damaged offices of school's president, destroying valued momentos and rare book collection; arson suspected, $300,000 damage.
7-24-68	Cal State (Los Angeles)	Black students ransacked admissions office after school refused demands; 3 given jail sentences.
9-10-68	University of Michigan	200 students arrested in sit-in at county office building in support of welfare mothers' demands for more money; about 1,000 students involved; demands granted.
9-15-68	University of Illinois	300 Black students arrested after they smashed furniture in Illini Union lounges and refused to leave until officials discussed housing demands with them.
9-18-68	Columbia	150 SDS-led demonstrators interrupted fall registration for classes and later met in a campus building in defiance of a university ban. No arrests.

9-19-68	University of Washington	Fire set by arsonists in ROTC building caused $50,000 damage.
10-14-68	University of California (Berkeley)	Students staged sit-in outside president's office; 11 arrested. President agreed to demands of Mexican-American Student Confederation, said students involved would not be disciplined, and urged leniency for those arrested.
10-22-68	UC (Berkeley)	121 arrested in sit-in in administration building protesting denial of credit for course on racism to be partially taught by Eldridge Cleaver.
10-23-68	UC (Berkeley)	150 students barricaded selves inside campus building for 15 hours, set fire to barricades, carried on vandalism. Demands included credit for racism course. 76 arrested (including 50 students, who were suspended), given 10 days in jail.
11-6-68	City College of New York	135 students arrested when police broke into student center to capture AWOL soldier they were giving sanctuary to.
11-6-68	San Francisco State	Strike over demands for speed up of Black studies programs.
11-12-68	University of Connecticut	175 students occupied administration building demanding amnesty for 4 teachers and 8 students involved in protest against Dow Chemical in October.

11-21-68	San Jose State College	Sporadic violence broke out in conjunction with a strike called by Blacks and SDS; windows broken, fires started.
11-21-68	San Francisco State	Students went on rampage as school reopened when president refused to shut down classes. They disrupted classes, clashed twice with police; 3 arrested; some police injured.
12-3-68	NYU	50 demonstrators disrupted meeting at which a South Vietnam observer at the UN was to speak; students also interrupted a speech by James Reston, editor of the New York Times. Police were called; no arrests.
12-5-68	San Francisco State	50 Black students attacked Hayakawa's office and were driven back by police with Mace. About 300 demonstrators went on rampage in nearby streets. 17 arrested in various disturbances; several injured.
12-6-68	University of Wisconsin	200 students broke into meeting in state capitol and demanded reinstatement of 90 students suspended at Oskosh State University.
12-8-68	San Fernando Valley State	Fire in administration building caused $200,000 damage; arson suspected, no arrests.
12-9-68	Stanford	Men's dorm ravaged by $125,000 fire; arson suspected.

12-9-68	Brown University Pembroke College	60 Blacks at two affiliated universities ended 2-day walkout when administration announced Black studies plans.
12-9 to 12-13-68	San Francisco State	Fifth week of strike; demonstrators threw rocks, broke windows, clashed with police; 18 arrested; school closed early for Christmas vacation.
12-13-68	College of San Mateo	150 students went on 20-minute rampage, damaging 5 buildings and injuring 12 persons by hitting them with pipes; $15,000 damage done; police chased students off campus, no arrests. Was third day of violence--15 suspended, 3 expelled.
1-6 to 1-9-69	San Francisco State	School reopened; teachers went on strike; strikers and students fought police; scuffled with anti-strikers; 17 arrested.
1-8-69	San Fernando Valley State	1,000 demonstrators trying to force their way into administration building beaten back by police; 14 arrested.
1-8 to 1-19-69	Brandeis University (Massachusetts)	65 students occupied communications center, charged that university was racist and made 10 demands; left when granted amnesty. Demands not granted but were being worked on.
1-9-69	San Fernando Valley State	286 arrested in unauthorized campus rally; 174 convicted, 71 acquitted, 4 dismissed, rest pending.

