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Revising the PROVE program : a study in educational evaluations.

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REVISING THE PROVE PROGRAM: A STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL EVALUATIONS

A Dissertation Presented

by

PETER SCHUYLER EDDY

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1984

Education

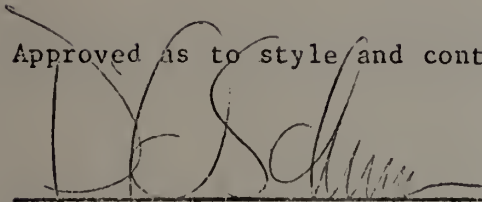
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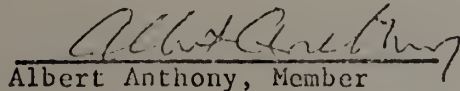
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ABSTRACT

Revising the PROVE Program: A Study in Educational Evaluations

(February, 1984)

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Directed by: Professor David Schuman

Through the history of program evaluation represented in the annual, federal grant applications, this study examines the developments between 1971 and 1978 in the program and evaluation design of PROVE, an open admissions program. The study compares PROVE's later evaluation criteria and instruments with the literature on educational evaluation to illustrate a model.

Through interviews with six former PROVE counselors and teachers, the study explicates the program's evolution to qualified open admissions and the local standards and measures for student evaluation they devised which served program evaluation and exemplify the literature. The interviewees' anecdotes also demonstrate how practioner collaboration and storytelling serve the process of defining and measuring learning essential for judging both student learning and program effectiveness.

The study contends that telling stories offers important insights about educational assumptions unattainable in traditional, quantitative evaluation. While acknowledging that interviews and anecdotal evidence can not replace quantitative measures, the study argues that program evaluation which is limited to student performance outputs neglects critical, qualitative judgements essential for a thorough evaluation. Interviews and storytelling are undervalued vehicles for both program development and formal evaluation.

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INTRODUCTION

Through the history of formal evaluation represented in the annual grant applications and through interviews with six former administrators, this study examines the development of the PROVE Program, a Special Services for Disadvantaged Students project, between 1971 and 1978. Funded by the United States Office of Education, PROVE (Program for Reinforcing Opportunities in Vermont Education) provided compensatory, academic skill instruction and personal support in a special summer program and throughout the academic year for low-income, underprepared students at Johnson State College in Johnson, Vermont.

My two reasons for studying the PROVE Program are prompted by the two jobs I held in the program: writing instructor from 1971 to 1978 and program director from 1975 to 1978. Explicating the development of effective compensatory skill instruction and related support services and examining the process of formal and informal educational evaluation are the two objectives of this dissertation. (Not coincidentally, my two roles in PROVE, writing teacher and educational administrator, comprise my current work.)

As a writing teacher, I wanted to study the evolution of PROVE's primary service, the Communication Skills course, which I co-designed and helped revise over seven years. More specifically, I wanted to understand why and how we were able develop such an effective course

for the basic writer out of such inept beginnings.

By anyone's standards, the 1971 Communication Skills course was a well-intentioned disaster which included such divergent strategies as values clarification, spontaneous journal entries, and "phrase reading" drills. By 1976, Johnson State College had assumed the entire cost of Communication Skills I and II which by then enrolled half of the freshman class. That same year, the late Mina Shaughnessy, a national leader in teaching basic writing, told me that PROVE and Johnson were ten years ahead of the rest of the country in teaching writing across the curriculum and in serving the basic writer.

Because PROVE's Communication Skills became a regional model of compensatory instruction, the process of change is worth understanding, especially since the course revisions parallel and reflect fundamental changes in the PROVE Program's assumptions, goals, and services. The story of PROVE, a study in the development of an exemplary Special Services program, is the first purpose of this dissertation.

The notion of "Revising PROVE" is intended on two levels. I want to examine the revisions in the sense of the chronology of changes in instructional and program design and the revisions in the sense of the re-seeing or re-thinking within the program that prompted these changes. Attempting to uncover the revisions behind the revisions leads to the second reason for this study.

In the course of clarifying the program's purpose and clientele, PROVE increasingly specified the program's objectives and established standards and evaluation measures to determine the the students' progress and the efficacy of program components. Reviewing the formal evaluation of PROVE through the annual grant applications and then questioning former program leaders about their reasons for program changes offers two perspectives on educational evaluation. Tracing PROVE's external and internal evaluation criteria and measures, the story of judgements implicit in the story of program developments, serves as a vehicle for examining the larger issue of educational evaluation which is the second purpose of this study.

Since PROVE had to submit an annual proposal to the Office of Education to secure refunding, summarizing the history of PROVE's formal evaluation in the grant applications presents one opportunity to consider the changes in how the program defined and assessed its effectiveness. During the early years, PROVE emphasized providing access to college and personal support in college over student performance at a time when the government demanded relatively little in the way of formal evaluation. Beginning in 1974, however, the Office of Education increasingly required quantitative evaluations of student performance, such as standardized test results, as proof of a program's impact on students.

PROVE's grant proposal for 1977-78 was an unequivocal success in the eyes of the Boston Office of Education. Based largely on evaluation design and extensive, quantitative summaries of prior experience, PROVE's 1977 proposal was ranked first among competing grant applications in the New England region. One federal reader gave the proposal a perfect rating in each of the four categories for refunding. The entire budget request of \$97,000., PROVE's largest ever, was granted without a single amendment.

Although PROVE's 1977 proposal was regarded as a model of program evaluation in Special Services, I remained troubled by the significant difference I observed between the evaluation measures and criteria required for the grant proposal and the indicators and standards we acted on within the program to judge our students' work and our own. While the various standardized test results included in the proposal were honest summaries of certain changes in our students, these quantitative measures were peripheral factors in how we determined the students' academic growth.

Instead, we relied more on the pattern of the writing instructors' and the tutors' log entries on individual students to make academic status decisions. These logs told us more about an individual's commitment and progress in becoming a successful college student than the standardized test results or the writing sample ratings ever did. The least quantifiable component of our formal evaluation design, these impressionistic, anecdotal records did not lend themselves readily to

the federal evaluation reports. In fact, the federal evaluation process in general contributed incidentally to how we judged and revised the program through the years.

Based on this experience, I became convinced that the prevailing methods of formal evaluation are incomplete. In my mind, documenting learning solely in terms of inputs and outputs does not tell the evaluators all they could know and should want to know about a program. Quantitative measures alone cannot inform evaluators about the practitioners' assumptions about teaching and learning in an open admissions program and their criteria for ongoing program and self-evaluation which ought to be an important component in program evaluation.

To better understand the development of PROVE, both as a model of compensatory support services and as a model of formal evaluation, I interviewed six people involved in the different stages of the program and encouraged them to tell stories about their reasons for joining PROVE, their evolving sense of the program's purpose, the kinds of changes they looked for in students, and how they assessed the program's impact and their own effectiveness.

In choosing to interview the people who designed and provided the services rather than the students, I do not mean to suggest that the students' perceptions have no importance in educational evaluation. Without the students' stories, any final conclusions about PROVE's effectiveness are necessarily incomplete.

Critical questions will remain unanswered here: What was it like to be a college student without adequate preparation? What learning was most difficult? What learning did they most value? What services or people were most helpful? What did the experience mean for that minority of PROVE students who did earn the college degree, especially those who remained in Vermont? No less important, what personal benefit did the non-graduating students derive from their association with PROVE? Did this experience encourage them to pursue some other form of post secondary education at a later date? Did their limited exposure to higher education have any self-perceived impact on career aspirations, employment prospects, avocational interests, or their sense of themselves as people?

The answers to these questions are important in assessing the ultimate impact of an open admissions program and more telling than standardized test results and graduation statistics. If nothing else, the interviews here demonstrate the need for a different study of the personal consequences for PROVE students about which these storytellers can only speculate. What PROVE meant to the students and how it may have affected their lives deserves study, but this is not the purpose of this dissertation.

The omission of student interviews indicates a deliberate emphasis here on the pedagogical, therapeutic, and programmatic developments of PROVE. Entering students were necessarily unaware of the subtle changes in the federal evaluation criteria, admissions procedures,

course designs, and program objectives. Only the staff members, especially those involved with the program for several years, have the historical perspective for telling this aspect of the program's story.

I am interested in how and why the program objectives and services were progressively modified over seven years. PROVE's history is the story of inexperienced educators and zealous liberals slowly reconciling what they believed ought to be with what they realized could be. Their stories tell us about young professionals who capitalized on an unusual opportunity to learn from their students and each other about teaching and learning.

In the same way that the highly subjective, anecdotal records of the staff logs informed judgements within the program, I wish to show that these educators' stories can help us understand and make meaning of the PROVE Program. In presenting their experience in their voices, these stories provide a quality of insight unattainable in the skeletal summaries of formal evaluation which is too rich and compelling to be summarily dismissed on the grounds of subjectivity. Through these stories, I wish to demonstrate the potential for interviews as an accessible, revealing, and significant mode of inquiry and thus a legitimate component of both formative and summative educational evaluation.

This storytelling approach, rather than some systematic questionnaire, is influenced by my study of phenomenologists such as Hannah Arendt, William James, Michael Polanyi, and Lev Vygotsky and biographers such as Stephen Oates, Garry Wills, and Tom Wolfe. In The Human Condition, Arendt explains that it is the story which brings meaning to human actions. As Arendt points out, although we know more about Aristotle's opinions because they were written down, we know Socrates more intimately because we know his story. The story, the narration of initiatives within the web of human relationships with its conflicting wills and intentions, is the closest means man has for approximating and understanding the seemingly inexplicable flux of human experience.

Further, the storyteller can uncover meaning in the act of telling a story. As Lev Vygotsky explains in Thought and Language, thought is something other than speech minus sound. We do not think in sentences or even necessarily in words but rather in images and metaphors which are coded and compressed with personal meaning. Because of this compression, thought does not translate readily to the conventions of language, be it written or oral. Further, the very act of converting a thought, an private, abbreviated conversation highly predicated and compacted with personal meaning, to speech for an intended audience, provokes and even alters the original thought. In groping for the arrangement or words and sentences to convey some thought to a public audience, the speaker uncovers additional insights and explicates personal meanings inaccessible in the private conversation of thought.

Given the emphasis here on stories as part of the method and part of the purpose of this inquiry, Chapter I appropriately presents the stories of the people who were there at the creation of PROVE. (To help the reader keep track of the cast of characters, I have provided an appendix listing the people interviewed in the order of they appear in this study with their associations with PROVE and Johnson State College. Regretably, Ken Saurman, the founder of PROVE and director from 1971 to 1973, is not included in these interviews because he died in 1980, just before I began this study.)

The purpose of Chapter I is to suggest these inexperienced educators' genuine commitment to making college available to Vermont's rural poor and their naive assumption that providing a supportive, caring environment would enable underprepared people to become college students. Chapter I also shows the fumbling, initial efforts of the Communication Skills course and the unanticipated ways in which the resident counselor and the writing instructors collaborated to serve the basic writer. As Chapter I reveals, between 1971 and 1973 the program assessed its effectiveness more in terms of the personal changes observed in students and less in terms of their academic performance or persistence in college.

Chapter II, the story of PROVE's formal evaluation, begins with the creation of the Special Service programs and summarizes the funding criteria specified in the Office of Education regulations. Chapter II then traces the history of PROVE's federal reports to show the changes

in how the program measured and documented program effectiveness. This history reveals a progression from resistance to quantitative evaluation to cynical manipulation of numbers to a model of Special Services evaluation. In the course of this progression, the evaluation emphasis shifted from the services provided and student grades to student academic performance and retention based on explicit standards.

The second part of Chapter II places PROVE's evaluation history in a broader context by examining the literature on educational evaluation to explain why the 1977 proposal was so well received. As this discussion shows, PROVE's evaluation design and accumulated data unwittingly exemplified the methods of comparing student academic outputs with inputs and established standards recommended in the literature and by the Educational Testing Service study of Special Services.

Chapter III examines the liberal ideology in America and the particular burden placed on higher education in serving the twin dynamics of equal opportunity and competition. Explicating liberalism provides a context for considering more thoughtfully the educators' stories, for recognizing their assumptions, for appreciating their reluctance to limit open admissions, and for understanding the personal struggle the program revisions involved. Since on one level PROVE's story is about the weaning of young liberals, people who tried to make the egalitarian dream come true, analyzing the ideological context informs the stories, and the stories reflect the ideology's potency.

Chapter IV offers a second perspective on educational evaluation by presenting the educators' stories about the program revisions between 1973 and 1978. The evolving criteria, the benchmarks, and the collaborative process they used to judge the program become apparent in their anecdotes. Because their stories shed light on their original assumptions, the realities they encountered, and their reasons for changing the program, this approach provides an understanding of PROVE which is unavailable in the federal reports.

Chapter V summarizes the major program insights about limiting the clientele, defining learning, assuming less responsibility for student learning, and learning about teaching and learning through collaboration and storytelling. Chapter V contends that these related insights uncovered in the interviews are fundamental to any good educational program. Chapter V concludes that determining the presence of these central insights about education should be included in program evaluation and that interviews and other anecdotal evidence should be regarded as a legitimate components in formal educational evaluation.

C H A P T E R I

PROVE BEGINNINGS

Shortly after completing his dissertation on the Students for a Democratic Society in 1970, Dr. Kenneth P. Saurman left his position as Dean of Students at DePaul College in Chicago and came to the University of Vermont. In his new position, Saurman taught "Student in Conflict" and "University in Conflict" in the University's student personnel services graduate program, and he directed a federal, Office of Education grant to research higher education opportunities for low-income Vermonters. With the former New York City Commissioner of Education as the state Secretary of Education and a Atlantic Monthly cover story about the state's radical, "Vermont Design" for elementary schools, Vermont appeared to be a leader in educational innovation.

In spite of the favorable press, Saurman soon discovered that none of Vermont's twenty-seven colleges offered any open admissions or special instructional services for underprepared students. Given the inherent limitations of the rural, Vermont high schools, many public school graduates could not pursue higher education in their own state.

Based on his study, Saurman submitted a grant proposal to the Office of Education for a Special Services for Disadvantaged Students program. In the spring semester of 1971, the University of Vermont received a \$60,000. grant for Saurman's PROVE, Program for Reinforcing

Opportunities in Vermont Education. Just as Saurman began selecting students and staff for the summer program, the University of Vermont declined to host PROVE.

The University knew that the Office of Education regarded the PROVE type of funding as seed money to initiate and develop special services on different campuses which the host institution would in time finance. Anticipating the inevitable end of federal funding, the University argued that it would be irresponsible to accept the PROVE grant and to enroll the students if the University was uncertain about its ability to eventually finance the program. This decision, however, involved something more than foresight. In truth, the University wanted no part of open admissions.

As a private university which had merged with the state, land grant agricultural college, the University of Vermont was neither entirely a public nor a private institution. Although state officials served on the Board of Trustees and the Vermont legislature appropriated a substantial sum to the University each year, the University never regarded itself as part of the state system of higher education. Located near major ski areas such as Stowe, the University attracted thousands of out of state applicants who were willing to pay the unusually high tuition to be in northern Vermont. With such a high out of state demand, the University could afford to be quite selective with its non-resident candidates. This selectivity reinforced the University of Vermont's sense that it was a cut above a public

university, in spite of state funding.

The mere prospect of a Special Services project on campus created alarm among the University faculty. They regarded any form of open admissions, even fifty among several thousand undergraduates, as jeopardizing the University's standards and prestige. They especially objected to admitting unqualified students to the University when Vermont already had three, less selective state colleges. On this issue, the faculty and administration closed ranks; open admissions programs belonged at the state colleges, not at the University.

Saurman now had a funded project and no place to put it. Fortunately, Saurman found a site for PROVE some forty miles away at Johnson State College in Johnson, Vermont.

As a former senior official under Sargent Shriver in the Peace Corps, Johnson's President William Craig believed that a state college had a special obligation to make higher education accessible to all the people of the state, including the poor and the unprepared. As Craig stated in Johnson's 1970-72 Biennial Report, the college promoted the open enrollment concept in the belief that "universal access to higher education is a cornerstone of democracy and economic prosperity."

Craig found a willing ally for this concept in Johnson's Admissions Director, Edward Elmendorf. Shortly before Craig arrived at Johnson, Elmendorf created Project Access, a summer program for students with "borderline high school grades or test scores." Project

Access students enrolled in two standard freshman summer courses plus a non-credit, reading and writing skills course. Students who received a combined average of "C" in the two credit courses were guaranteed fall admission at Johnson.

The PROVE Program appealed to Craig and Elmendorf. Project Access was limited to the summer, but PROVE could provide special instruction and support services for students throughout the academic year. PROVE had the added appeal of substantial funding, a multiple of the modest state grant for Access.

From Saurman's point of view, Johnson State College was an attractive alternative to the University of Vermont. In addition to Project Access and an especially receptive leadership, Johnson had the only Upward Bound program in Vermont. Designed to provide compensatory instruction for similarly disadvantaged students while still in high school, Upward Bound was funded by the same federal agency that supported PROVE. The Office of Education favored Special Services and Upward Bound program located on the same campus, both for the shared administrative costs and coordinated student services.