1-15-69	University of Minnesota	150 students occupied administration building for 24 hours; $11,000 damage.
1-16-69	Swarthmore College (Pennsylvania)	40 members of Afro-American Student Society ended week-long sit-in in admissions office because of death of college president from a heart attack.
1-17-69	San Jose State	400 striking students and teachers marched through campus, then 50 invaded buildings, smashed glass, damaged sprinkler system, flooding gym; no arrests.
1-17-69	University of California (Los Angeles	2 members of Black Panthers shot to death after meeting of Black students to discuss Black studies program. 5 leaders of Black nationalist organization US indicted in slayings.
1-23-69	San Francisco State	Strike in 11th week. 483 students, teachers, and outsiders arrested for holding unauthorized rally.
1-29 to 1-30-69	UC (Berkeley)	Hundreds of demonstrators fought police at main entrance to campus; 2 arrested, 25 cited for disciplinary proceedings. Demands included autonomous departments for minorities, increased financial aid, and amnesty for all strike leaders.

1-30-69	San Francisco State	200 students pelted police with bricks, rocks, and bottles near campus; no injuries, 5 arrested. Classes ended for semester.
1-30 to 2-14-69	University of Chicago	225 students occupied administration building to protest firing of Marlene Dixon, a sociology professor. The 16-day sit-in resulted in suspension of 62, expulsion of 37; Dixon offered new contract, which she refused.
2-4-69	UC (Berkeley)	300 demonstrators went on rampage, battled police, broke windows, disrupted classes, smashed doors and furniture. Tore down fences and signs in nearby neighborhood to build bonfire; 20 arrested, several injured, including 4 policemen.
2-12 to 2-17-69	University of Wisconsin	National Guard called to quell disorders resulting from Black demands for Black curriculum, more Black students and teachers, and admission of 90 Blacks expelled from Oshkosh State; 30 arrested.
2-13-69	Duke	30-40 students seized offices in administration building in a 9-hour rebellion leading to a clash with police; 18 persons injuried; 48 disciplined.

2-13-69	UC (Berkeley)	Student strike continued; about 250 students over-turned chairs and tables in cafeteria, fought police; 30 arrested.
2-13-69	CCNY	100 students occupied administration building for 4 hours, demands included separate school for Black and Puerto Rican studies. They left peacefully, no police.
2-14-69	University of Illinois	60-250 students briefly took over offices of the chancellor; they made 15 demands, including hiring of more Black teachers.
2-16-69	San Francisco State	Homemade bomb exploded in administration building--started several fires and shattered 18 windows.
2-17-69	UC (Santa Barbara)	500 students took over student union, demanding educational reform, Black studies, and end to "police harassment" of students.
2-17 to 2-18-69	UC(Berkeley)	Demonstrators emptied two cafeterias with tear gas, fired four bombs, shattered windows; 14 arrested in violence and vandalism.
2-17-69	Roosevelt University (Chicago)	6 students were immediately expelled for disrupting a classroom; dissidents later invaded school offices demanding amnesty for 6 expelled.

2-18-69	Ohio State University	580 students staged demonstration for an autonomous Black studies department, backed by 500-1,000 supporters.
2-19-69	Howard University (Washington, D.C.)	Students relinquished law school building after several hundred had taken it over and demanded meeting with full law school faculty to talk over demands.
2-19 to 2-20-69	UC (Berkeley)	Demonstrators continually clash with police; their rocks, bottles, and stink bombs were met with tear gas; 40 arrested, 25 injured, 35 windows broken and other vandalism.
2-20-69	Oberlin College (Ohio)	Demonstrators disrupted Marine Corps recruiters, who were subsequently asked to leave by president; 400 students marched into administration building with Viet Cong flag to present demands.
2-20-69	Roosevelt University	100 Black students stormed into president'f office and shouted demands for Black studies and amnesty for 5 expelled students. Police called, no arrests.
2-22-69	Rice University (Houston)	1,000 students and 200 faculty members staged protest against naming of William H. Masterson as university's president.

2-27-69	UC (Berkeley)	150 demonstrators formed a human chain and snake-danced through buildings, breaking windows and disrupting classes; clashed with police, 12 arrested.
2-28-69	UC (Berkeley)	75 strike pickets blocked university entrance and were dispersed by police with tear gas; no arrests. A campus policeman was severely beaten, 2 arrested.
3-1-69	Washington State University	45 students arrested after they prevented the surrender of 5 Blacks convicted on charges stemming from a fight in a fraternity and staged a sleep-in in a church; the 45 were released on their own recognizance.
3-14-69	UC (Berkeley)	Strikers suspended 7-week strike that had resulted in arrest of 174 persons.
3-15-69	Sarah Lawrence College (New York)	10-day sit-in by 60 students ended when college president agreed partially to demand that one-third of future students be drawn from low-income families.
3-17-69	University of Houston	Students rioted in university center, causing $2,000 damage; charged filed against 14 persons.
3-19-69	State University of New York (Buffalo)	200 students forced their way into administration building, smashing windows and burning Navy research project blueprints. Demanded that all defense research work at university cease.

3-20-69	San Francisco State	4½-month student strike ended when BSU accepted settlement negotiated by faculty committee; of 15 demands, 3 were met by the college, 7 compromised, and 5 rejected. During strike 567 persons were arrested, 85 demonstrators and 40 police injured, 9 bombs exploded or were found, and $25,000 damage was done.
3-31-69	Southern University (Baton Rouge, La.)	50 students staged a sit-in, demanding removal of dean of student affairs.
3-31-69	Alabama State College	250 students occupied dining hall of predominantly Black school to protest refusal of president to discuss their grievances.
4-1 to 4-2-69	Queens College (New York)	Police broke up sit-in, 39 arrested; 200 more demonstrators were protesting suspension of 3 students; on 4-2, 500 students reoccupied building.
4-5 to 4-6-69	Williams College (Massachusetts)	30 members of Afro-American Society seized administration building to press for 15 demands; class cancelled to permit discussion of demands.
4-8-69	Kent State	SDS-led demonstrators demanded end to ROTC and police-related facilities; they clashed with police; SDS was banned; 5 students charged with assault.

4-9 to 4-18-69	Stanford	400 students began sit-in at Stanford electronics lab protesting trustees' lack of action in terminating military research; average of 50 students stayed in building for 9 days; finally left when worried over use of federal troops; a week later Stanford's involvement in war-related research was substantially reduced.
4-9-69	Boston University	100 students demanding elimination of ROTC left administration building to avoid arrest.
4-9 to 4-10-69	Harvard	Several hundred SDS-led students took over University Hall, carried 1 dean out and forced others to leave their offices; rifled private files; demanded end to ROTC. On 4-10 police cleared building and grounds of 500 students; 196 arrested, at least 44 persons injured.
4-14-69	Boston University	150 SDS-led students took over office of dean of student affairs to dramatize opposition to ROTC; 60 remaining protestors left after 24 hours.
4-16-69	Queens College	A week-long sit-in continued; students demanded withdrawal of criminal charges against 38 students and 1 faculty member arrested in 4-1 sit-in.

4-18-69	Columbia	30-75 demonstrators took over building for 7 hours.
4-19 to 4-29-69	Cornell	40 members of Afro-American Society seized student center on Parent's Weekend--evicted parents and employees. Were protesting Cornell's "racist attitudes" and demanded amnesty for 5 students involved in earlier demonstrations. Sit-in ended on 4-20 when 100 Blacks carrying guns they had stockpiled for "self-defense" left building and stood over university officials who signed amnesty agreement. 21 later indicted.
4-21-69	Purdue University (Indiana)	Police broke up sit-in protesting rulings that students could not sit in on a budget meeting that was to consider tuition increases. 41 students arrested; remaining 150 emerged voluntarily when university spokesmen told them charges would be dropped against 41 if they did so.
4-21-69	Princeton University	100 SDS members blocked students from visiting Marine recruiters; scattered fist fights occurred.
4-21-69	Harvard	About 400 Harvard and Radcliffe SDS-led students held a "mill-in" in administration building; spent 5 hours distributing ice cream sandwiches and leaflets; demanded banning of ROTC.

4-22-69	CCNY	150 Black and Puerto Rican students barred Whites from entering south campus. Classes cancelled; demonstrators demanded separate school for minorities and increase in admissions of minority students. 200 Whites held sit-in in administration building on north campus in support of minority demonstrators.
4-23-69	Hampton Institute (Virginia)	100 demonstrators invaded administration building and remained; demanded higher faculty pay and changes in hiring, firing, and tenure policies. Trustees later closed the school indefinitely.
4-23-69	Princeton	75 SDS members blockaded Institute for Defense Analysis, barring entrance to employees and demanding that the facility be closed; fist fights broke out between employees and SDSers; dean of students was knocked to ground; demonstrators left after 3 hours, fearing arrest.
4-23-69	George Washington University (Washington, D.C.)	40 SDS-led protestors smashed furniture, scattered papers in 5-hour siege of Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies; 7 expelled; $3,000 to $4,000 damage.
4-25-69	University of Washington (Seattle)	SDS moved into campus building to protest military and business recruiting; were routed by swarm of bees released by unidentified person.