Finding another campus on short notice had cost Saurman precious time. By May he had less than six weeks to assemble an instructional staff and enroll fifty eligible students in the first PROVE summer program. He found one Assistant Professor of English at the University, Paul Echoltz, to direct PROVE's Communication Skills course. From our contact in the student personnel graduate program,

Saurman knew of my recent experience with a commercial reading company, and he hired me and one other man to teach the reading and study skills component of the Communications Skills course. Saurman also hired Anne Herrington, a University graduate student in English.

As Anne explained, she deliberately chose the master's program at Vermont because she was unsure about graduate study.

"I never thought of myself or wanted to be a literature scholar. I figured I don't want to get into something that's a real gungho, doctoral program in English literature. The U. Vm. program was attractive to me because it was only a master's. It seemed like they would have some commitment to their master's students because that would be all they would have."

Anne was discouraged by her first year as a graduate student and a teaching assistant in the University English department.

"I just thought I can't do this stuff. These people are stuck in their ivory tower. My image of them, this is at the extreme, was someone stuck in an office writing away some little article for something like Notes and Query or Dickensiana, just picking in a dry way over text. So I thought this is not what I aspire to. And I didn't feel I'd taught well the first year. It was the only time I'd taught, and I'd had absolutely no support. I was just grasping at straws teaching."

Near the end of her first year, Anne looked for a summer job in the Burlington area. She had one prospect working for the Lake Champlain ferry, but she preferred something in education. Through a friend Anne heard about a Dr. Saurman and a federal summer program.

"So I went to talk to Dr. Saurman. And I remember Ken saying he's going to start this program. It's going to be open access, and he's going to show he can do it with the hardest cases. I mean let's not take any easy cases, they might smack of the middle class. I mean if we're going to do social justice and social democracy, we are going to take the hardest cases. He wanted to make more of a commitment to reclaiming the people who had been damaged the most in some way.

"I had absolutely no notion of it for myself. Other than in some quite probably missionary way. Just the very abstract, theoretical, open access is very important. No sense of that in any real way. And no sense at all in a real way of being a good teacher."

Given her limited teaching experience and lack of knowledge about open admissions students, Anne was surprised that Ken Saurman offered her a position in the PROVE summer program.

"Ken had no idea who I was. I think he hired me because I was from Pennsylvania. So I thought well this sounds wonderful. So it has to do with teaching, that sounds good. And I had absolutely no idea what it was, and I still didn't know until like mid-June. I knew it was going to be involved in a sort of preparatory program, and we were

going to be teaching reading and writing. And that Paul Echoltz would sort of be in charge of the course and I would sort of assist him and there'd be a couple of other people teaching reading."

In the PROVE grant proposal, Saurman had vaguely described a "Communication Skills Course" which integrated reading and writing instruction for underprepared students, an appealing concept on paper. When Saurman, Echoltz, Herrington, and I met for the first time to plan the course, we had some difficulty determining exactly how this integration would take place. We agreed that our students would need instruction in grammar, rhetoric, vocabulary, inference, annotation, and study skills. How to develop these basic academic skills in just six weeks, even with daily, two hour sessions, was less clear.

Recognizing the need for some evening support in the summer program, Saurman hired another student personnel services graduate student, Sally Candon, as PROVE Resident Counselor. Sally knew little about the program, but as a native Vermonter, she liked Saurman's description.

"But I guess the thing that really captured me with Ken presenting PROVE was that it was a program to serve Vermonters, and Vermonters who hadn't had very much luck with the educational system. And he presented it and I bought into it almost as though it was, possibly their last chance."

Saurman knew from his study that there were plenty of low-income Vermonters unprepared for college. The Office of Education's funding regulations specified that program participants must be within the federal poverty guidelines, which often meant an annual family income of less than \$4,000. Saurman had to find no less than fifty underprepared students interested in trying college who also met the low-income requirements.

Saurman soon discovered that many high school guidance counselors were not helpful. For one, the counselors did not have the necessary information to document family incomes. Some counselors objected to letting "just anyone" into college, regardless of the support services. They were reluctant to send their least successful students to college, as if rewarding failure. Apparently PROVE proposed to succeed where the high schools had not, and the implied criticism did not set well with many guidance counselors. Given this resistance and little time, Saurman turned to social service agencies and alternative high schools for students.

In June Saurman enlisted Sally to notify the necessary people that PROVE was now located at Johnson State College. Only then did she begin to acquire a more specific sense of the students Saurman had recruited.

"I remember the panic of trying to reach all the kids and helping Ken make some phone calls from the University to social workers. I remember getting in touch with a couple of - what do you call the people when you get out of jail? Probation officers. I mean Ken was going for the real last chance kind of kids. I mean he painted it that way. That these are really not dumb kids, but kids who had been turned off."

As Resident Counselor, Sally was the first to meet the PROVE students as they moved in for the summer program. One woman in her early twenties arrived with her baby and had difficulty understanding why the infant could not live with her in the dormitory. Sally also encountered a young man seated at the residence hall entrance on a battered suitcase. His name did not appear on the PROVE roster, but he wanted to come. Sally recalled the exchange.

"It was so neat and the kid was so impressive. Because there was nobody with him and he was telling his own tale. And all he was saying was, 'I really understand what this program is all about. I hated school. I sort of believed that maybe this would make a difference. I know I can't go any place without it. I'll sleep on the floor, I'll sleep outside. I have a tent.' Needless to say within a half hour he was bunking in with somebody."

Sally described one student's reaction when he first entered his dormitory room.

"He just kept walking around and looking. And it must have been a full five minutes. He wasn't wandering; he was kind of checking things out. Finally I asked him something and he said, 'I've never had a room of my own. This is the neatest place I've ever lived.'"

As Sally explained, the PROVE students were different.

"My past experiences were when kids went into a college room it was a come down. They had their own rooms at home. And even if they shared with brothers or sisters or whatever, for the most part they had come from a real home, a family environment so there was a sense of their own place and their own family. These kids, with very few exceptions, had come from living on the road or living in a half-way house."

The students differed in other ways. As a group, the first PROVE students were slightly older than the average entering freshmen. Several students had not completed high school but had earned a GED, a General Education Diploma. Of those who were teenage, most had seen more of the world, albeit rural Vermont, than their contemporaries. A number were legal wards of the state who had grown up in foster homes or state institutions. Others had been self-supporting since their early teens. A couple had arrest records for drug possession. The Windsor State Prison released one man before completing his sentence

for breaking and entering in order to join the PROVE Program.

All the PROVE students had performed poorly in high school. They naturally associated formal education with failure. Understandably, the very idea of being in college awed them, and they worried openly about succeeding. They saw college as a special place, a place that changed people's lives. This program, many stated, was their last chance to make it. Sally described their reaction to the first day of classes.

"They were so bummed out when they came back that night. If they had been more the typical student they would have gone home. I mean they were that kind of down. Communication Skills was what they all focused on, and I suspect they were just scared.

"They had just real different coping mechanisms. And one was 'Babyish. Done all that stuff before.' The one I could most relate to, 'I don't know how to write, I don't write well. I'm smart enough but I just don't write. It's not fair that they are going to put all this focus on writing and I'm going to be either a success or a failure on the basis of this.'"

As conceived by Saurman, the Communication Skills course would integrate writing and reading instruction, thus addressing the basic academic needs of the PROVE students. Although Paul Echoltz accepted the responsibility for coordinating the course, as an English literature professor, he had no background in developmental reading

instruction and little interest in learning about it. After the first day, Echoltz summarily divided the Communication Skills class meetings in half, half for reading and half for writing. Content to teach his own writing sections as he always had, Echoltz left Anne Herrington to her own devices and ignored the reading component for the rest of the summer.

Hoping to realize Saurman's original intention of integrated, communication skills instruction, Anne began to plan lessons with me as the reading instructor. Our two hour, daily commute evolved from a conspiratorial critique of Echoltz's ineptitude to an unusual collaboration between teachers. At the same time, Sally Candon, though the resident counselor, acquired an important role in the Communication Skills course.

On the first day of the summer session, Sally met the Communication Skills instructors before the first classes. The PROVE instructors listened to Sally's descriptions of the students with incredulity. Morning coffee with Sally immediately became a summer tradition. In addition to relaying the students' out of class progress to the instructors, Sally used the coffee conferences to inform herself on the writing assignments. Sally described her involvement in Communication Skills.

"That was a role that I hadn't anticipated. The teachers would explain to me, this is what we did yesterday in class, this was their assignment, these were my expectations. When I went back to the dorm at night I knew what their assignments were. I knew what they'd been through even though I didn't go to class.

"At night the kids would come up to me and say, 'Either I don't understand the assignment or could you look at this?' It was easier for them to ask me. I wasn't labeled as an academic tutor and I certainly hadn't been in the classroom. It was much easier for them to see me as just one of them. I mean I had no academic expectations as far as they were concerned. So I was no threat."

Much of the students' confusion about the writing assignments came the teachers' inexperience. Looking back, Anne apologized for the first Communications Skills course.

"It was incredible. I don't think I had any serious conversations with Ken about what we were doing. I was really in the process of not only learning how to teach but learning what this was. Hot damn, reading and writing altogether. We'll do the real stuff. You know it's just like we kept bombarding them with our new shot, our new thought, this is the answer.

"I didn't know what I was doing. So yeah, we're going to do some free writing, it's important. I mean here we are having them do free writing and we're slapping on Time Magazine editorials for them to

analyze at the same time. And they're supposed to write something.

"I remember one day Sally saying, 'I can't believe you guys gave out that editorial.' Something about numbers, typical Time. It was so condensed anyway. It was already one step removed from anything and they're supposed to do something analytic with this condensed, abstruse thing. And none of them understood it."

Although Anne criticized her efforts with the first Communication Skills course, she found the teaching experience in PROVE more satisfying than at the University.

"At U. Vm. teaching is just easier. It's more distant. It's giving some information to people, and people that are going to survive, whether they stay in school or not. They're going to survive. And I guess for me, there is something that was fulfilling to me to be teaching in a situation where it was going to make a difference in their lives if people were able to learn from this situation."

Sally also found the PROVE experience especially satisfying. In describing the impact of the first summer program, Sally spoke more about social than academic change.

"Nothing equals that summer. Never had I seen such personal growth. They bloomed right in front of you like time-lapse photographs.

"The fellow who for three weeks looked at the floor while he talked to me. It's not that he wouldn't talk to you, he never never would look at you. By the end of six weeks, he couldn't maintain eye contact with me but in the course of a conversation he could look at me two or three times. And you watched people become secure enough to tell Frank that they were tired of hearing his stories of selling drugs in Barre.

"What you saw was people come outside of themselves a little bit. And develop social skills that we would have expected of people years before. There was the kid who crashed twice a week. So for the first week I sat with her and for every week after that somebody else did. You know, maybe those aren't the kind of things that make headlines but for some of these kids to give up a night's sleep and to care."

Sally saw other changes that first summer. She found some of the Johnson faculty were pleasantly surprised by the PROVE students.

"They were surprised that kids were capable. And wanted to learn. It sounded to me like they were expecting a real low aptitude throughout. One teacher came to me to say, 'You know this student in the context of the hall. Do you find this person sort of bright?' It was just interesting and so satisfying to see them growing in a commitment they did not originally have."

Some Johnson faculty, however, had difficulty reconciling President Craig's open admissions concept with academic standards. When Ed Elmendorf introduced Access in 1969, the Johnson faculty were generally receptive to the program because the students were granted admission conditional on their performance in the summer. Access, Achievement Confirmed through Concentrated Effort in Summer Study, required the students to earn a "C" average in two summer courses in order to matriculate in the fall. Students who fell below a "C" summer average were denied fall admission.

While providing access to college, the Access program also served as a screening device. During the academic year the faculty encountered only those Access students who had met some minimal performance standards. As Ed explained, "Access was clearly advertised for and promoted on the basis of you've got to prove yourself concept and the faculty could buy that."

To their alarm, the Johnson faculty discovered that PROVE imposed no such screen. The Office of Education reasoned that underprepared students needed more than one intensive summer program to acquire the necessary academic skills. Aware of this expectation, President Craig assured Saurman that the PROVE staff could make all academic status decisions for PROVE students independent of the college's standing policies and the academic status committee.

With PROVE "protecting" its students, the worst fears of some of the faculty were confirmed: open admissions students could remain at Johnson with unsatisfactory grades, could enroll in their classes. Ed understood the faculty's concerns, perhaps better than they realized.

"I felt that the major problem in the early years in that program wasn't so much with the staff or the students or really with the administration. It was attempting to persuade a very recalcitrant faculty that the program itself was as good as any other program and these kids were as good as any other kids in the institution.

"If you look at where most of the faculty came from, in our particular case, there was a greater percentage who came from private higher education. And when you look at the whole set of circumstances that allowed them to get into school and to get through school, it was very much a matter of meritocracy. You get in if you earn your way in. You get through if you achieve reasonably good grades. And you succeed in life if you have succeeded in college. And only the best succeed. And that's their value and they impose that on the institution where they work.

"You throw a monkey wrench at them with PROVE which comes at the whole set of expectations from 180 degrees out and says well if you hadn't succeeded in high school, you should still have a chance to go to college. There goes myth number one."

PROVE's Communication Skills course was another source of concern for the Johnson faculty. The Access reading and writing course was a non-credit offering taught by Johnson teachers, but the PROVE instructors were outsiders. More importantly, Saurman had managed to get full Johnson credit for his course.

Saurman contended that denying course credit for admittedly compensatory instruction meant penalizing these students for the short-comings of Vermont high schools, a circumstance over which the students had no control. He convinced Craig and the Dean of Faculty that required compensatory instruction without college credit was class discrimination. Unwilling to create a new course listing, the Dean of Faculty instructed the registrar to record the PROVE students' grades in Communication Skills under an existing course, English 130. The English faculty were never consulted.

Although several PROVE students earned an impressive array of honor grades, just as many floundered through the first year with failing grades. By the spring of 1972, almost half of the original group had withdrawn from school. Based on this performance, PROVE concluded that the students required more skill instruction and personal support after the summer program. To extend the reading and writing skill development into the academic year, the program proposed a fall, sequel course to the summer course called Communication Skills II.

At this early stage in PROVE's history, the primary criteria for refunding were the proposed design of services and evidence of sufficient numbers of low-income participants. From the college financial aid records and Vermont demographics, Saurman readily documented the low-income student population. He had little difficulty explaining the appropriateness of Communication Skills I and II for program students. Saurman argued that Johnson State College demonstrated its commitment to open admissions and PROVE students by granting full college credit for program instruction, something most host institutions would not do. For the 1972-73 academic year, the Office of Education granted PROVE \$86,562.

The new budget made possible a number of staff additions for PROVE. After teaching Communication Skills I in the 1972 summer program, Anne Herrington and I were offered full-time contracts at Johnson, half-time for PROVE as Communication Skills instructors and half-time for the college. (In her college capacity, Herrington worked in the Johnson Writing Lab, and I served as the Student Activities Coordinator.)

Saurman also hired George Sousa, another recent graduate of the student personnel services program at the University, as PROVE Senior Counselor, replacing a clinical therapist who worked for the program the first year. George described the appeal of PROVE for a graduate student.

"There was a whole mystique about Johnson State College which is very interesting how Ken did that. That in the graduate program Ken continually painted Johnson State College as the cutting edge place, the place to be. That the Elmendorfs and the Craigs knew exactly where higher education was going.

"When you consider the CCNY open admission thing was only three or four years old at that point. It really was the breaking point for higher education. You could show a historical continuum for higher education and you were part of it."

As George explained, meeting some students and tutors during his interview for PROVE reinforced his enthusiasm for open admissions.

"It was that missionary sense. Boy these natives really do need the word. And isn't this great. The whole notion that higher education should be opened up to the masses played in beautifully to my great desire to be a working class hero. All these people do deserve to get a higher education and because of what we will do, they will get that chance and if it weren't for us their life would be shit forever. The sense of purpose was so crystal clear.

"There was a real angry part too. I mean there was the sense that we would show the Johnson faculty. You watch. This kid can learn. That we will convince them empirically. By running by them kids with absolutely no background at all and show that there is real potential there."

Ken also selected two recent college graduates to serve as resident counselors throughout the summer and the academic year. One counselor, Bonnie Brock, had worked as an undergraduate resident adviser at St. Michael's College where Sally Candon was Coordinator of Women. In spite of her contact with Sally, Bonnie knew little about PROVE. When Bonnie met with three PROVE students as part of her job interview, she had trouble explaining her interest in the program.

"I remember they said, 'Why do you want to come here and work with us?' And to be honest with you, I didn't know why. I didn't want to say, 'Because Sally Candon told me to call Ken Saurman.'

"It was near my commencement, so I said to them that I thought four years of college could be absolutely wonderful or absolute hell. If I could help them make it joyful, because I thought there was a lot of joy in the four years of school, that was the only reason I could see to work with them. I mean, it was where I was coming from at the time like, isn't college wonderful."

But for some PROVE students, college was not wonderful, and Bonnie's new job involved challenges she had not anticipated. In her first week as Resident Counselor, Bonnie dealt with a suicidal student.

"I remember her testing me with 'I'm suicidal. I'm going to take my life. Maybe you'd better stay up with me all night.' And after the second night, I said, 'Well I can't stay up with you all night,' and she said, 'Well maybe I'll go to sleep or if I can't go to sleep, maybe

I'll just get up and do a lot of pills.' And I said, 'Well, I'll tell you what, you go to sleep and I'll go to sleep and if you get up to do a lot of pills, why don't you knock on my door.'

"When she left me, I thought, 'God, what if this kid's dead in the morning.' And then I thought, 'No, I'm making the right decision. I'm not going to put up with this shit for the next five weeks.' I mean I never dealt with anything like that in college."

While Bonnie coped with various behaviors in the dormitory through the summer, Anne kept looking for ways to help the students get over their fears about college writing.

"We were still trying to figure out how to do this free writing stuff. Journals would be the way. That's the way to do it. I think our sense at that point was to have them expressing themselves and using language and stuff. We didn't give them a sense of why they were doing that. Just push those pencils. It's good enough in itself to push those pencils. If nothing else, loosening them up to words.

"I remember Bob Steventon just frozen there, just holding his pencil and not writing. Because he just couldn't do it. There's that closed in tightness. You don't put it down unless you can say it right. He was just so constricted."

Director Saurman was especially sensitive to the kind of inhibited behavior Anne described. He believed that structuring peer support was the way to help the students overcome their self-consciousness and reticence. Though hasty recruitment for the first summer program was an acknowledged factor, Saurman attributed the substantial student attrition through the first academic year largely to "the loss of the sense of community that had been developed over the summer." In the fall and spring, the program students were dispersed throughout the college, dissipating what support they might provide each other.

To remedy this problem, Saurman arranged for a special housing unit exclusively for PROVE students. The only building available was a handsome ski lodge, some ten miles from the Johnson campus, ironically owned by the University of Vermont. Saurman selected Bonnie Brock as Resident Director of the Lodge. As George Sousa recalled, housing the PROVE students at the Lodge created some tensions between Saurman and him.

"Ken's thing was getting the students together as a group relating to each other and supporting each other. The whole thing of the third world people. Keep your blacks together so that they could build their own sense of community and identity because that's where their support comes from. Don't assimilate them too soon.

"He was adamant that it's important for us to have this place as our place. And my whole thought was yeah, but it's our place seven miles away. Which is exactly where people wanted us.

"Talk about your personal needs. My need was to be a part of the Johnson State College community as a whole. I didn't want to be part of a vestigial program that existed somewhere in the fringes of the JSC consciousness. I wanted to be right in the middle of the action, a functioning member of the administration. I didn't want to be a third thumb.

"I think Ken would have built a community within a community because he was so excited about the Lodge. I thought just in terms of the hassles. We've got to get that stupid van and the stupid van drivers. Not to mention the rogues gallery we sent out for poor Bonnie to live with."

To illustrate how the students responded to her as resident counselor, Bonnie recalled the night she returned to the Lodge and discovered the PROVE van in a ditch.

"I remember peeling into the parking lot and making those front steps in about two leaps and I walked through the door and said, 'Is anybody hurt?' And I remember Kenny Mill, his eyes filling up with tears and someone else said, 'I told you that's what she'd ask.' To think that they would have to discuss that, was I going to ask 'What the hell happened to the goddamn van,' or, 'Is anybody hurt?' I

remember that night it just really really hit home to me.

"In my life that never would have been an issue. That the people I grew up with and went to college with, somebody really did care about them. And I remember thinking I fulfill that role. Yes, somebody does care about us. 'Does everyone have a place to go for Christmas?' Those kinds of things, which were never things that I ever had to worry about or anyone I knew had to worry about."

Bonnie was convinced that the community living at the Lodge changed the students.

"The caring came through in the students. They would ask, 'Is everybody O.K.? Who's not home tonight?' When they finally realized that Pam was going to have the baby, 'Then let's keep the baby. It will be our little mascot. Why can't we stay here second semester and we'll arrange class schedules and we'll keep the baby and we're all going to play house.'"

Even though many students did not return after one year, Bonnie felt that PROVE had a beneficial impact on them.

"Where else would they get any kind of a chance? Even if we lost them at the end of that first year, we had them for thirty-six weeks. That's a long time. You had kids that were stuck up in the woods. I mean they never would have gone out of there.

"They never would have been exposed to people like us. I mean, we're all good people. Students do not learn ethical principles, they only emulate ethical people, you know? I think I saw some goodness in us, I really do. That's going to sound naive but I really saw it."

At this point in the program, Anne Herrington was also satisfied that even a limited experience in college had a personal benefit for some students. She discussed how PROVE affected one student who left after one year.

"I think of Liz. Here's a person who had been so locked into herself, so completely submissive and passive. Now I'm not sure whether she changed. I think she had some more authority over her life when she left. I don't know that for certain. I also think she had some more outlets in her life. I mean to discover water color, to discover art as an outlet, as an expression. I think that is terribly important.

"And also to be away from that trailer of her grandparents for some time and learn to socialize and struggle with learning on her own. I think that helped her, even though she did go back home. When she came she could hardly talk to people or even look at people. And then to be able to engage in conversations and to initiate them and to be opened up in some way. So in that sense I think she grew out of herself. I think for someone who was so totally ingrown in a way that was potentially quite destructive for her, I think those were important changes.

"I don't really think I could talk of more change. I don't think of her in terms of reading and writing skills particularly."

Ed Elmendorf also did not regard student retention as a major criterion in evaluating PROVE's effectiveness. As the former Director of Admissions, he was impressed that numerous PROVE students who defied statistics and earned respectable grades.

"But I don't see the retention being the measure that satisfies whether or not the risk is important or not. I look at the changes in behavior that can be measured by actual performance compared with expected performance.

"Expected performance is measured by almost all the six thousand institutions in this country looking at the traditional measures like rank in class, and grades and SAT scores. They use some very sophisticated modeling and simulation and regression equations to predict a grade point average for the student in school based on everything they had done prior to coming to college. That is an expected level of academic accomplishment.

"The expected level for these people in PROVE would have predicted a grade point average at less than 2.0. In other words they were expected to fail given the traditional measures. What we found was that with the nurturance they needed in counseling and the academic skills development, their sense of self began to improve so that you could take those regression equations and those expected grade point

averages and just discard them."

George Sousa contended that graduation statistics are not a telling measure of the program's impact.

"When you apply the statistical point of view, PROVE probably wasn't successful because when all is said and done, you were were doing real well if one third of any entering class were alive and kicking at graduation time. Of the first fifty that we brought in, we probably had ten of that fifty who finally graduated. So as soon as you look at that kind of criterion then it's difficult to say that it was successful.

"I'm willing to bet that even those who were there a short period of time learned something. Whether or not it was something they'll ever use again, I don't know. It's difficult to know whether the kids who go back to Monkton, Vermont, are going to use the information they learned in 'Gods, Graves, and Obelisks.'

"I have to believe that the social impact, which was the one thing we could never assess. What's the impact on a person's world view of really having having themselves expanded in this way, of having to confront so many new things that they had never even thought about dealing with? I have to believe that has an impact even on the ones who left after a very short period of time. I'd say in that case PROVE was very successful because it took a group of people and exposed them to something that they otherwise would not be exposed to and in many

ways changed the way they defined themselves, the world, everything else."

Similarly, Anne Herrington did not use graduation statistics in evaluating PROVE.

"It was our objective to empower people in society at least in some way, give them some context or some skills, conceptual abilities that would make them more active or even likely to become active in society, thinking they can participate and do in society. And that, I really think, is empowering if only to begin to give some perspective and to open eyes and some more sense of authority. I think of empowering and authority, and that is the real thing whether you get a degree or not.

"I have two senses of the program's success and you can use either one. We were marvelously successful is the one answer, and I believe that too. After I say that I also would then say I have no idea.

If you said, 'I want you to review these statistics of the federal reports. This is how many we graduated and this is how many we retained.' I don't have any idea what those kind of numbers are and that was one thing I didn't have worry about. You had to worry about justifying it to those other people. I could be content with justifying by my just overall sense and feeling of it. So if you asked me, I would have to say my sense is that it was successful overall."

The Office of Education, however, was not content with PROVE's overall sense of success. Between 1973 and 1977 federal evaluators increasingly demanded quantitative measures of learning and improved retention and graduation of program students. The time had come to prove PROVE.

CHAPTER II

EVALUATING PROVE

Tracing PROVE's evaluation from 1971 to 1977 shows three stages of thinking. Since the initial program concept was creating access to higher education, the early federal evaluation reports emphasized the services provided and the students' perceptions of the experience. At this stage of program evaluation, PROVE made no significant effort to measure learning. During the middle years, the program yielded to increasing federal pressures for standardized, quantitative measures and cynically manipulated what numbers it had to present a favorable picture for refunding. In the third stage, PROVE developed local measures and standards which became critical elements in the program evaluation. By 1977, PROVE's annual grant proposal, based largely on evaluation design and prior experience, was ranked first in the New England region.

A review of the professional literature shows a consensus on basic assumptions and practices in educational evaluation and helps explain the success of the 1977 proposal. Ironically, the program that had shown such contempt for evaluation had become a model of evaluation, all the while unaware of the methodologies recommended in the literature. The changes in PROVE's evaluation design imply some important shifts in educational philosophy and program objectives, but

the federal evaluation reports shed little light on the reasons for these developments.

The story of PROVE's evaluation begins in the 1960's. Early in his presidency, Lyndon Johnson declared war on poverty and pushed through Congress the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The act created the Office of Economic Opportunity, an independent, cabinet level agency. Answerable only to the President, this executive agency would serve as Johnson's strike force in the war on poverty, unshackled by the existing bureaucratic constraints.

That same year, Sargent Shriver, former director of John Kennedy's Peace Corps and now director of the new Office of Economic Opportunity, hosted a think tank retreat in the Tennessee Smokey Mountains to develop educational programs for the poor. Out of this retreat came two new programs, Upward Bound and Talent Search.

As conceived, Talent Search would identify low-income high school students with potential for college and assist them in applying to colleges and securing the necessary financial aid. Talent Search would also refer these promising high school students to Upward Bound for special, academic preparation for college. Upward Bound in turn would pay low-income adolescents to attend summer programs on college campuses for special courses and cultural experiences designed to encourage and prepare disadvantaged students for college. The stated purpose of Upward Bound was "to generate skills and motivation necessary for success in education beyond high school." As the

program's title implied, in pursuing higher education these people were "upward bound" educationally and therefore economically and socially.

The Upward Bound designers assumed that two or possibly three summers of instruction and support would suffice in enabling low-income youths to succeed in college. Unfortunately, experience soon demonstrated that two or three summer programs before college were not enough; disadvantaged students still needed special instruction and support once in college. To supplement the Upward Bound program, Public Law 90-575 created a new program, "Special Services for Disadvantaged Students," for low-income, underprepared students enrolled in institutions of higher education. As specified in this 1968 amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965, Special Services were intended for students with "academic potential...who, by reason of deprived educational, cultural, or economic background, or physical handicap are in need of such services to assist them to initiate, continue, or resume their post-secondary education."

The same 1968 amendment which created Special Services also transferred the Upward Bound and Talent Search programs from Johnson's Office of Economic Opportunity to HEW's Office of Education, significantly in the student financial assistance division. In effect, the three programs, thereafter known as the TRIO Programs, functioned as educational adjuncts of financial aid. Though relocated in the Office of Education, the TRIO Programs were still intended for low-income students.

The 1968 legislation indicated that Special Services "may provide, among other things, for (A) counseling, tutorial, or other educational services, including special summer programs, to remedy such students' academic deficiencies, (B) career guidance, placement, or other student personnel services to encourage or facilitate such students' continuance or reentrance in higher education programs." In examining this central passage, the only verbs which could serve as some basis for evaluation of Special Services were "to remedy" and "to encourage or facilitate." Apparently just providing services which might remedy and encourage was sufficient in the late 1960's.

In 1972, Public Law 92-318 authorized \$300,000,000. for the TRIO Programs over the next three years. While painfully specific in defining a "proprietary institution of higher education" or an "associate degree school of nursing," the 1972 amendment offered no further clarification regarding recommended educational design or evaluation criteria for existing programs or proposal applications for new programs. Maximum cost per student, student academic performance, or student retention and graduation were not even mentioned.

In the breach, the TRIO Programs were relatively free to interpret the vague federal regulations as they chose. Early on a sharp division over program standards developed between two senior administrators for the TRIO Programs, David Johnson and John Rison Jones.

On the one hand, David Johnson strenuously objected to using the percentage of program participants graduating from college as a criterion for the annual refunding of Special Services projects. Johnson contended that attending college was a valuable experience in and of itself for the disadvantaged. He believed that enabling low-income students to experience college introduced them to a new world, raised their aspirations, and generally benefited their self-esteem, whether they actually graduated or not. In Johnson's mind, the inherently beneficial exposure to college and the possibility that program drop-outs might return to college sufficiently justified the substantial federal expense. Thus, Johnson consistently fought the imposition of any minimum grade point average or retention or graduation quotas as criteria for refunding Special Services programs.

At the other end of the proverbial log stood John Rison Jones, who contemptuously characterized David Johnson as representative of "the mea culpa generation." Though John Rison Jones was a member of Sargent Shriver's original Smokey Mountain think tank which created Upward Bound in 1964, Jones was also a former history professor and academic dean with very emphatic ideas about academic standards, even for the disadvantaged. (In 1968, Jones designed a curriculum for an Upward Bound summer program in New Orleans based on Thoreau's Civil Disobedience.)

For one, Jones believed that open admissions to college should have some limits because "not everyone is educable." Looking back on the early years of Special Services, he remarked, "We dumped many people on colleges who shouldn't have been there." Jones also argued that the Special Services programs should limit academic support to the first and possibly the second year of college. Since Special Services were intended to help students become successful in college, Jones could not justify "four years of hand holding."

Most importantly, Jones contended that the ultimate purpose of Special Services was to enable underprepared students to graduate from college. Mere exposure to college was not enough. Consequently, Jones regarded the numbers of students retained in and graduated from college as an essential measure of a project's effectiveness. But as the vague 1972 amendment suggest, Jones fought a lonely battle for program standards through the first five years of Special Services. In absence of clear program standards, Jones concluded, "We failed in our mission as educators."

PROVE Evaluations, 1971-1974

In PROVE's first year, 1971-1972, the program "evaluation" was cursory at best. The report to the Office of Education simply presented the mean grade point average for all program participants by semester. The report also summarized the overall enrollment and

attrition. Of the original fifty summer participants, eleven withdrew and one died during the fall semester. Another five students withdrew during the spring, leaving only thirty-three one year later. Director Saurman attributed the high fall attrition to hasty recruiting for the summer program and to "the loss of the sense of community developed over the summer period."

Saurman's explanation of the first year attrition indicates his conviction that personal support, both staff and peer, was the key to developing student self-esteem and self-confidence which he believed were the necessary antecedents for academic success. Characteristically, Saurman's proposed objectives for the program's second year did not address either academic performance or student retention. In addition to proposing to provide compensatory and special services and to assist students in locating adequate financial aid, the grant application included three other objectives: "to enable these students who, by reason of circumstances, have not previously been able to fully participate in the American Right (sic) to equal education, to have full access to that education; to increase self-worth, self-respect, and to enhance self-esteem on the part of the students in the program; to enable these culturally different students to experience a curriculum that reaches them at both the affective and cognitive level in order to maximize their full potential."

As Saurman explained in his "Achievement of Objectives," the first step in serving these students was to create an atmosphere of acceptance. "Each student becomes aware that we are interested in him in a very existential way - that his past is of little consequence. Rather, we mutually agree to focus on the present in order to enhance the opportunity that is his."

Saurman's stated assumptions were that all the PROVE students could learn, that learning is inherently enjoyable and valuable, and when a person discovers this, "true learning begins as a result of this latent motivation." The key to this discovery was providing individual attention and personal support so that each student realized "that for once in his life he is in an environment where people genuinely care about him as a person."

Because of the students' troubled backgrounds, Saurman declared that "the high risk inherent in a Special Services Program lies principally in social and cultural adjustment rather in the academic area." Given their personal histories, many students would inevitably drop out of college, even with the best support. Saurman argued that dropouts should not be counted as program failures. "Our focal objective is to make higher education available to students who might not have otherwise been able to acquire it." Clearly Saurman stood with David Johnson on the purpose of Special Services.

Saurman's reported evaluation for the 1972 summer program involved one small change. To the aggregate grade point averages previously reported, Saurman added the total number for each letter grade awarded to program students. The distribution showed that fifty-two percent of all grades granted were "B" or higher. By implication, a preponderance of honor grades demonstrated program effectiveness.

In 1973, George Sousa, the Senior Counselor, succeeded Saurman as Director of PROVE. A former student and close colleague of Saurman, Sousa approached program evaluation with similar assumptions. Among the program's "Theoretical Assumptions," Sousa stated: "Man is basically good and has a strong will to learn; Man has an infinite capacity for positive change; A person's personal and psychological history need not determine his future; Motivation, not intelligence, is the crucial variable determining academic success."