4-25 to 4-27-69	Colgate	40 Black students took over faculty club, evicting employees; wanted Black cultural center on campus.
4-28-69	Memphis State	109 Black students submitted to arrest rather than voluntarily end a sit-in in the president's office. They demanded a Black studies program and money to bring Adam Clayton Powell to campus to speak.
4-29 to 4-30-69	Dartmouth College (New Hampshire)	200 demonstrators began administration building sit-in, demanding end to ROTC; on 4-30, 125 who remained left building and announced they were giving administration until May 12 to end ROTC.
4-29-69	Queens College	Several hundred students began long sit-in in administration building; workers were barred from entering and demonstrators would not allow food to be brought to administrators working in offices; wanted amnesty for 38 students arrested in an earlier demonstration.
4-30-69	Marquette University (Milwaukee)	30 students protesting ROTC left sit-in in small campus chapel so that services could not be held.

4-30-69	Occidental College (Los Angeles)	45 students took over placement office while 225 others held sit-in in administration building; were protesting Navy recruiters on campus--recruiters were later asked to leave by administration. 42 suspended.
4-30-69	Columbia	Several hundred SDS-led students took over 2 buildings--clubbed a professor who got in their way; fights broke out with counterdemonstrators. SDS wanted to gain support for Black students' demands for larger role in admissions process. They left next day for lack of campus rupport and because warrants had been issued for their arrest; 8 were fined and sent to jail in June.
5-1-69	Stanford	250 demonstrators broke into administration building and occupied it for 6 hours, protesting involvement in war-realted research; left peacefully when police brough in; no arrests, $2,500 damage, 14 suspended, 48 put on probation and fined. Board of Trustees later decided to sever relations with Stanford Research Institute.
5-2-69	Southern Methodist University (Texas)	34 students took over president's office for 5 hours; administration granted most of demands.

5-4-69	University of Wisconsin	Hundreds of rioting youths clashed with police near campus; started when police tried to quiet a block party; at least 110 arrested, 29 injured (including 10 police).
5-5-69	Long Beach State	500 militants tried to break up Military Careers Day program; fights broke out between militants and conservatives guarding recruiters; attack followed rally addressed by Tom Hayden and other radicals.
5-6-69	Dartmouth	60 SDS-led students took over administration building; they kicked out employees and 2 college officials, 1 other locked himself in his office. They wanted ROTC abolished; ignored court injunction, held building 12 hours; police smashed in door and ousted them, 56 arrested, 2 faculty members later suspended.
5-6-69	Purdue	300 students filed out of a building they were holding when police began to take picture of the occupiers; were protesting for amnesty for 229 demonstrators arrested 16 hours earlier in a student-union camp-in over tuition hikes; 219 suspended.

5-7-69	UC (San Diego)	52 students broke a large window and seized the registrar's office for 80 minutes. They were angry at the "dawdling" of the Academic Senate in meeting demands regarding minority students. Ended when senate passed favorable resolution.
5-8 to 5-9-69	Howard University	Fire gutted ROTC building as students continued occupation of university grounds; fire engines were set on fire, firemen stoned; U.S. Marshals cleared buildings 5-9, arrested 20.
5-9-69	Indiana University	150 students released top administrators after holding them prisoner more than 3 hours; were opposing tuition increase.
5-12-69	Stanford	Police dispersed 500 protestors at Stanford Research Institute with tear gas; demonstrators had erected barricades around building and set fire to them, $10,000 damage; 15 arrested.
5-13-69	New York State University (Stoney Brook)	$10,000 damage done in 3-hour student riot--200 windows smashed in campus building, 2 autos burned, several small fires set, gatehouse burned down. About 200 students participated in riot sparked by narcotics raid and arrest of 14 in dorm.