Under "Operational Assumptions," Sousa asserted that underprepared students need different student services than traditional students. Since students' emotional and adjustment problems necessarily affect academic performance, program students need special counseling concurrent with academic skill development. Further, open admissions students require special, developmental courses which most traditional faculty are unqualified to teach. At the heart of these was Sousa's basic assumption: "Given proper environmental support, reinforcement, and motivation, most people are capable of doing college-level work."

Sousa's evaluation report for 1973-1974 reflected these articulated assumptions. For the one hundred and eight program participants, Sousa listed various demographics including mean age, geographical distribution, percentage of high school graduates, average ACT aptitude scores, and the numbers referred by different social service agencies. The reported attrition for the seventy-six freshmen was forty-seven percent, but after subtracting the students who were "counseled" out of the program and those dropouts likely to return, Sousa declared an "adjusted attrition" of thirty-three percent.

The reported evaluation of student academic performance for 1973-1974 followed the pattern established by Saurman. For each academic period, Sousa summarized the distribution of letter grades and aggregate grade point average by freshmen and upperclassmen, and the percentage of honor grades (nearly half) and failing grades. The report noted that four freshmen and six upperclassmen achieved a grade point average of 3.25 or better.

In providing both the numbers for each subgroup and the percentage they represented, Sousa created an impressive array of figures. Quantitative summaries of student performance in the federal evaluation reports had more than doubled. Further, in the accompanying narrative Sousa introduce a PROVE practice of writing out each number followed by the numeric figure in parentheses. This contrivance was deliberately intended to give the report the appearance of statistical precision. But the basic strategy persisted: emphasize the incidence of high

grades and minimize the attrition.

Sousa added to the program evaluation a summary of two student questionnaires. Sousa reported that the students clearly perceived the counseling staff as committed, available, and understanding, which was consistent with program objectives. Although the students rated the Communications Skills faculty as accessible and helpful, most students conceded on the questionnaire that they rarely sought help outside of class. While generally enthusiastic about program services, the students expressed ambivalence about their own academic progress and prospects. Fifty percent reported feeling a great deal more confident about their academic ability, but only twenty-five percent felt their writing had improved "a great deal."

In addition to these locally designed questionnaires, Sousa also reported the results of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, administered in the summer and the following spring. Forty-five percent of the program students showed a moderate change in self-concept as defined by this test. Assuming that most PROVE students suffered from a low self-esteem, Sousa concluded that "it is clear that any positive change in the critical aspect of personality will have some effect upon the likelihood of academic success."

In general, Sousa's program evaluation for 1973-1974 emphasized student self-perception and student perception of program services, especially the counseling component. Though the ultimate purpose of PROVE was academic, the program was consciously counseling oriented.

In 1974, the PROVE Director and Senior Counselor shared an office complex with the two college therapists, and the writing instructors worked in an adjoining complex.

One of the results of this early emphasis on counseling was a collaboration between counselors and writing instructors which was uncommon in other Special Service projects. Because of the extensive, inter-office communication, the PROVE staff was extraordinarily well informed about their students on a day to day basis which enabled both counselors and instructors to anticipate difficulties and intervene sooner. In effect, PROVE had re-defined traditional campus roles where the teacher, though not a counselor, was privy to counseling insights, and the counselor was literally a part-time academic advisor tutor. But this distinguishing characteristic of PROVE was not conveyed through the numerical summaries of the federal report.

The evaluation for 1973-1974 does reflect the program's fundamental assumptions that low-income, underprepared Vermonters suffer from low self-esteem and that sufficient support and guidance in concert with academic skill instruction would enable most students to succeed in college. In 1973 PROVE was still primarily concerned with righting a social wrong, opening the door to higher education, and creating a supportive environment in which the disenfranchised could become learners. Providing access and support was PROVE's mission. Thus the evaluation centered on who came, what services were offered, and how the students felt about the services and themselves. Beyond

that PROVE felt little pressure to prove itself.

The 1973 GAO and ETS Evaluations

Two major studies marked a turning point in TRIO Program evaluation. In 1973, the federal GAO (General Accounting Office) performed an exhaustive study of Upward Bound programs across the country. By chance, the Upward Bound program at Johnson State College was included in this evaluation. For one week, two GAO auditors moved into the Upward Bound office and silently poured over their records. The Upward Bound staff treated the two men as pariahs, and rightly so. Released in 1974, the GAO's final report was devastatingly critical of Upward Bound.

Though Upward Bound placed more than half their students in colleges, including some very impressive colleges, the programs could not show how many Upward Bound students remained in college and graduated because they did not maintain any follow-up records on their students. Further, the GAO's review revealed insufficient documentation of the students' academic progress while enrolled in the Upward Bound summer programs.

Most Upward Bound directors called the study unfair. They argued that maintaining records on hundreds of students through four years of college at dozens of institutions was an unreasonable clerical burden. Moreover, they complained that the sample and the methodology of the

GAO study were deliberately designed to paint an unfavorable picture. The GAO, they claimed, was out to get Upward Bound. These objections were not entirely unfounded. As John Rison Jones recalled, the GAO spent a full year selecting Upward Bound programs for the study and included in the sample some programs which were already slated for defunding.

Regardless of the GAO's apparent bias, Jones contended that the essential recommendations of the study were sound and reasonable. Stated simply, the GAO recommended that Upward Bound refunding be contingent on documented program effectiveness including records of student academic performance during high school years and some record of student continuance in college. John Rison Jones, for one, agreed.

At nearly the same time the GAO was scrutinizing Upward Bound, the Office of Education contracted ETS (Educational Testing Services) in Princeton, New Jersey, to evaluate the Special Services projects. Not coincidentally, John Rison Jones collaborated with ETS on the study. Although the complete study was not published until 1975, the initial conclusions were released in 1973.

The ETS study reported that the average program involved two staff members and two faculty members and served fifty full-time equivalent students at an annual per student cost of \$673. Typically, the program services consisted of special recruiting strategies, academic counseling and advising, and tutoring. About half of the Special Services programs provided diagnosis for learning difficulties or

remedial courses, and almost half reported some special instructional media or strategies.

The ETS study remarked on the striking absence of innovative instructional or curricular design in the Special Services programs. While program participants clearly received more individual attention, ETS concluded that the nature of the services provided was not a significant departure from traditional practices in college. Nominally special or "compensatory" courses were generally standard college offerings in which the enrollment was limited to Special Service students. In effect, Special Services were simply providing more of the same for nearly \$700. a year per student.

While the traditional nature of the services was troubling for ETS, the questionable effect of the services was more so. "Where tests could be made, the success of the disadvantaged student relative to that of the modal student is no greater nor less at Special Service participating institutions than at nonparticipating." Lest there be any misunderstanding, the ETS study concluded in unequivocal language: "Neither a positive nor negative impact of Special Services Programs on disadvantaged students is shown by the empirical findings....There is no evidence that participation in support services activities systematically improves performance and satisfaction with college over that which may be expected from past performance." In a word, Special Services did not make a measureable difference for their students.

The ETS report noted that Special Services did have some effect on the host college. "It is significant, however, that although some programs, obvious failures of various kinds, and although a few appeared indeed to be in chaos, their impact on the institution was almost always stated in positive terms, even by observers who indicated that they had been initially critical." From these favorable responses, the study inferred "that the plight of the disadvantaged is being more sympathetically recognized."

As the ETS report explained, "the most positive evidence - which is drawn, to be sure, from the relatively soft data - seems to be that the programs promote a new presence on traditional campuses, which, in turn and in time, seems to promote a democratization, a new challenge to faculty, and a new acceptance by modal students." While maintaining that "the resulting democratization of the campus has had intrinsic rewards for all its inhabitants," the study raised an important question: "Whether these rewards are sufficient enough for the programs to be sustained outside of the context of federal support, or for the students to be maintained, is yet unclear."

Following their findings, the ETS report offered some "sobering recommendations." ETS assumed that if the Special Services programs were effective, program participants would eventually perform at a level comparable to "their non-disadvantaged peers at that institution." Based on that assumption, ETS recommended to the Office of Education that "program evaluation and renewal should be based on

success, after a reasonable time, of the participating students who obtain a satisfactory performance level according to institutional standards."

Although the study did not specifically define the two key phrases "reasonable time" and "institutional standards," the report did provide some important qualifiers. For one, the study acknowledged that success seemed more likely where the gulfs in behavior styles, values, and prior performance levels between the disadvantaged and "modal" students were not so wide. In recommending that refunding be based on "the persistence rates of participating students when compared with those of non-disadvantaged on that campus," the issue of institutional standards became clearer. Further, ETS recommended the immediate implementation of this persistence criterion for refunding "now that most programs have had a little time to mature." Stated simply, two or three years after inception, Special Service programs should show that they retain and graduate their students at rates comparable to the host institution's.

The study's more specific recommendations indicated some glaring shortcomings in the Special Service projects. The recommendation that "careful, thoughtful, and specific program objectives and goals should be established" leaves the impression that many programs failed to state what they hoped to accomplish other than enrolling students. In calling for "at a minimum" summaries of credit hours attempted and completed, grade point averages, and attrition of program students, the

ETS study revealed a striking absence of program documentation. Similar to the GAO's criticism of Upward Bound, the issue was not faulty evaluation design or unwarranted causal inferences; many programs neglected to maintain even skeletal records of the students and their academic performance.

Theoretically the GAO and ETS reports vindicated John Rison Jones in his long-standing effort to impose program standards. One might have assumed that a generally conservative Nixon administration, secure in a second four years, would have capitalized on the clearly damaging reports to cut the TRIO Programs. Certainly many project directors, then unaware of Nixon's preoccupations in 1973, began to fear major reductions. To Jones's dismay, little changed, either in the program requirements or the funding level.

One reason the programs endured intact was the active support of prestigious colleges and universities such as Princeton, Wellesley, and Wesleyan which hosted Upward Bound projects on their campuses. For all their egalitarian rhetoric, these institutions had more self-serving reasons for keeping the federal, summer programs. Limited to serving high school students on campus for only the summer, Upward Bound provided an income for dining hall and dormitories empty in the summer without affecting the selective student body. Yale, Harvard, and Columbia could improve community relations and take credit for serving the local poor at no expense and little consequence for the university. As one former federal Program Officer remarked, Upward Bound was a

convenient and even lucrative way of "buying off the poor."

Within the Office of Education, David Johnson was an equally formidable supporter of TRIO Programs in their current state. Through the 1970's Johnson successfully thwarted John Rison Jones on the specificity of federal program requirements. Johnson, however, could not control the regional Program Officers. In 1973, Grace Ward became the Program Officer for Region I, New England.

Before directing New England's TRIO Programs, Grace Ward had worked for the Washington where John Rison Jones was her "mentor." By her own admission, she was an eager student of Jones. Now as Program Officer in Boston, Ward's duties included visiting program sites and evaluating the services. But as she recalled, "in 1973 "there was no point in going out to monitor because there was nothing to monitor." Other than the numbers of low-income students and staff qualifications, few programs had anything to assess. Ward felt that because most programs lacked any clear educational objectives and evaluation criteria, they were "ripping off the kids."

With regionalization of the Office of Education, the Program Officer functioned virtually as an autonomous, branch office manager. Though a panel of experienced proposal readers actually rated each grant application, the Program Officer enjoyed considerable latitude in establishing the proposal evaluation criteria for the readers. The very lack of specificity in the federal regulations which David Johnson sought enabled each regional Program Officer to interpret student

eligibility, academic progress, and retention rates as they saw fit.

Encouraged by Jones and armed with the GAO and ETS reports, Ward interpreted the federal regulations for Region I in an exacting manner. For one, she stressed the educational impact of a program over the social or cultural experience. She summarily eliminated all travel money for "cultural trips" in budget proposals even though this budget item was funded for programs in California and other regions through the late 1970's.

Ward also used the GAO and ETS studies as justification to require explicit educational objectives and ongoing evaluation of program services and student performance. Each year she directed her proposal readers to scrutinize the applications for something educational that could be monitored, "some measure of keeping track of student progress." Ward confronted one recalcitrant Upward Bound director and demanded that he establish at least a reading and writing component for his program. She was not even prescriptive about the content. "Use whatever you like," she told him, "The newspaper, the L. L. Bean catalogue, whatever, but you can't just count the clouds each day." Following this exchange, the Upward Bound director resigned.

Since the ETS report recommended employing standardized, pretests and post-tests as "proof of impact," Ward stressed the importance of these tests for refunding. She did not, however, require any minimum test results. As she later admitted, she knew even less about educational testing than the project directors. She was content with

the very use of standardized testing as an important step in program evaluation for Region I.

PROVE Evaluation, 1974-1975

PROVE's objectives and evaluation for 1974-1975 reflect Grace Ward's influence, both in format and content. For each stated objective, Sousa now provided corresponding "Tasks," "Completion Deadlines," and "Evaluation Instruments."

The instructional services objective was also revised. What in 1972 had been "To provide compensatory and special services to such students who have traditionally been excluded from the opportunity for higher education" became in 1974 "To provide compensatory and developmental courses to significantly increase student reading, writing and study skills." Here was evolution from a political statement emphasizing access to the appearance of Management By Objectives. Though "significantly" was not defined, for the first time PROVE proposed to show a relationship between program services and student skill development.

In addition to providing the Communication Skills I and special content courses, one of the stated tasks under this new objective was a standardized test. The subsequent evaluation report shows that in June, 1974, PROVE administered a battery of standardized tests: the Gates-McGinty test, the English Cooperative test, and the McGraw Hill

Writing test.

The Communication Skills staff had always resisted using standardized tests, arguing that such a test could never accurately measure writing ability. Aware that Grace Ward was insistent on some standardized testing, the writing teachers reluctantly experimented with these three tests hoping to find one they could tolerate. Indicative of their reluctance, the staff administered the corresponding post-tests to only a few students, forcing Sousa to report cryptically under Evaluation Measurements, "Not done on all students." Though PROVE could not yet report actual test results, the program was beginning to employ standardized tests.

In the course of their experimentation, the writing instructors discovered that the McGraw Hill Writing Test, in conjunction with a spontaneous writing sample, was surprisingly useful in diagnosing students' writing ability. For instance, a low score in the grammar and sentence sections and a high score in the paragraph section usually indicated an avid reader, someone with an experienced eye for paragraph development but little practice in writing. Veterans we tested were invariably startled when we asked them if they read a lot in the Army. A disproportionately high score on the first section often suggested someone who dutifully memorized grammar rules in high school but still could not write. With a writing sample, the test scores were quite helpful in determining the highest need students and arranging sections of Communication Skill I.

Although PROVE's 1974-75 evaluation did not include standardized, post-test results to show that program services "significantly increase students' reading and writing skills," the report employed another standardized measure to placate the Office of Education. Along with the usual distribution of letter grades by semester, Sousa arranged the aggregate freshmen grade point average (2.11) in ranges: twenty-three percent of the program freshmen earned a 3.0 or better, thirty-seven percent earned a grade point average between 1.8 and 2.9, and forty percent earned below a 1.8 grade point average. Sousa then presented a profile of the ACT (American College Testing Service) aptitude test results for those program students tested, averaging from the seventeenth percentile in English to the fifth percentile in Math.

The American College Testing Service claimed that their aptitude test had a reliable predictive value for student performance in college. According to ACT, students scoring below the fortieth percentile were unlikely to achieve a 1.8 or better in college. This claim enabled Sousa to report that although eighty-two percent of the program freshmen scored below the fortieth percentile, sixty percent earned a 1.8 or better grade point average at Johnson, which Sousa defined as "making satisfactory academic progress." Clearly the comparison attempted to show that PROVE freshmen performance exceeded ACT's prediction as a result of program services.

In truth, the comparison was a statistical sleight of hand. Sousa did not report the number of students who actually took the ACT test. He also did not isolate the the grade point average's of those students tested for a more telling correlation, and with good reason. PROVE's freshmen class had numerous veterans and other older students who did not take the ACT test and who tended to be more mature and motivated in college. Consequently, the sixty percent with a 1.8 or better grade point average included many who were not part the eighty-two percent scoring below ACT's fortieth percentile.

PROVE's 1974-75 evaluation still emphasized whom the program served and what was provided for them, but in response to federal pressure, PROVE had now joined the numbers game. Sousa knew full well that the ACT percentiles were "predictive" only in the sense that students who are poorly prepared for college and thus perform poorly on college aptitude tests often have difficulty in college, which is stating the obvious. No matter how PROVE might manipulate figures, we could not ignore the fact that nearly half of the freshmen (forty percent) were in academic difficulty and almost as many program students would drop out for various reasons in the course of the next twelve months.

Because Grace Ward set seventy-five percent as a reasonable retention goal, PROVE's 1974-75 proposal included a new objectives, "Strive toward retaining seventy-five percent of students for the next academic year." The word choice was deliberate. Given the pattern of

PROVE student attrition, Sousa was willing to commit the program to "striving" to retain; actually retaining seventy-five percent of one hundred and sixty students was another story.

In the final evaluation report for 1974-75, Sousa made an important distinction between students "no longer active" (thirty-one percent) and "total attrition" (twenty-two percent). He appropriately deducted from the attrition total the fourteen students who graduated or transferred to another college. He also subtracted those students on medical leave or those "counseled out of the program." Apparently attrition was in the eye of the beholder.