5-15-69	UC (Berkeley)	2,000 routed by police after riot over "People's Park"; 66 injured, 1 nonstudent killed by police using riot guns; 20 arrested. In next 3 days 100 were arrested, 128 injured (including 60 police) in continued violence.
5-16-69	UCLA	Students disrupted UC Regents' meeting--broke windows, knocked hole in wall, fought police; 2 arrested.
5-17-69	Occidental College	42 students occupied placement office protesting military recruiting; 200 more occupied the hall outside.
5-19-69	George Washington University	150 suspended for refusing to leave building in protest over expulsion of 7 students for 4-23 take-over.
5-19-69	UC (Santa Cruz)	50-300 demonstrators barricaded administration building but did not occupy it; were protesting use of troops and guns at Berkeley; no arrests or injuries. Later in day they cleared away barricades and cleaned area.
5-19 to 5-20-69	UC (Berkeley)	Demonstrators clashed repeatedly with police; helicopters used to spread tear gas to disperse students protesting death of nonstudent 5-15; 131 arrested, at least 60 injured.

5-19-69	Lincoln University	3 buildings set afire; several shots fired in night of violence; $648,000 damage, no arrests. Later 24 students were suspended, 100 faced disciplinary action as result of recent demonstrations.
5-21-69	UCLA	About 1,500 demonstrators moved into administration building to protest Berkeley death and to emphasize demands for campus reform; lasted 24 hours.
5-22-69	UC (Berkeley)	504 arrested peacefully for unlawful assembly and blocking the streets; all were later cleared. Scattered incidents occurred in the following few days, resulting in more arrests. Strikes in support of Berkeley students started at other UC campuses.
5-22-69	University of Illinois (Chicago)	200 persons held 40-minute sit-in to protest scheduled conference of police officials from 31 cities on campus; left when president threatened to prefer criminal charges.
7-15-69	UC (Berkeley)	Mob of 800 tore down fence and wrecked a police car at "People's Park," In 11 months there had been 4 riots at Berkeley, involving 8 bombings and $800,000 damage.

9-23-69	University of Michigan	Nearly 60 demonstrators barricaded selves inside ROTC building for 5 hours, then left peacefully.
9-25-69	University of Michigan	107 arrested for occupying building for less than a day; were protesting decision to put a new university bookstore under administration control rather than student-faculty control.
11-3-69	Yale University	60 students occupied administration building and forcibly detained 3 administrators.
11-5-69	MIT	Police swinging nightsticks dispersed about 300 antiwar demonstrators at research lab; 2 arrested, 10 minor injuries.
11-5-69	Tufts University (Massachusetts)	100 students with clubs occupied a dorm.
11-6-69	MIT	300 demonstrators occupied a portion of the administration building for 3 hours, left peacefully.
11-19-69	UCLA	31 students held university official hostage in his office for 6 hours; campus police broke down door. freed him, arrested 31. SDS and Third World Movement made this move after rally protesting the firing of a food services worker.

12-5-69	Harvard	75 Blacks occupied main administration building for 6 hours to dramatize demand that the university do more to improve the lot of Black people locally; left when officials agreed to negotiate.
12-10-69	Ohio State University (Akron)	15 students occupied administration building for 4 hours but fled when governor mobilized National Guard.
1-15 to 1-16-70	MIT	200 demonstrators seized executive offices, demanded abolition of MIT Discipline Committee and cancellation of punishments for students involved in presious demonstrations; they also wanted the university to contribute $150,000 to the Black Panthers. Left rooms in shambles; demands not granted.
1-31-70	Ohio University	Demonstrators broke 150 windows in protest of tuition increase.
2-13-70	UC (Santa Barbara)	250-300 demonstrators attempted to invade administration building after the firing of an anthropology professor.
2-16-70	UC (Berkeley)	Crowd of 1,500 protesting Chicago 7 verdict rampaged through downtown area and besieged campus; smashed windows on stores, fought police. 4 arrested, 1 policeman clubbed unconscious by rioters.

2-19-70	George Washington University	Police dispersed demonstrators protesting Chicago 7 verdicts; 123 or more arrested.
2-19-70	University of Massachusetts	150 Black students occupied 5 buildings for 14 hours.
2-19-70	UCLA	1,000 demonstrators gathered near campus, broke windows, blocked traffic; 5 arrested in protest of Chicago 7 decision.
2-21-70	Yale	40 female Yale students invaded alumni luncheon--demanded more women and fewer men at Yale.
3-3-70	University of Illinois	National Guard troops dispersed several hundred milling students protesting banning of speech by William Kunstler; 6 arrestef for curfew violation; previous night 2,000 students had gone on violent rampage--15 arrested, $15-20,000 damage.
3-3-70	Cal State (Fullerton)	19 persons (including 2 professors) arrested in violent confrontation between police and demonstrators following disruption of a disciplinary hearing for 2 students arrested for disrupting talk by Ronald Reagan.
3-4-70	University of Illinois	State police cleared student union of more than 200 students blocking hallway in protest against corporate recruiting.

3-4-70	UCLA	100 students held noisy demonstration against Chase Manhattan Bank representatives on campus; windows broken.
3-10-70	San Francisco State	100 antiwar demonstrators clashed with police, 6 arrested. Opposed military recruiting on campus.
3-11-70	UC (Berkeley)	Fire in library caused $320,000 damage.
3-12-70	San Diego State College	750 students staged sit-in in administration building; protested action regarding 5 teachers and demanded participation in faculty hiring; about 50 students maintained sit-in for 8 days; left because compromise reached.
3-27-70	Washington University (St. Louis)	Clash between 200 demonstrators and police resulted in 9 arrests; 8 police, 1 student, 1 news photographer injured; demonstrators were against ROTC.
4-1-70	University of Maryland	1,000 students ransacked ROTC building; 2 police, 25 students injured.
4-12-70	Cornell	2 gas bombs hurled through second floor windows of library; damage minor. Students went on rampage, breaking windows; demanded restoration of student center that was burned 4-1.

4-15-70	UC (Berkeley)	Antiwar demonstrators attacked UC police with rocks, were repulsed with tear gas; 22 arrested, including 4 Weatherman members; 11 police, 5 youths injured. $2,000 fire damage to Life Sciences Building. Demonstration followed rally called by SDS.
4-15-70	University of Pennsylvania	18 police injured and 20 persons arrested in student riots.
4-16-70	UC (Berkeley)	2,000 demonstrators fought police for second straight day. 33 arrested; 2 police 1 student injured; demonstration followed rally called by SDS.
4-17-70	UC (Berkeley)	Third day of violence. Police broke up rally called by SDS; 300 militants later regrouped and rampaged through Civic Center and Berkeley High School, 22 arrested, SDS suspended from campus.
4-20-70	UC (San Diego)	25 persons protesting UCSD involvement in war-related research occupied campus office for 30 minutes.
4-21-70	Pennsylvania State University	State troopers were called to campus when militant students fire-bombed buildings and stoned home of school president; 50 students sat-in in administration building in defiance of court injunction; they left, but 4 were arrested. Demands included open enrollment, end to ROTC, etc.

4-24-70	Stanford	Life works of 10 visiting scholars destroyed when fire started by fire bombs swept Advanced Studies Center; earlier police had routed 125 sit-in protestors from another building--23 arrested; the rest went on a rampage, breaking $40,000 worth of windows. Fire damage was estimated at $50-$100,000.
4-28-70	UC (Berkeley)	1,000 anti-ROTC militants pelted police with rocks, dirt clods, and cherry bombs and were repulsed by tear gas; 4-hour battle began when mob became angered at arrest of 3 youths; 12 more arrested.
4-29-70	Stanford	10 arrested when sheriff's deputies cleared student union of anti-ROTC protestors.
4-29-70	Ohio State University	Rioting triggered by the arrest of the leader of a protest demonstration; at least 7 persons suffered buckshot wounds, 50 other persons injured including 28 policemen; extensive damage; 200 arrested; National Guard moved onto campus next day--100 more arrested, 50 more injured.
4-30-70	UC (San Diego)	150 students ended 19-hour occupation of third floor of a lab building; were protesting war-related research.