Further, June was a premature time to determine attrition because several students, even students in good standing, would not return for the fall semester. The actual September to September attrition was between thirty-five and forty percent, but as of June, PROVE could report an adjusted attrition of twenty-two percent, well within the stated objective. For the graduation objective, the report simply stated, "Cannot be measured at this time," since few PROVE students had attended Johnson long enough to graduate.

The increased pressure from Boston to retain students created two dilemmas for PROVE, one ethical and one pragmatic. The program staff was still committed to open admissions, equal opportunity for all who aspired to higher education. They believed that proper open admissions should involve some risk which would necessarily lead to some significant attrition. To limit the program to moderate need students,

to admit only those students with reasonable prospects for academic success seemed to contradict the notion of true equal opportunity. Grace Ward's prescribed seventy-five percent retention objective virtually dictated a modified open admissions which PROVE could not ethically conscience.

Even if the PROVE staff could rationalize being more selective in the admissions process, and therefore presumably more successful in retaining students, finding enough students who were economically eligible posed a problem. Each year the program had to serve more students. In its first year, PROVE served fifty students. For 1974-75, Boston expected the program to serve one hundred and sixty. At the same time, Ward continued to require the old economic guidelines for student eligibility.

Through various amendments, the federal regulations continued to designate the Special Services programs for students with "academic potential...who, by reason of deprived educational, cultural, or economic background, or physical handicap are in need of such services to assist them to initiate, continue, or resume their post-secondary education." In the entire history of Special Services, the only change in this central definition was the addition in 1977 of the phrases "disadvantaged because of severe rural isolation" and "by reason of limited English speaking ability."

As stated, "deprived educational, cultural, or economic background" suggested that one of the three was sufficient for student eligibility. The key word was "or," not "and." At the same time, the legislation which transferred Upward Bound from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education and created Special Services in 1969 was in fact an amendment to the financial aid section of the Higher Education Act. Further, in the 1972 amendments (Public Law 92-318) the Authorized Activities Section 417B(a) specified students "from low-income families." Perhaps influenced by historical roots in the Office of Economic Opportunity, Special Services initially emphasized serving the poor, in spite of the broader definition which persisted in the legislation.

When PROVE began, low-income eligibility was determined by the national poverty table, adapted from the Bureau of the Census. To qualify in 1971, a non-farm family of four could not earn more than \$3,743. The limit for a farm family of four was \$3,195. With six members, a non-farm family's gross income could not exceed \$4,958.

With the exception of welfare recipients, who by definition were low income, and handicapped students, at least eighty percent of the PROVE students had to meet the national poverty criteria to be eligible for program services. Special Services did allow twenty percent of the students to have a family income twenty-five percent above the poverty guidelines. For a non-farm family of four, a gross income up to \$4,678. was permissible. In the early 1970's, \$5,000. provided a

marginal existence for a family of four, but such an income disqualified a student for Special Services. Even the ETS report recommended "more realistic" income guidelines noting in particular that "the poverty level is far too low for the New England area."

Although 1974 was the last year that other regional offices used the poverty table to determine student eligibility, Grace Ward continued to enforce this low-income requirement for the New England programs as late as 1976. David Johnson chastised Ward for "being hard" on Region I, but Ward reasoned that limiting services to the severely low-income was consistent with the spirit of the legislation.

Each year PROVE scrambled to find more low income students. Fortunately the Johnson Financial Aid Director, Jim Fry, was another graduate student of Ken Saurman with close ties to the PROVE staff. His loyalties were clear. Since financial aid applications included gross annual income and family size, Fry had little difficulty preparing a roster of every student at Johnson who qualified under the poverty table. Not all financial aid directors were that accommodating, but PROVE did have good friends in helpful places.

From Fry's poverty roster, PROVE then identified those students who received some program service. As the required client load increased each year, virtually any contact, however brief, between a staff member and a low income became the basis for declaring that student a PROVE "client." Any student who enrolled in Communication Skills I, received course advising, requested a tutor, or met with a

program counselor was counted in the total. In 1974, the program summarily declared every low-income student living in Martinetti Hall, where PROVE Counselor Ryan also served as Resident Director, on the tenuous rationale that Ryan probably provided some service for all those students. In other words the program actually claimed some students who were altogether unaware of being "served" by PROVE and might well have resented being labelled a PROVE student based on confidential, financial aid information.

Finding enough economically eligible students was just one problem. Keeping them was still another problem. Though extreme poverty is not directly related to academic performance, we saw at Johnson that the rural, low-income students were often the least able to endure in college. The students with moderate family incomes from the Burlington, Vermont, suburbs tended to equate a college degree with employment. At a time when companies were hiring black college graduates, the black students in urban Special Services programs seemed to regard the B.A. as a ticket out of the slums and worth four years of hardship.

The college degree did not hold the same allure for our rural students. Most rural Vermonters are fiercely loyal to their home town and notoriously loathe to leave, even for work. (In Lamoille County some regard moving fifteen miles away as leaving the area.) Leaving the state is unthinkable. Further, jobs are chronically few in Northern Vermont, and a college degree is largely superfluous for what little

employment is available.

We had enough difficulty finding eligible students. To compound matters, those eligible students were either rural, low-income students or corrections, mental health or welfare clients who for different personal reasons generally did not persist in college at an acceptable rate. In a word, Boston required us to serve and retain the students least likely to persist in college.

PROVE Evaluations, 1975-1977

When Sousa decided to leave the program for doctoral study at Boston University, few questioned who would succeed him. President Elmendorf, Dean Candon, and Sousa all wanted me to take the position. More to the point, I had no real alternative. Sousa's departure coincided with the elimination (which I recommended) of my half-time position as Johnson's Coordinator of Student Development. Dwindling enrollments at Johnson forced new budget priorities, and the Dean's budget officers rightly agreed that the Student Development position was the most expendable in tight times. With two young children, I could not live on my PROVE salary as a half-time instructor, and I knew I could not find similar work in the area.

As the new PROVE Director, I worried about the annual grant proposal and evaluation reports. Federal funding was never assured. We lived from year to year uncertain of the program's future and our jobs. Such is the nature of "soft money." I had written small portions of earlier proposals for both Saurman and Sousa, but the prospect of writing an entire grant proposal terrified me. If I could not convince Boston of the program's effectiveness, PROVE would end, and my closest friends and I would be out of work.

I also worried about finding one hundred and seventy-one eligible students for the 1975-76 academic year. Officially Ward still defined student eligibility in terms of the poverty table. Upwards of forty percent of the students we actively served had gross family incomes between \$5,000. and \$10,000., hardly affluent but technically ineligible for PROVE. So we continued to declare all eligible Johnson students we had any contact with, however cursory, and hope that Ward never checked our files. Some student folders were suspiciously thin. Now saddled with the responsibility for securing program funding, I found the scramble for eligible students more galling than ever.

Ward knew that the poverty table was stringent for New England, and she fought unsuccessfully for regional economic guidelines more realistically based on local labor statistics. She also realized that she could not invent her own poverty table without revealing to project directors that the poverty requirement was unique to Region I. Consequently, she continued to require her programs to serve only low

income students, but she scrutinized program rosters only when she suspected gross abuses. Ward was incensed when she uncovered one student in a Massachusetts program earning \$18,000. at a full-time job while receiving Special Services support.

I did not learn until long after Ward and I both left Special Services that she guessed PROVE was serving many technically ineligible students. She never examined our rosters because she assumed that the moderate income students we served were still appropriate clientele for Special Services. Fearful that I might inform other programs where abuses existed, Ward did not explain her double standard while I was director. "How did I know that I could trust you?" she asked simply. I wish she had. As the new director, I was so anxious about the program roster during Ward's first site visit that following our dinner together, I discreetly threw up.

I was equally worried about the retention and academic performance expectations. The 1975-76 program evaluation, a critical part of the 1976-77 grant proposal, reveals a fairly desperate effort to paint a favorable picture.

To suggest precision, the fall 1975 attrition summary separated the seven students who withdrew during the fall semester from the eight who withdrew at the end of the fall and the four dismissed by the program. In all, nineteen fall students left, and another thirteen students withdrew or were dismissed in the spring semester totaling thirty-two. Though this constituted an eighty-two percent retention

rate, well within the stated seventy-five percent retention objective, we knew from experience that many more students would not show up in the following September. In fact, the report did not even address attrition in terms of the objective.

We had, however, administered both the McGraw Hill pretest and post-test in the 1975 summer program, so the evaluation report featured these results. Since we had no minimal performance standards for the McGraw Hill test, we simply summarized the students' relative gains in percentile rank. We reported that twenty-eight percent of the summer freshmen scored eleven to thirty points higher in percentile rank on the post-test. Twenty percent of the students gained thirty-one to fifty points in percentile rank, and seven percent increased a dramatic fifty-one to seventy-one points. By omission, federal readers could infer that many students (forty-five percent) improved by ten or fewer percentile points. In fact, quite a few actually scored the same or less on the post-test, but we did not report this.

At this point, Ward simply wanted some reputable, standardized measure which might suggest the impact of the program's services. Deliberate omissions notwithstanding, our crude test score analysis sufficed. Ward was more concerned with the programs that still resisted any standardized testing than the actual test results. We had no idea that in 1975 PROVE was employing standardized tests more than most programs.

Except for the McGraw Hill test results, the 1975-76 academic evaluation followed a familiar format: the percentage of letter grades for freshmen and upperclassmen by semester, and the number of students on the Dean's and the President's list. A grade pattern similar to 1974-75 persisted in both the fall and spring semesters. Nearly half (forty-six percent) of the fall freshmen grades were "A" or "B," and slightly more than half (fifty-seven percent) of the fall upperclassmen grades were honor grades. The preponderance of honor or satisfactory grades clearly implied that most PROVE students were in good standing and roughly half performing well. We knew better.

The grade distribution was skewed in large part by generous Johnson faculty who often awarded honor grades for merely adequate work. While PROVE required substantial reading and writing expectations in the summer Core courses and chose faculty accordingly, the program did not control student course selections during the academic year. Many PROVE students enrolled in "discussion" courses which involved little more than attendance for a "B."

Even without the grade inflation, our evaluation methodology was faulty. The percentage of letter grades awarded is not a telling measure of student performance. As the report noted, eighteen fall students were on the Dean's list or the President's list, and twenty-five in the spring. By definition, these select few (fifteen percent of the program) had most of the honor grades. In effect, we were capitalizing on the exceptional achievement of a few to imply

overall student progress and to minimize the fact that nearly one third of the freshmen grades were failing or incomplete, which usually amounted to the same thing. Had we subtracted the grades of the distinguished students from the totals, the pattern would have been decidedly less impressive.

Two significant changes in the proposed objectives for 1976-77 attempted to establish some criteria for measuring academic progress. For one, the proposal introduced a new objective for diagnosing academic needs based primarily on the pattern of high school courses involving reading and writing, the quality of writing in the admissions application narrative, and the McGraw Hill Writing Test. The proposal noted that in 1975 sixty-five percent of the program freshmen scored below the fortieth percentile on the McGraw Hill test which we regarded as "one indicator of minimal writing competency" at Johnson.

By this time, we had administered the McGraw Hill test to enough students to see some fairly consistent correlations between the test scores and the students' writing ability. We discovered that students scoring below the fortieth percentile almost invariably had difficulty writing adequately in most Johnson courses. Thus what initially served as a just a diagnostic tool now provided one bench mark of minimal competency enabling us to assert with some confidence a local standard.

The new reading and writing objective included another standard: "Develop each Program student's reading and writing skills to the Johnson State College competency within three academic semesters." Significantly, the operative verb in this objective was "develop" instead of "provide," which accurately implied a change in both program services and evaluation.

Since the inception of the program, the regulations specified that Special Services funds could only be used for compensatory or other special courses for which the enrollment was restricted to program students. By 1975 half of Johnson's freshman class enrolled in PROVE's Communication Skills I, making the course ineligible as a program expense. Fortunately for the students, Johnson had assumed the entire cost of Communication Skills (in the Dean of Students budget) because the college recognized the need for basic writing instruction and lacked confidence in the English faculty to serve the open admissions students well. This change meant that the Communication Skills course, once the mainstay of the PROVE's service, was not in the program budget or the objectives.

No longer just "significantly increase" student skills, the new objective also specified a criterion and a time period, the college graduation competency level in three semesters. The new Johnson writing competency test, directed by Anne Herrington and funded by FIPSE (Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education), was the basis for the specificity of PROVE's objective.

Beginning in the fall of 1976, every sophomore at Johnson was required to edit a flawed passage and write a spontaneous essay which was rated by two faculty. The readers' evaluation criterion was a set of primary, rhetorical traits. These traits were established by a separate team of readers based on students' actual responses to the questions. The faculty readers were then trained to rate the essays using a grid which described each rhetorical trait for four levels of proficiency. When two readers arrived at different ratings for an essay, a third reader would reconcile the difference. The primary rhetorical trait method is generally acknowledged in the English profession as the only way to insure some objectivity and consistency in rating student writing samples. Most writing teachers agree that such a scrutiny is a far better measure of student writing than a standardized, multiple choice test, though admittedly more time consuming.

At Herrington's initiative, Johnson adopted the writing competency test as a graduation requirement. Students had to achieve a "3" (defined as minimal competency) to graduate from Johnson. Sophomores who scored lower than "3" were forewarned to develop their writing skills to the college competency level in their remaining two years. Theoretically these students would encounter difficulty in upper level courses, but enough Johnson faculty tolerated poor writing that students could and did graduate from Johnson with appalling writing skills. Mindful of these lapses, the college administration was determined to improve the quality of writing at Johnson, and studies

suggested that such a writing competency test was a more effective device for assuring minimal competency than a required, freshmen writing course.

Clearly the Johnson writing competency test was a local evaluation instrument with no national significance, hardly the kind of commercial, standardized test that Boston valued. Still, the test was an institutionalized, college graduation requirement, the methodology was sound, and the enterprise was funded by the prestigious FIPSE Fund. PROVE now proposed to develop program students' writing skills to a minimal competency by the sophomore year using a professionally respected, categorical measure which was locally significant and functional. Boston was impressed with this unique measure in Special Services evaluation.

The new writing objective suggested a change in PROVE's thinking. In specifying three academic semesters as the time period, PROVE indicated a growing conviction that underprepared students should be able to "catch up" by the middle of their sophomore year. Including the intensive summer program before their freshmen year, open admissions students had the equivalent of four academic semesters to develop the necessary, basic skills for college work. We knew from experience that motivated students who capitalized on the special instruction, tutoring, and support services could acquire most of the basic skills for survival in college in twelve months and would require relatively little program support in their sophomore year. We had

become convinced that a student who would have clear difficulty "becoming" a freshman in the course of the freshman year should not be admitted.

In the spring of 1977, PROVE submitted a grant proposal for the 1977-78 academic year. The panel of federal readers ranked PROVE's proposal first among some twenty, Special Service proposals submitted in the New England region. One federal reader gave the proposal a perfect score for each of the four evaluation categories. The entire budget of \$97,000., PROVE's largest request ever, was approved without amendments.

The proposal for 1977-78 involved a number of changes. Sensitive to the drudgery of the reader's job, we altered the proposal's format. Instead of standard margins and double spacing, we used a broad left margin and a larger type set and arranged the lines at space and a half intervals. The ease of reading was further facilitated by the frequent use of clearly labeled, numerical grids such as standardized test scores and attrition patterns. Readers could almost skim vertically through much of the proposal.

Although undoubtedly appreciated, the appealing format does not explain the success of the proposal. The substantive changes involved 1) a detailed description of the new, "prescriptive" admissions policy created for Johnson by PROVE which included specific measures and criteria for diagnosing and placing entering students, 2) completely revised, behavioral objectives for each academic skill area with

specified, measurable competency levels for each, and 3) a thorough comparison of PROVE's attrition and graduation history with the college's for the previous four years.

To fully appreciate how these changes in PROVE's evaluation design were received by the Office of Education, it is important first to examine the contemporary literature on educational evaluation, especially since PROVE was wholly unaware of the consensus on evaluation in the literature at the time. We did hire a consultant to help us write our objectives in behavioral terms. Certainly employing the preferred language contributed to the proposal's success. More importantly, by 1977 PROVE had established in its own way the kind of measures, standards, and performance comparisons called for in the literature.

The Literature on Educational Evaluation

Though leaders in the field of educational evaluation may differ on the more subtle issues such as the working relationship between the evaluator and the educator, the role of the evaluator in developing program objectives, and the merit of experimental designs, these authorities are in fundamental agreement on the purpose and the characteristics of evaluation. As a branch of disciplined, empirical inquiry, educational evaluation involves logical processes, objectivity, and evidential tests in the course of examining

relationships among variables within the educational process to make a rational judgment about the efficacy of a program. The leaders agree that to provide a more compelling basis for administrative decision-making, evaluation requires exhaustive descriptive data in behavioral terms for each stage in the educational process from inputs to outputs. These leaders also call for the rigorous use of credible, performance standards to judge program attainments.

Informal evaluation is characterized by a dependence on casual observation, implicit goals, intuitive norms, and subjective judgments. In contrast, formal evaluation addresses the inadequacies of informal evaluation by creating a systematic procedure for specifying intended student outcomes and comparing outcomes with explicit standards to inform administrative action. To accomplish this precision, formal evaluation relies on check-lists, controlled comparisons, and standardized testing of students.