5-1-70	University of Maryland	Students clashed with police in rock-throwing melee after day of confrontations; 2 police, 25 students injured; National Guardsmen standing by in area. Were protesting entrance of American troops into Cambodia; students also kept major highway closed for nearly 2 hours; fire damage to ROTC.
5-1-70	University of Cincinnati	In one of the many demonstrations against Cambodia decision across nation, several students were arrested after 2-hour sit-down at busy intersection in city after 3-mile march from campus.
5-1-70	Stanford	About 200 youths ran through campus, breaking windows, pelting police with rocks, bottles, sticks; 27 injured, 1 arrested. In 1 month of protest against ROTC and Cambodia, $100,000 property damage occurred at the university.
5-1-70	Michigan State University	Administration building suffered $15,000 damage during violence, 2 youths (1 student) arrested on charges of arson.
5-1-70	Yale	ROTC building bombed.
5-2-70	Southern Illinois University	20 persons arrested in demonstration related to Cambodian situation; 3 police injured.

5-2-70	University of Maryland	State police fought running battle with 1,000 students; 25 demonstrators, 3 police injured; $10,000 damage done to ROTC.
5-2-70	Kent State	Demonstrators set fire to ROTC building and took away hoses from firemen and turned them on firefighters; National Guard troops were ordered on campus; earlier 500 youths had gone on rampage, causing damage downtown.
5-2-70	Princeton	Molotov cocktails thrown into armory building; $15,000 damage done; 4 students arrested.
5-3-70	Kent State	About 1,000 students staged antiwar demonstrations for third straight night; stages sit-in in downtown intersection; were chased back to campus by National Guardsmen with bayonets on rifles, 1 guardsman injured.
5-3-70	Case Western Reserve University (Cleveland)	75 students occupied ROTC office, protesting Cambodia.
5-4-70	Kent State	4 students shot to death, 10 injured when National Guardsmen fired into crowd of 1,000 rioting antiwar demonstrators.
5-4-70	Stanford	Campus-wide strike brought university to standstill in protest against U.S. policy in Southeast Asia; first general disruption of classes in school's history.

5-4-70	University of Maryland	Student disorders resulted in state-imposed curfew enforced by National Guard; 107 arrested, 4 persons injured (including 2 state troopers).
5-4-70	Rutgers	50 SDS members occupied president's office demanding end to ROTC and cancellation of all defense research grants.
5-4-70	UC (Berkeley)	700 demonstrators upset and burned a military panel truck, burned flags, and marched through buildings disrupting classes.
5-4-70	Nationwide	Student strikes and protests occurred at large majority of U.S. colleges over Cambodia policy. Many schools suspended classes in order to hold policital discussions and rallies.
5-4-70	UC (San Diego)	170 students occupied fifth floor of a science building for 10 hours to protest war-related research on campus; left to avoid action by chancellor.
5-5-70	Nationwide	Strikes were underway at at least 114 schools, mostly protesting Cambodia and Kent State.
5-5-70	Boston University	Announced it was closing for school year because student dissent had created an atmosphere in which personal security of students was threatened. Classes also ended at Brown, Tufts, and Princeton.

5-5-70	University of Illinois (Chicago)	1,000 students marched to off-campus ROTC building, 200 forced their way inside and smashed windows and furniture.
5-5-70	UCLA	100 antiwar demonstrators went on window-smashing rampage; 77 arrested; several persons injured. Began after 1,000 students gathered for protest rally; $15,000 damage.
5-5-70	UC (Berkeley)	Police repeatedly used tear gas to disperse several hundred demonstrators who threw rocks, set fires, and blocked traffic on nearby street; 22 arrested. Violence followed noon rally of about 2,000 students; later students attempted to burn ROTC building but were stopped by police.
5-6-70	California	Reagan ordered 4-day shutdown of state colleges and UC, asking for "calm reflection." Came after sporadic violence following Kent State and Cambodian decision.
5-6-70	Ohio State University	School shutdown until further notice, did not reopen until 5-18. Decision made after National Guard had to be called to protect firemen fighting several fires from being stoned by students. In 1 week of disturbances 200 were injured, 650 arrested.
5-6-70	University of Oklahoma	500 students clashed with police.