Though they share similar methodology, educational evaluation and educational research differ in their purpose. Research attempts to produce new knowledge, to assess scientific truth. Evaluation is concerned with the immediate worth or social utility of a program. Research seeks conclusions; evaluation leads to decisions. Consequently, evaluation is not required to explain why or how a program is effective. "It is enough for the evaluator to know that something attendant upon the installation of curriculum A is responsible for the valued outcome."

In "The Countenance of Evaluation" Robert Stake states that formal evaluation traditionally has emphasized outcomes such as the student abilities, achievements, and attitudes resulting from the educational experience. Stake argues that the preoccupation of educational measurement specialists with individual student scores overlooks the critical contingencies between background conditions, classroom activities, and scholastic outcomes. Instead, a thorough evaluation must systematically examine the logical and empirical contingencies between the antecedent conditions and the classroom transactions as well as the resultant outcomes.

Thus, Stake proposes a "full countenance" of evaluation, similar to what Michael Scriven calls "'increasing the power of the microscope.'" For Stake, description and judgment are the two basic acts of evaluation. "To be fully understood, the educational program must be fully described and fully judged." Only such an examination "in the round" can contribute to the "science of teaching."

Toward a full countenance, evaluation should first describe three types of data: antecedents, transactions, and outcomes. Stake defines an antecedent (also called an input or an entry behavior) as any condition existing prior to teaching and learning, such as student aptitude, previous experience, or willingness, which may relate to outcomes. Transactions are the numerous encounters between student and teacher, student and student, author and reader, i.e. "the succession of engagements which comprise the process of education." Outcomes are the

consequences of education.

In characterizing education this way, Stake shares Malcolm Provus's basic assumption that "human activity processes inputs to produce outputs." In fact, the consensus in the evaluation literature is overwhelming that education is an input/output process. Given this pervasive assumption, educational evaluation is a logical and empirical system of isolating these discrete variables in order to assess the treatment's effectiveness on the inputs in light of the actual outcomes as compared to the intended outcomes.

The challenge of evaluation is to explicate this myriad of variables and then trace the relationships between them. As Stake points out, transactions are dynamic while antecedents and outcomes (the before and after of education) are relatively static. For instance, during a transaction an outcome can become a "feedback antecedent for subsequent learning."

To systematize a full countenance of evaluation, Stake recommends first scrutinizing each of the three types of data (antecedents, transaction, and outcomes) in terms of Intents and Observations, creating a six cell, descriptive data matrix.

Stake uses the term "Intents" instead of "goals" or "objectives" because so many educators have come to equate goals with intended student outcomes. Stake applauds this development in educational terminology. He contends that the merging of the terms educational

goals and intended student outcomes is "to the credit of the behaviorists." In his effort to identify all the anticipated variables, Stake poses Intents as a much broader category than outcomes. "Intents include the planned-for environmental conditions, the planned-for demonstrations, the planned-for coverage of certain subject matter, etc., as well as the planned-for student behavior."

Stake argues that evaluator rather than the educator should write the curricular objectives because many antecedent conditions and teaching transactions can be worded behavioristically and because the evaluator is the one sufficiently versed in the language of behaviors, traits, and habits. "Just as it is his responsibility to transform the behaviors of a teacher and the responses of a student into data, it is his responsibility to transform the intentions and expectations of an educator into data."

The descriptive data must also be scrutinized in terms of three additional considerations: the logical contingency between the Intents, the empirical contingency between the Observations, and the congruence between the Intents and the Observations.

At the planning stage, the evaluator must establish logical contingencies between the intended antecedents, intended transactions, and the intended outcomes. Once implemented, the evaluation of the observations relies on empirical evidence for the contingencies between the observed antecedents, observed transactions, and observed outcomes. Stake does not underestimate the difficulty of examining the these

contingencies. "Just as the Gestaltist found more to the whole than the sum of its parts, the evaluator studying variables from any two of the three cells in a column of the data matrix finds more to describe than the variables themselves."

Ultimately, the evaluator seeks to identify outcomes which are contingent upon particular antecedent conditions and instructional transactions. For the master teacher, the contingencies between "input materials" and instructional goals are "logical, intuitive, and supported by a history of satisfactions and endorsements." Stake contends, however, that even master teachers should "bring their intuitive contingencies under the scrutiny of appropriate juries." Indeed, systematically explicating the educational process from a subjective and intuitive experience to discrete units of measurable data is one of the evaluator's primary roles.

In addition to determining the logical contingencies among the Intents and the empirical contingencies among the Observations, the evaluator looks for congruence between the intended antecedents, transactions, and outcomes and the observed antecedents, transactions, outcomes. To be fully congruent, all the intended antecedents, transactions, and outcomes would happen as anticipated, which is unlikely. Stake also points out that congruence does not indicate that the outcomes are either reliable or valid but simply that what was intended did indeed transpire.

The final stage of evaluation is the creation of a judgment data matrix which includes both general standards of quality and judgments specific to a given program regarding the three sets of key variables specified in the descriptive matrix.

Stake contends that the absence of standards, "benchmarks of performance having widespread reference value," is a basic failing in contemporary educational evaluation. "What little formal evaluation there is is attentive to too few criteria, overly tolerant of implicit standards, and ignores the advantage of relative comparisons." Stake further cautions that standardized tests do not per se constitute standards. As he explains, while standardized tests may indicate how well an examinee performs certain psychometrically useful tasks relative to some reference group, these tests do not show "the level of competence at which he performs essential scholastic tasks."

For Stake, rational judgment in educational evaluation is simply "assigning a weight, an importance, to each set of standards...and deciding which set of standards to heed." Judgment also includes deciding on an administrative action in light of the empirical outcomes and the chosen standards. In other words, judgment is the rational act of selecting from a range alternative standards which in turn informs the choice of administrative actions.

Thus, a full countenance of evaluation generates extensive descriptive data of the critical variables in the educational process by systematically examining a) the logical contingencies among Intentions, b) the empirical contingencies among Observations, and c) the congruence between Intentions and Observations and then applies explicit and widespread standards of performance to the outcomes to reach a rational judgment about administrative action.

Though in fundamental agreement with Stake, Daniel Stufflebeam places a greater emphasis on evaluation as decision-making. In his article, "Educational Evaluation and Decision-Making," Stufflebeam defines evaluation as a cyclic, continuing process implemented through a systematic program in the service of administrative decision-making, that is "judging decision alternatives." Faced with competing alternatives, the decision-maker must establish a rational basis for choosing the best one. Thus, evaluation is the "process of ascertaining the relative values of competing alternatives."

Stufflebeam contends that the degree of change desired and the information grasp necessarily dictate the relative rigor of an evaluation. "Generally speaking, the greater the change and the lower the information grasp (decision-maker's knowledge of how to effect the change), the more formal, structured, and comprehensive is the evaluation required."

Stufflebeam flatly asserts that "all educational decisions may be exhaustively and unambiguously classified as pertaining to (1) intended ends (goals), (2) intended means (procedural designs), (3) actual means (procedures in use), or (4) actual ends (attainments)." To serve these four types of educational decisions, Stufflebeam poses four types of evaluation in the CIPP model, context, input, process, and product.

Addressing intended ends, the context evaluation serves planning decisions to determine program objectives. Context evaluation begins with a conceptual analysis to define "the limits of the domain as well as its major sub-parts." Context evaluation then involves empirical studies to identify "unmet needs and unused opportunities."

Input evaluation serves structuring decisions to determine project designs. As Stufflebeam points out, methods for input evaluation are especially lacking in education. Too often input evaluation is limited to "committee deliberations, appeal to professional literature, the employment of consultants, and pilot experimental projects." Input evaluation should systematically consider the capabilities of the agency, alternative strategies for achieving project alternatives and specific designs for implementing the selected strategy in terms of resource, time, and budget requirements and "potential procedural barriers."

Process evaluation serves implementing decisions to control project operations thus providing periodic feedback to decision-makers. Process evaluation predicts or detects defects in the design or the implementation, maintains a record of procedures, and ultimately provides a basis for program decisions.

Product evaluation serves recycling decisions to judge, that is, to measure and interpret attainments during as well as at the end of the project cycle. The method includes devising operational definitions of the objectives, measuring criteria associated with the objectives, and comparing these measurements "with predetermined absolute or relative standards, and making rational interpretations of the outcomes using the recorded context, input, and process information."

In characterizing evaluation as the "watchdog of program management," Malcolm Provus shares Stufflebeam's concept of evaluation as administrative decision-making. Ultimately, the purpose of evaluation is to decide whether to improve, maintain, or terminate a program. In his Discrepancy Model, however, Provus places a much greater emphasis on the importance of standards. For Provus, evaluation is a problem-solving situation which employs a pattern of questions to determine if a discrepancy exists between actual program performance and the governing standards. Such discrepancies are then the basis for identifying a program weakness and selecting the best corrective alternative.

Since by definition the discrepancy model requires explicit standards for performance comparison, the first task of any evaluation is to obtain program standards. There are two kinds of program standards: content and development. "The content of programs has been classified in a useful way by system analysts employing the notion that human activity processes inputs to produce outputs." In so describing the nature of program content, Provus acknowledges his conviction that effective evaluation must rely upon management theory.

Provus proposes that the evaluator use the content taxonomy to "coax" from the program staff a comprehensive program description. One such component in the content taxonomy would be the input variable or the student-entry behavior. As Provus explains, the study of student behaviors prior to program enrollment enables the staff to isolate and measure at least some performance variables in pretreatment subjects which appear relevant to criterion performance. Such descriptive data provides a basis for subsequent performance comparisons.

In addition to input variables, the comprehensive program description that the evaluator elicits from the program staff should include the major terminal objectives and the enabling or intervening objectives. The terminal objectives are the behaviors clients are expected to demonstrate when the program is completed. Provus defines enabling objectives as "the intervening behaviors or tasks students must complete as a necessary basis for terminal behaviors." Finally, a thorough program description should include "the nature and sequence of

learning experiences that will lead to the attainment of the enabling objectives."

Provus argues that "it is still considered essential that program objectives be stated in behavioral terms." Still, he concedes the difficulty of formulating all the objectives at the outset of the program. Since the staff rarely understands more than the terminal objectives and the major enabling objectives at the outset, "to define all the objectives of an educational program with complete specificity at the beginning of a program is recognized as patently impossible." Consequently, the definition of program objectives should be seen as a "continuous and increasingly more detailed effort" as the program evolves.

Once a program is defined and installed, the evaluation then focuses on the process. This third stage of evaluation requires a data base which entails "quantifiable, comparable descriptions of student behavior." As with the development of the objectives, it is impossible to have a complete data base at the inception of a program. Provus recommends, therefore, that the data be regarded as an "expanding file" which grows with the evolving program description and modification as the staff becomes increasingly aware of related factors.

At the process stage of evaluation, the data collection should emphasize the enabling objectives rather than the terminal objectives. Here the evaluator should help the program staff analyze more carefully the anticipated student behaviors which are a function of the learning

activities. The evaluation of these learning activities "depends heavily on the production and use of highly specific instruments that provide empirically determined answers to cause-and-effect questions." As a result of this evaluation, the program can ascertain if "its intermediate-program payloads are being realized on target dates, and if not, why not."

At each stage of evaluation (definition, installation, process, and product), the evaluator asks three critical questions: (a) Why is there a discrepancy between performance and program standards? (b) What corrective actions are possible? (c) Which corrective action is best? Given the stages of evaluation, the steps for each, the interactive factors of time and cost, the possible discrepancies, and the subsequent sets of question for each discrepancy, Provus calculates a possible total of 3,420 questions in the entire evaluation process.

The criteria for the final question in the problem-solving sequence (which alternative is best) lies in what Provus calls the "judgmental web of the decision-maker." Though rarely explicit, these criteria can be made so through deliberate introspection. By considering such values as system homeostasis, societal norms, professional standards, interest groups and personal expectations, "the decision-maker obtains estimates of the value consequences of each possible alternative." By comparing these consequences with his criterion of value, the decision-maker is able to select the best alternative, that is, the one which "optimally satisfies the value

web."

Not surprisingly, the 1973 Educational Testing Service study of the federal Special Services supports the basic assumptions and contentions of the contemporary authorities in educational evaluation. Created in 1947 by a merger of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), the American Council on Education (ACT), and the Carnegie Corporation, the Educational Testing Service has conducted numerous large-scale studies and has become a major force in educational evaluation.

In summarizing the available literature, the 1973 ETS report noted a "severe paucity" of studies on compensatory services in higher education which are based on empirical data and "hard experimental designs with adequate controls to test the effectiveness of various intervention strategies." Specifically, ETS observed that few studies provided a sufficient number of "potentially relevant personal variables," such as prior performance level, scholastic ability, and motivation, or clearly defined the intervention variables, such as tutoring, remedial study, and counseling.

In Accent On Learning, Patricia Cross offers a history of research on remedial education which illustrates the paucity ETS discovered. Cross cites one 1950 report which reviewed nearly one hundred studies of remedial reading. Less than twelve of these studies actually addressed the effect of the reading program on scholastic improvement. Since the purpose of study skills of that era was to improve grades,

Cross remarks that the lack of attention to the avowed purpose is hard to explain. She also notes in the research of the 1940's and 1950's a chronic lack of adequate control groups which allowed investigators to draw unwarranted causal inferences from pretest and post-test designs.

Cross contends that the research of the 1960's was even worse than the previous two decades. Influenced by the civil rights movement and the growth of open admissions, the evaluation of remedial education was approached "not as a research question (Are courses effective?) but as a highly emotional question (Do ethnic minorities have academic potential?)." Arthur Jensen's infamous 1969 piece in the Harvard Educational Review which argued that blacks are innately inferior added to this emotionalism. This context may explain why program reports in the late sixties tended to lack the controls traditionally valued in educational evaluation.

Employing standard evaluation methodology, ETS compared the academic performance and general satisfaction levels of poverty-level students (black and white) and modal students at Special Service institutions and non-Special Service institutions. The ETS study concluded from these comparisons that "the success of the disadvantaged student relative to that of the modal student is no greater nor no less at SSDS participating institutions than at non-participating institutions." Though Native American and Puerto Rican students expressed greater satisfaction at participating institutions, a comparison of white students at both types of institutions showed only

small differences.

Ironically, ETS found only one statistically significant interaction: "college grades on poverty-level students were higher in non-participating than in SSDS institutions, while there were no differences between modal students' grade at these two types of institutions." Stated simply, the ETS study found no definitive evidence in the empirical data to prove the effectiveness of support service programs in general or the federal, Special Services projects in particular.

The ETS recommendations for improved Special Service evaluation illustrate the specific application of the general principles outlined by the major authorities in the field of educational evaluation.

For the Office of Education, ETS recommended "greater awareness of critical interactions...better controlled experimentation, with larger numbers, better criterion measures, reasonable control groups, and longitudinal data collection over sufficient time for impact to take hold." More specifically, ETS called for the collection of "hard data of an unequivocal nature" for program monitoring. As ETS explained, "A simple covariance approach, involving the regression of grades on the high school rank in class, could be used to properly account for differences in academic potential at the time of admission."

The ETS study recommended that at the very least continued funding of Special Service projects should be predicated on the persistence rates of Special Service students as compared with those on non-disadvantaged on the same campus. For a true measure of program effectiveness, participant performance should be compared with the performance of other disadvantaged students who have not received program services. "If such groups are not available, sufficient data should be collected on the comparison groups so that statistical control of initial differences between the two groups on relevant antecedent variables may be accomplished."

The ETS study stated that individual programs should establish specific and realistic, behavioral objectives with explicit measurement criteria, based on institutional if not national norms. ETS especially emphasized the importance of systematic program evaluation which should include, at a minimum, cumulative records of student levels of achievement and persistence and comparisons with students outside the program and with institutional standards. ETS noted that "standardized tests of achievement, which could obviate some questions of biases in grading practices, are seldom if ever used to evaluate academic growth - - presumably because such tests are feared to be saturated with bias." ETS advocated the use of before and after standardized tests with control groups as persuasive proof of a program's impact.

PROVE Proposal for 1977-1978

Oblivious to either the contentions of the evaluation authorities or the specific recommendations of the ETS report, PROVE's grant proposal for the 1977-78 academic year presented a model of evaluation design for student special services.

Outlined in the student selection section of the proposal, the "prescriptive" admissions procedure not only served to diagnose the skill needs of entering students but created specific measures of input variables based on both a standardized test and institutional competency standards. The program objectives were detailed in behavioral terms for each academic skill area with corresponding Methods, Evaluation Instruments, and Intended Outcomes. Standardized tests dominated the Evaluation Instruments, and most Intended Outcomes were based on a comparison with the input variables or local, competency norms. For the terminal objectives, persistence and graduation, the proposal presented a study of student attrition and graduation at Johnson for the four previous years and documented that PROVE students had persisted and graduated at rates comparable to the modal students at the host institution.

When PROVE created the "prescriptive" admissions policy for Johnson in 1976, the program was concerned with student diagnosis, not creating a data base of antecedent variables for program evaluation. As the proposal explained, in PROVE's first four years, the program did

not sufficiently assess academic skills and commitment to college study on "the naive assumption...that any student can succeed in college, given enough individual support and encouragement." The proposal added that PROVE could no longer tolerate "the relatively high attrition that resulted in part from this idealistic premise."

Based on a analysis of a candidate's grades in high school content courses, a writing sample rated for primary rhetorical traits, and the McGraw Hill Writing Test results, PROVE now "prescribed" the appropriate remedial program for some students and "deferred" admission for other students. A McGraw Hill score below the tenth percentile and a low "1" rating on the writing sample suggested that the individual could not reasonably "catch up" to a minimal level of freshman work even with the support of the summer program and tutoring throughout the year. For these candidates, admission to Johnson and PROVE was deferred.

As the proposal explained, for PROVE students enrolled in Communications Skills I, even in the six week summer program, the average gain on the McGraw Hill test was twenty-three points in percentile rank. But for those students who initially scored below the fifteenth percentile, the average gain was less than ten points in percentile rank. With an accumulated history, the numbers had begun to tell a story and confirm what we tacitly knew. Academic skill development does not follow an arithmetic progression, and the severely underprepared students need basic language instruction before even

attempting full-time college study.

In light of this insight, the proposal concluded that "the predictable frustration and failure of students with a chronic reading decoding problem do not warrant college admission, even into a special services program." Instead, these individuals were referred to an Adult Basic Education Center and encouraged to reapply to the program in a year. PROVE now defined open admissions in terms of those candidates who, based on a fairly systematic diagnosis, could reasonably utilize program services while simultaneously attempting a full college load.

PROVE also used the admissions diagnosis to determine whether students should begin study in the intensive summer program or the new, Structured Fall Program. Students scoring below the thirtieth percentile on the McGraw Hill test with a writing sample below "2" were required to attend the summer program. The highest need students within this group were enrolled in a non-credit, basic writing course called Pre-Communication Skills I. Students scoring between the thirty-fifth and the fifty-fifth percentile with a "2" writing sample rating were directed to the less intensive fall program.

If the student selection section of the proposal was impressive to the federal readers, the goals and objectives were more so.

In the winter of 1977, PROVE hired a grant writing consultant from Abt Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to help us redesign the program objectives and evaluation. On the consultant's advice, we

reorganized the program goals into three areas: student academic skill development, student affective development, and administration. Most of our previous goals and objectives were actually administrative, that is service delivery, stressing what the program would provide. The new objectives emphasized student performance in specific skill areas based on local, college standards.

As the consultant explained, since our students were by definition underprepared, we only had to show that PROVE students performed at levels comparable to Johnson students. If PROVE students did better than Johnson students, then all the better, but we were under no obligation to accomplish this. Thus, documenting that PROVE students achieved comparable performance levels based on institutional standards was the key to evaluating program effectiveness.

The academic goal was "To develop program students' reading, writing, research, and mathematical skills to a minimal competency level for success in college in four academic semesters." The goal stated the time period and implied the four constituent objectives. Each objective specified the component skills for that learning area and proposed corresponding evaluation instruments and intended outcomes. For example, the math objective was basic mathematical literacy and competence in simple algebra. Since Basic Math, the method for achieving this objective, was a self-paced modular course, the intended outcome was completion of third module (simple algebra) in two semesters with a C+ or better.

The writing objective defined basic writing skills for college as "mastery of language mechanics, syntax, paragraph construction, and thesis development." One evaluation instrument was an end writing sample rated for primary rhetorical traits using the Johnson competency scale. Students completing Communication Skills I were expected to achieve at least a "2-" rating. The intended outcome for students in C S II was a "2+" on the final writing sample, still slightly shy of the "3" rating for graduation competency. With the primary rhetorical trait system, PROVE could now specify numerical benchmarks for students progress that were both reasonably attainable and directly related to college standards for graduation.

Significantly, in all the skill objectives there was no reference to grade point averages or the distribution of letter grades. Now that minimum performance levels were specified for each skill area, the program evaluation focused on the number of students who achieved the intended outcomes. In this system, mean grade point averages were totally meaningless.

The terminal objectives for 1977-78 addressed the persistence and graduation rates of PROVE students. Once again, our consultant explained that we were obligated to show only that program students continued in and graduated from college at rates comparable to other Johnson students.

Fortunately, the college had recently completed an attrition study of freshmen and sophomores between 1972 and 1975. A table listing each entering class and the subsequent attrition was included in the proposal. The summary showed that the average four year retention from freshman to junior year was sixty-two percent. Thus PROVE's intended outcome for student retention was to maintain the college rate of sixty-two percent.

Sixty-two percent was lower than the seventy-five percent retention rate imposed on PROVE in 1974 by the Office of Education. Moreover, the program had a history to support its ability to meet this new objective. In 1975 sixty-five students (thirty-seven percent) left the program, but the proposal pointed out that twenty-four of these students either graduated or transferred. Discounting other students who planned to return to Johnson, the proposal asserted that only thirty-three of the sixty-five who left "actually discontinued their progress in higher education." PROVE's "real attrition" for 1975-76 was nineteen percent, half of Johnson's thirty-eight percent attrition rate.

As of January, 1977, when the proposal was written, the mid-year retention was eighty-six percent. In the subsequent program performance report, the 1977 fall retention was eighty-one percent and the 1978 spring retention was seventy-six percent. Even basing the retention rate on the number of students PROVE was contracted to serve, rather than the larger number of students actually served, the

program's annual retention rate was sixty-four percent, slightly above Johnson's sixty-two percent.

PROVE also reviewed Johnson records to determine a local college graduation rate. Using a six year period from matriculation to graduation to allow for non-traditional patterns of attendance, we established a Johnson graduation rate of thirty-eight percent. Though certainly low by selective college standards, this moderate rate reflected Johnson's role as a public, open admissions college in a rural state without a community college system. Most Johnson students either transferred or discontinued their higher education after the sophomore year.

For the graduation objective, PROVE proposed to maintain the six year graduation rate of thirty-eight percent. Although only nineteen percent of the first PROVE students had graduated by 1976, the proposal expressed optimism that with improved screening and support services PROVE could match Johnson's graduation rate. At the end of 1978, PROVE's graduation rate was thirty-five percent, which did not include program students who transferred and subsequently graduated from other colleges.

If PROVE's 1977-78 proposal was an unequivocal success, this success was largely inadvertent or fortuitous. Most of the program changes that contributed to the substance of the evaluation design evolved locally with little knowledge of formal evaluation methodology. Though the introduction of the McGraw Hill test was initially prompted

by federal pressure for some standardized measures, the early reports of the test results were at best numerical non sequiturs. For PROVE, this test was more functional for student diagnosis than program evaluation. The writing competency test and the prescriptive admissions policy developed independently of federal pressures for program evaluation. Still, the procedures and criteria for these local, student assessments were readily cast as components of a model evaluation design.

In a real sense, the pressure for more quantifiable evaluation did encourage us to specify what we hoped to accomplish. It took just one day with a consultant to describe many current practices in behavioral language with explicit measures and standards. Even then, we had no idea how exemplary our objectives and evaluation measures were.

Such success, however, was not without a price. For one, our new objectives and evaluation design required extensive record keeping for one hundred and eighty students. For some reason, the Office of Education would not fund an assistant director for the PROVE program, but they had no objections to our request for an Academic Skills Coordinator, who then functioned as an assistant director. This person was responsible for documenting for each PROVE student the initial pretest scores and diagnosis, the prescribed study plan, and all the subsequent post-test scores, writing sample ratings, and the final course grades. Maintaining a program data base for evaluation was nearly a full-time job.

Ironically, this burgeoning data base had little to do with program decisions about students. In fact, the least quantifiable assessments, the writing instructors' and the tutors' log entries on individual students, were the most valuable source for reviewing student academic development. These logs were more telling for us than the McGraw Hill post-test results or the writing sample ratings in interpreting the final grades during the semester end, academic status review. Although we included the logs in the evaluation design as a means of assessing "pattern of progress" and "number of students initiated conferences," in truth these highly informative, anecdotal records did not lend themselves readily to a statistical report.

The importance of the logs suggests a more fundamental change in program philosophy and design which the evaluation reports could not convey. By 1976, the focus of PROVE's efforts had become the Tutor-Counselor service. In the early years of PROVE, we believed that unconditional, personal acceptance and encouragement could actually instill motivation. For that reason, we assumed that course selections and more specifically the personality of the teacher and the counselor were decisive in the student's motivation and success. In effect, we assumed that we made the difference.

In our well intentioned zeal to help students and to right a social wrong, we had unwittingly accepted more responsibility for our students' learning than is realistic or even desirable. Program counselors and teachers eventually saw that each student will make

choices, sometimes self-destructive choices, which the most enlightened support services cannot affect. Some people will not capitalize on the available opportunity to become college students at that point in their lives for reasons we might never understand and certainly never could control. In the final analysis, every student has the power not to learn.

Recognizing the individual's primary responsibility for learning may seem a trite insight, but this realization constituted the single most important development in PROVE's philosophy. No quantitative evaluation report could fathom this development. Quite the contrary, the plethora of "intended outcomes" in our evaluation procedure implied a control over learning which we knew was impossible.

The federal evaluation process neglected other, important subtleties. The writing competency test sufficed as a raw measure of rhetorical development, but no set of primary traits could faithfully describe the human quality of a communication between writer and reader. One trait, "audience," was intended to assess the degree to which the writer convincingly addressed the audience in a natural voice. We knew, of course, that a natural voice which gives the reader the sense of a unique person behind the words is the most compelling and the most elusive characteristic of good writing. No number can capture voice.

At the end of the 1978 summer program, I read the students' final writing samples before they were rated for primary rhetorical traits. The students had been asked to compare any aspects of this initial college experience with their high school experience. After six weeks of intensive instruction and tutoring, probably more reading and writing than they had previously experienced, not one summer freshman made any reference to academic demands or growth in their comparisons. Instead, the students wrote about being independent from their families for the first time, sharing a room with a stranger, and having a checking account. Doing their own laundry was the point of comparison mentioned most often.

In the same way our writing test could never capture voice, the federal evaluation could not convey the uniquely human experiences of two hundred people. The quantitative reports did not tell about the intimidated, rural Vermonters who in time proved to themselves that they could do college work and then left after a year or so, convinced that a college degree had no importance in their lives. These people, emphatic successes by our standards, survived only in the attrition summaries. More troubling were the adolescents, often clearly able, who chose not to study for whatever reasons and then genuinely considered themselves failures for life when they were suspended from Johnson.

Further, the federal evaluation reports did not address important revisions in the Communication Skills courses or PROVE's extensive collaboration with Johnson's faculty on teaching writing across the curriculum. All that we had learned about the writing process, teaching, learning, motivation, and change was reduced to a series of numerical summaries. We knew that our model of evaluation left too many stories untold.

C H A P T E R I I I

HIGHER EDUCATION AND LIBERALISM

At this point we need to step back from the story of PROVE and consider the ideological context in America, liberalism. The federal government established Special Services for the express purpose of creating equal opportunity in higher education on the assumption that it would insure equal economic opportunity. PROVE was an effort to put into practice this egalitarian ideal of liberalism. Consciously or otherwise, our ideological beliefs shape our aspirations for and evaluation criteria of programs such as PROVE.

In assessing the effectiveness of PROVE, we need to recognize the particular demands that the liberal ideology has come to place on higher education as a vehicle for engineering equal opportunity and the consequences for the participants. Through explicating this central ideological tenet about equality and our related beliefs about individualism, self-improvement, competition, and success, we can begin to see some less apparent limitations and contradictions in these prevailing American values which are helpful to understanding the individual stories we will hear.

In 1937, Franklin Roosevelt said, "If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place." Thirty years later, Ronald Reagan asserted, "We offer equal opportunity at the starting line of life, but no compulsory tie for everyone at the finish." It might seem implausible that Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan could share an ideological belief, yet the similarity of their assertions is undeniable. Though Roosevelt employed a market place metaphor and Reagan used a race metaphor, they both clearly valued equal opportunity.

As Gary Wills shows, in the 1968 campaign Hubert Humphrey, Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan all agreed on the importance of equal opportunity as fundamental to the American, democratic way of life. Certainly these four men represent the major points on the American political continuum, and their consensus on this issue is revealing. Wills argues that the concept of equal opportunity is "the great agreed-on undebated premise of our politics." This notion of equality deserves closer scrutiny.

In the Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln said, "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

With the phrase "four score and seven years ago," Abraham Lincoln traced the formation of this country to 1776 and the Declaration of Independence. In fact, nationhood was not the intention of the Declaration. "All thirteen colonies subscribed to the Declaration with instructions to their delegates that this was not to imply formation of a single nation." Actually 1777 and the Articles of Confederation mark the first (and unsuccessful) attempt at forming a single nation. Until there was a ratified Constitution, a Congress, and a President in 1789, America was "more in the nature of a league between sovereignties than the creation of a new state." Since 1789 more accurately dates the formation of a new nation, Lincoln should have begun the Gettysburg Address with "Four score minus six..."

Wills contends that the Declaration of Independence in 1776 actually produced "twelve new nations...conceived in liberty perhaps, but more dedicated to the proposition that the colonies they severed from the mother country were equal to each other than their inhabitants were equal." But equality as a founding principle for America was Lincoln's very point. Tracing the nation's formation to 1776 enabled Lincoln to echo the Declaration's first self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and to assert that America was predicated on the proposition of equality.

Other word choices in the Address suggest Lincoln's effort to invoke not only unique, ideological roots but a sacred, national mission which derives from these roots. In earlier speeches, Lincoln

referred to 1776 as "some eighty years ago," but here he employed a different, almost archaic phrase. Wills infers that Lincoln deliberately chose "four score" and even "our fathers" because the phrases language have a biblical connotation and foreshadow the moral mission of equality, the central theme of the Address.

Indeed, a sacred and reverential tone permeates the speech. The word "dedicated" (rather than committed or pledged) has a sacred religious connotation. The choice cannot be coincidental. In this brief speech, Lincoln used "dedicate" or "dedicated" six times, "consecrate" twice, and "devotion" and "hallow" once.

Even the manner of national inception is invoked reverentially. Rather than created or established, "our fathers brought forth" this nation as if they were midwives assisting some natural, almost inevitable process. "So conceived and so dedicated," the national premise of equality is both natural and holy. In positing this premise, Lincoln could then maintain that surviving the test of the Civil War would reaffirm the moral righteousness of the nation's founding principle and offer the world ("shall not perish from this earth") an ideological model.

Though Lincoln speculated that "the world will little note, nor long remember, what we do here," most Americans recognize the opening of the Gettysburg Address. That countless school children memorize Lincoln's words tells us something about this country. That sales of Carl Sandburg's biography of Lincoln consistently increase in times of

national crisis tells us even more. We cherish Lincoln because his speech and his accomplishments epitomize for us what we would like to believe is great about America. His words and actions serve as a touchstone for the liberal ideology.

Lincoln's own life confirms and reifies the founding, egalitarian ideal expressed in his speech. Only in our democratic society could a man from such humble origins capitalize on the opportunity America offers and become President. As the Great Emancipator from rural poverty, Lincoln is doubly compelling as both the personification and the champion of equality and the right to rise. (Americans would be troubled to know that Lincoln was a wealthy lawyer and property holder well before his election or that he consistently opposed emancipation until the second year of his presidency when he could see no alternative.) In combining frontier individualism, egalitarianism, the democratic process, and personal success, the popularized story of Lincoln celebrates the major tenets of liberalism.

Americans tend, as Lincoln did, to associate the notions of liberty and equality. In 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville remarked that "the taste which men have for liberty and that which they feel for equality are, in fact, two different things [and]...among democratic nations they are two unequal things." Although Tocqueville noted a strong feeling for freedom in America, such a feeling was not exclusively characteristic of a democratic society since it could be observed in other societies. Rather than liberty, the "ruling passion" of men in

democratic ages is equality of condition.

As Tocqueville explains, men prefer equality to liberty because the benefits of equality are immediate and widely experienced. "Political liberty bestows exalted pleasures from time to time upon a certain number of citizens." By contrast, "equality every day confers a number of small enjoyments on everyman. The charms of equality are every instant felt and are within the reach of all."

Further, even "narrow and unthinking minds" can see that "political freedom in its excesses may compromise the tranquility, the property, the lives of individuals." But the consequences of extreme equality are less immediately apparent and vigorously resisted when they become so. "The evils that extreme equality produce are slowly disclosed; they creep gradually into the social frame."

What then are the "evils" of this dominant passion for equality? One consequence is a pervasive individualism where each person's "feelings are turned toward himself alone." Distinct from mere selfishness, "individualism is of democratic origin, and it threatens to spread in the same ratio as equality of condition."

Aristocratic societies created a hierarchical "chain" of ties between its members, be it patronage from above or cooperation from below. Further, aristocracy provided some continuity of tradition through generations. In a democratic society, new families ascend, others decline, and classes become increasingly undifferentiated. More

and more people, though not wealthy to exert influence over others, have acquired sufficient well-being to meet their needs and pursue their own interests. These people believe "they owe nothing to any man, they expect nothing from any man; they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their hands."