5-7-70	NYU	60 Blacks and Whites held $6 million computer for ransom--wanted $100,000 to pay bail of Black Panthers; faculty rescued computer and kidnappers fled.
5-7-70	Nationwide	191 of nation's 1,500 colleges and universities officially closed; an additional 337 colleges were hampered by administration- or faculty-sanctioned strikes.
5-7-70	University of Michigan (Ann Arbor)	Students occouped ROTC building for 24 hours; started fire in basement.
5-8-70	University of New Mexico	140 war protestors evicted from student union building by police backed by National Guard; 122 arrested. In melee afterward, 9 persons sent to hospital with stab woulds from bayonets.
5-8-70	Southern Illinois University	2,000 students rampaged through city, breaking windows; earlier National Guard broke up sit-in at major intersection; 61 persons injured.
5-8-70	University of Iowa	200 arrested after students broke into building and ruined valuable paintings, set small fires.
5-8-70	Nationwide	Peaceful demonstrations involving thousands of students occurred all over country, over Kent State and Cambodia.

5-9-70	Colorado State	Fire destroyed historical building despite fire-fighting aid of 100 students.
5-9070	Southern Illinois University (Carbondale)	200 arrested for curfew violations; 9,000 National Guardsmen on stand-by throughout state.
5-9-70	Central Michigan University	Students ended occupation of ROTC building to discuss plans for a "peace week" with faculty.
5-11-70	USC	Crowd of 1,000 angry, rock-throwing students broken up with tear gas fired by National Guard; earlier in day 200 students ransacked treasurer's office in administration building. Were protesting arrest of antiwar demonstrators.
5-11-70	University of Denver	26 arrested when crowd of 700 routed from camp-in on campus.
5-11-70	Northwestern University (Michigan)	24 medical students took over office of the dean of the medical school.
5-11-70	UC (San Diego)	Student died of burns 10 hours after he set himself on fire in opposition to war in Southeast Asia.
5-12-70	California	Several colleges followed USC's example to relax academic standards in order to allow students to protest war.
5-12-70	San Diego State	2-day sit-in ended by police; 32 arrested. Sit-in was held in ROTC office in opposition to war.

5-12-70	San Jose State	2 buildings fire bombed, another occupied.
5-13-70	Nationwide	Survey showed that only 15 schools remained officially closed, but 267 were on strike.
5-13-70	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Police with dogs evicted 100 antiwar demonstrators from building they had occupied overnight.
5-14-70	Ohio University (Athens)	Crowd of 1,000 students smashed windows and stoned police cars in downtown area; police dispersed them with pepper gas; 15 arrested. Students also broke up sidewalks and tossed concrete at police.
5-19-70	Stanford	250 demonstrators confronted police, broke 100 windows; protesting ROTC.
6-6-70	UCLA	$10,000 damage to Naval ROTC boardroom as result of fire bomb.
8-24-70	University of Wisconsin	1 student killed, 4 injured when Army Mathematics Research Center was bombed; $6 million damage.

APPENDIX D

TUCKER INTERN PLACEMENTS

Breakdown of Tucker Intern Placements

Site	1967-1968 F	W	S	X	1968-1969 F	W	S	X	1969-1970 F	W	S	X	1970-1971 F	W	S	X
ABC			5		11	11	10		14	12	14		13	16	17	
Jersey City			2		5	7	5		13	12	12		20	23	21	
Clarksdale						3	4		2	6	5		5	5	5	
Compton			4			4	6		5	5	5		3	9	8	
Boston										4	5		2	2	2	
Brasstown					2	2	2		3	4	2					
East Bay										4	4		4	4	5	
Chicago										2	5		2	2	2	
Kicking Horse																

Site	1971-1972 F	W	S	X	1972-1973 F	W	S	X	1973-1974 F	W	S	X	1974-1975 F	W	S	X
ABC	9	7	8		1	8	7		4	1	4		4			
Jersey City	11	14	14		8	10	4		4	11	9		8	8		
Clarksdale																
Compton	7	7	8		7	7	8									
Boston																
Brasstown																
East Bay	6	10	10		8	11	8		7	12	10		9	8		
Chicago	4	4	4		3	4	2									
Kicking Horse	3	3	3		2	2	2	6	3	1	3	5	4	3	2	5

F = Fall
W = Winter
S = Spring
X = Summer

Totals

1967-68 - 11
1968-69 - 72
1969-70 - 138
1970-71 - 170
1971-72 - 132
1972-73 - 108
1973-74 - 74
1974-75 - 54