More than just this sense of "standing alone," individualism fosters a preoccupation with self-interest and physical well-being. With equality of condition and individualism, each person is inclined "to seek out what is useful...[and] to be wrapped up in himself." Tocqueville concludes that in a democratic society "personal interest will become more than ever the principal if not the sole spring of men's actions." Further, this personal interest inevitably leads to a "passion for physical well-being." In America, Tocqueville observed "the effort to satisfy even the least wants of the body and to provide the little conveniences of life is uppermost in every mind."

As Tocqueville explains, an aristocracy provides a stability where the poor people are "as much accustomed to poverty as the rich to their opulence." Neither can imagine their condition otherwise. But in a country where "distinctions of rank are obliterated [and] education and freedom widely diffused, the desire of acquiring the comforts of the world haunts the imagination of the poor, and the dread of losing them that of the rich."

In a land with enormous natural resources and a seemingly limitless frontier for expansion, the opportunity for and the reality of previously unimagined material well-being had a striking effect on rich and poor alike. Since most of the wealthy in America have once "felt the sting of want," they do not exhibit the contempt for physical gratification often characteristic of aristocracy. For the rich, "the passions which accompanied the contest have survived it." They remain "intoxicated by the small enjoyments which they have pursued for forty years." Equally smitten by the passion for well-being, the poor in America look to the day when they will enjoy similar comforts. "I never met in America any citizen so poor...whose imagination did not possess itself by anticipation of those good things that fate still obstinately withheld from him."

This passion for well-being in turn creates a certain "restlessness amid prosperity" in America. "It is strange to see with what feverish ardor the Americans pursue their own welfare," changing homes, jobs, locations, seemingly never content. Tocqueville observed that people build a house and sell it before the roof is completed or plant crops and leave them for another to harvest.

The exclusive pursuit of worldly welfare necessarily fosters an urgency because the individual "has but a limited time at his disposal to reach, to grasp, to enjoy it." Where physical pleasures become the primary goal, the difficulty of achieving gratification cannot be greater than the gratification itself. Thus the means to reach their

goal "must be prompt and easy." Americans often change their circumstances because they are constantly tormented by a "vague dread" that they have not chosen the quickest route to their goal.

Beyond this restless passion for well-being, individualism in America expanded the liberal notion of human perfectibility. On the subject of individuality, John Stuart Mill states that "Among the works of man which human life is rightly employed in perfecting and beautifying, the first in importance is surely man himself." In equating individuality and development, Mill concludes "what more or better can be said of any condition of human affairs than that it brings human beings themselves nearer to the best thing they can be?"

This notion of the perfectibility of man acquired a new character in America. As Tocqueville notes, aristocratic people assume that society's future condition "may be better, but not essentially different."

In America, however, political liberty and material opportunities plus dramatic changes in technology and personal circumstances led people to believe "that man is endowed with an indefinite faculty for improvement."

When Tocqueville asked a sailor why ships in America were built to last only a short time, the sailor explained that continuous developments in navigation would make even the finest ship obsolete in a few years. Tocqueville concludes that democratic nations are too

inclined to expand the scope of human perfectibility beyond reason.

In the land of opportunity where privileges of rank were abolished and education and professions were increasingly accessible, people might well conclude that success was but a function of their own efforts. "But this is an erroneous notion, which is corrected by daily experience." Certainly America offered extraordinary and extensive opportunities for individual success and material well-being. Too many prospered to deny the apparent benefits of equality. Yet as early as the 1830's, Tocqueville sensed a curious paradox in this democratic society. Though enjoyments are more widely and more intensely experienced among the people, "man's hopes and desires are oftener blasted, the soul is more stricken and perturbed, and care itself more keen."

As conditions become more equal, people are increasingly jealous and intolerant of even the slightest differences, and thus all the more insistent on equality. In this way, the initial passion for equality is intensified by the growing equality of condition, but the heightened sensitivity to differences preclude the passion from ever being entirely satisfied. "Hence the desire of equality always becomes more insatiable in proportion as equality is more complete."

Further, the very spread of equality which feeds the people's aspirations also denies their realization. With equality, the field of competition is now open expanded to all who wish to compete. In eliminating the privileges enjoyed by only a few in aristocratic

societies, "they have opened the door to universal competition; the barrier has changed its shape rather than its position." Instead of rank, the obstacle to success in America has become everyone else.

In Studies In Classic American Literature, D. H. Lawrence states, "For in the land of the free, the greatest delight of every man is getting the better of the other man." Americans might well resist D. H. Lawrence's wry characterization. The contention that out doing each other is our greatest delight seems to contradict our passion for equality. But open markets and universal competition mean more than simply expanding the field of competitors, and the competitive spirit among Americans involves more than a drive for material comforts. In fact, equality and competition are paradoxically intertwined: equality leads to competition, and universal competition demands equality.

Wills contends that "the true significance of nineteenth century liberalism was not so much that products are tested on the open markets of free enterprise, or that truth will triumph in the free market of the academy, as that man himself must be spiritually priced, must establish his value ('amount to something'), in each day's trading." Considered in this light, the insistence on equality which Tocqueville regarded as a peculiar mixture of jealousy and opportunism becomes something more. "We should all start equal, so the man of worth can prove his worth."

When we recognize the underlying assumption that each man must establish his value, the concept of equality becomes the "way of clearing the field for self-assertion" so that man can prove himself. The doctrine of equality in America should be better understood as a necessary pre-condition for equitable and thus telling competition. In a context of equality and universal competition, the need to prove self-worth, and the increasing sensitivity to differences, generates a competitive drive which goes beyond material aspirations.

However reluctant we may be to admit it, the dedication to outdoing others is the driving force of the liberal ideology in America. As Wills points out, "'Status resentment' is not the accidental by-product of liberalism, but the essential fuel for all our competitive races." Though the notions of equality and individualism are functional to the competitive drive, success remains the ultimate objective.

If people believe that success is the true measure of human worth and universal competition is the forum for achieving success, then outdoing the other competitors is necessarily the gauge of success and proof of worth. "American liberalism and the emulative ethic cohere - inhere rather in each other. All our liberal values track back to a mystique of the earner." In fact, the equality and individualism which Americans revere with such missionary self-congratulation are not goals in themselves but the means for the reigning passion, succeeding which can only be understood as being better.

Wills argues that tension between the impulse for equality and success creates a "formula for resentment in America - the conflict between deference and competitiveness, both imposed as duties." As Wills explains, "Our individualism is both emulative (you should 'best' the next man) and egalitarian (without being better than the next man)...One must achieve yet remain common;" Recognizing the twin American duties of deference and competition helps explain the thinking behind Nixon's self-serving, inaugural assertion that "Greatness comes in simple trappings."

D. H. Lawrence accurately characterizes America as transfixed on the "pin of equality...turning loudly and importantly." Indeed, Americans cannot resist being self-congratulatory, even evangelical, about their noble passion for equality. But Lawrence's image of the pin is apt. Ultimately, Americans are immobilized by this cornerstone of the ideology because they are unable to acknowledge any natural, inherent inequality. "Class, education, money won't make a man superior. But if he's just born superior, in himself, there it is. Why deny it?" Such a question is heresy in America, as Lawrence well knew.

The simultaneously emulative and egalitarian character of our individualism also sheds light on the potency of Lincoln's story. For the myth to endure, Americans need to believe that Lincoln was a common, ordinary man who achieved success, who made himself great, through the unique opportunity our society offered plus his own drive

and self-discipline. Americans must believe that they all have an equal chance for success or the system grinds to a halt. The myth appeals because Lincoln is cast not as a superior person, but merely ordinary to an extraordinary degree, thus assuring the prospect of success for all others. Implicit in this perception of Lincoln are the assumptions that he was not significantly different from the rest of us, which is absurd, and that he made his own success, which is only partially true. Americans remain passionate about the proposition, the idea of equality, because all our notions about competition, success, and human worth, however contradictory and improbable, are predicated on this central tenet.

Through the nineteenth century a seemingly limitless frontier and unprecedented prosperity reinforced Americans' optimism about individual success. In The Wealth of Nations, Adam Smith argues that the individual should be unrestrained by external controls because the individual, in pursuing his own interests, unwittingly promotes the interests of the community. "He intends only his gain, and he is in this, as in so many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention." Thus, Smith maintains, the society actually benefits by the individual's selfish pursuits.

In fact, Smith's notion of the harmony of interests made sense in its time. As E. H. Carr explains, "It presupposed a society of small producers and merchants, interested in the maximization of production and exchange, infinitely mobile and adaptable, and unconcerned with the

problem of the distribution of wealth...when production involved no high degree of specialization and no sinking of capital in fixed equipment." Smith published The Wealth of Nations, however, in the same year Watt invented the steam engine. "Thus, at the very moment when laissez-faire theory was receiving its classical exposition, its premises were undermined by an invention which was destined to call into being immobile, highly specialised, mammoth industries and a large and powerful proletariat more interested in distribution than in production."

Carr argues that in spite of this technological development, economic growth during the next hundred years sustained the popularity of the belief in the harmony of interests. New markets became available, and less fortunate classes enjoyed some share of the general prosperity. The expanding economy created "a sense of confidence in present and future well-being, it encouraged men to believe that the world was ordered on so rational a plan as the harmony of interests."

Americans could entertain such optimism in their future and confidence in the system only as long as the economy continued to thrive. But by the end of the nineteenth century, the frontier was officially closed. With massive unemployment in the Great Depression, the notion of equal opportunity to succeed, the essence of the American dream, was seriously challenged. The issue had become not prosperity but survival.

In declaring that the average citizen should have the same equal opportunity in the market place that he had in the polling place, Roosevelt took the position that the government, the guardian of individual rights, should assume responsibility for rectifying inequities, for evening up the starting line to insure a fair race. As Wills explains, in the Horatio Alger stories, an initial stroke of luck enabled the hero to demonstrate his pluck and achieve success. "But the claim of the Market, ever since Adam Smith's time, has been that it allows merit to rise by system, as the result of basic laws." Making individualism work in troubled times required what Wills calls a "systemization of luck," that is a new deal, which would give all the runners a fair chance. Not coincidentally, "a new deal" has both the connotation of a new contract or arrangement and a new hand in the game of life.

Rather than collectivist in impulse as many charged, the New Deal "was always emulative, looking toward a restoration of free competition. That was its trouble; it was, like all variations of the market system, based on envy." Roosevelt's egalitarian rhetoric tends to deflect attention from the emulative ethic and the inherent purpose of competing, which is winning. Ultimately, the appeal of equal opportunity for those excluded from the race is the possibility of being unequal.

Wills concludes that the race metaphor is a mess, and Roosevelt's new deal metaphor is no better. "It is a mark of our deep-needed faith in the emulative ethic that bill after bill is debated, passed, rejected on the basis of a concept so internally contradictory." Roosevelt's analogy of the polling place to the market place, however appealing and beguiling, is faulty because true equality in the market place is inherently impossible to engineer.

Voting is a single act on a single day for all included. By contrast, the market place, because of its very nature, can never offer uniformity. Even if the government could contrive an even start for all participants on one day, there would always be new competitors the next day, and for equity's sake the government would have to stop the competition to line up the racers again or to reshuffle the cards. Americans "maintain a naive faith that one can distinguish two extratemporal 'moments' or situations - the (controlled) moment of lining up, and the (free) moment of running around the track - which have no correspondence to the real flow of time."

However internally contradictory, the metaphor persists in American politics. In a 1965 executive order on affirmative action, Lyndon Johnson posed the analogy of a foot race where one of two runners has his legs shackled together. At the point simply removing the shackles would not grant equity since one runner already enjoys a forty yard advantage. "Would it not be the better part of justice to allow the previously shackled runner to make up the forty yard gap; or

to start the race all over again? That would be affirmative action towards equality." The flaw in this thinking, as Wills explains, is that "these moments are consecutive in idea (first line up, then race) but simultaneous in fact."

The appeal of education for evening up the race did not begin with Johnson's Great Society. Committed to self-improvement and success, Americans characteristically believe that everyone should have a chance to better themselves and that any student could benefit from more education. When Union College was chartered in 1795, General Philip Schuyler, a distinguished aristocrat and father-in-law of Alexander Hamilton, expressed skepticism about a college created at public request, and with such a political name. "May indulgent Heaven protect and cherish an Institution calculated to promote virtue and the weal of the people." However troublesome for Schuyler, Americans were taking a new interest in higher education.

By the time Tocqueville visited America in the 1830's, "the unleashing of hundreds of little colleges" created severe financial difficulties. Forced to compete for the limited number of students, colleges in effect paid the students instead of the faculty. In 1827, Princeton simultaneously lowered tuition and faculty salaries. Around the same time, both Yale and Harvard created charity or scholarship funds. As Frederick Rudolph explains, in the period of Jacksonian democracy, "the whole history of uncollected tuition fees, expanding scholarships, and unpaid or underpaid professors was in part a response

of the colleges to the growing American belief that unless an institution served all men equally, it served America poorly."

As part of this impulse, President Francis Wayland of Brown University advocated a curriculum that the students would buy rather than buying students. To dramatize his convictions, Wayland resigned in 1849, agreeing to return only if the Brown University corporation would face the institution's serious financial difficulties. Wayland's subsequent report to the corporation "hailed the American college before the public and there gave it a vigorous beating." In particular, Wayland criticized the limitations of the classical course of study in a time of technological advances and economic growth. "The single academy at West Point has done more toward the construction of railroads than all our ... colleges united."

Reinstated, Wayland implemented a radical course of study intended for "the benefit of all classes," especially the rising middle class, but he was ahead of his time. After six years, the Brown faculty and corporation were in revolt, and Wayland resigned. In rebuking Wayland's experiment, Brown's new president, Barnas Sears, remarked that "We are in danger of becoming an institution rather for conferring degrees upon the unfortunate than for educating a sterling class of men." Similarly another college president intoned "While others are veering to the popular pressure let it be our aim to make Scholars and not sappers or miners - apothecaries - doctors or farmers."

Colleges in the mid 1800's might take temporary refuge in the famous Yale Report of 1828 which reasserted the importance of the classical curriculum over a practical course of study, but growing popular pressure and new technologies and careers spelled radical change for American higher education. Ultimately, science would be "the great disrupter of the classical course of study."

Responding to the new concept of scientific agriculture and America's looming industrial potential, Vermont Congressman Justin Morrill introduced in 1857 a bill "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." Morrill's Federal Land Grant Act finally passed in 1862 after Lincoln became president and created a federal office of agriculture.

The Act granted each state substantial tracts of public land to sell. The proceeds from the sale of over seventeen million acres were then turned over to the new colleges creating in each state at least one college "where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific or classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." A second Morrill Act, passed in 1890, created annual appropriations for the land-grant colleges on the condition that recipients could not deny admission on the basis of race unless they provided separate but equal facilities.

The creation of the land-grant colleges effectively refuted the Yale Report of 1828 and irrevocably altered American's perception of higher education. Vocational and technical education were formally legitimized in American higher education. The land-grant college became "the temple of applied science, essentially institutionalizing the American's traditional respect for the immediately useful." Further, with state and federal financing and the virtual abandonment of admission standards, popular higher education at public expense was accomplished for the first time. As Rudolph notes, "'State College' became synonymous with opportunity, which was a synonym for America itself."

Increasing specialization and professionalization, especially after World War II, placed new demands on higher education. As Daniel Bell explains, "Technical skill becomes a condition of operative power, and higher education the means of obtaining technical skill." In the post-industrial society, the cherished rags to riches ascent more often required the preparation and certification of a college degree. "The explicit fear created by a post-industrial society is that failure to get on the educational escalator means exclusion from the privileged places in society."

Necessarily disadvantaged and minority groups demanded access to higher education because "the university, which once reflected the status system of the society, has now become the arbiter of class position. As the gatekeeper, it has gained a quasi-monopoly in

determining the future stratification of the society." In response to the civil rights movement and this new perception of higher education as gatekeeper, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations turned to open admissions to higher education as the appropriate vehicle for insuring equal opportunity in the society. Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Special Service programs like PROVE were just part of a massive, affirmative action effort. But the use of higher education for insuring equality in the market place has some serious consequences both for the participants and the institutions.

As Wills shows, true equality in a competitive forum is inherently and logistically impossible. Though educational programs such as PROVE may partially compensate for inadequate earlier education and may create a new opportunity for some, these programs can never provide "equal" opportunity to the extent that they promise or the government might hope. Regardless of persistent and beguiling metaphors which appeal to liberal Americans, true equality of opportunity can never be engineered. The market place is no tidy foot race.

Further, there is an inherent limit to how much "catching up" a student can do while in college. The nature of undergraduate study, even at the least demanding institution, requires mastery of some basic skills. Many students can acquire minimal skills for academic survival while simultaneously coping with college study. Experience showed us that still other students need basic academic preparation before entering a special services program; they require compensatory

instruction prior to matriculating in a compensatory program.

The egalitarian commitment to providing access, to rectifying a social wrong, was so strong in the early years of PROVE that we did not defer admission for any applicant. When students foundered, we tended to regard their difficulties and failures as reflections of our inexperience as teachers and counselors, never questioning the wisdom of college admission for these students. It was a full five years before we finally instituted a prescriptive admissions policy and deferred some applicants. Where failure is almost a certainty, "equal opportunity" in higher education becomes abusive. We belatedly realized that summary open admissions can be very hurtful and wrong for the grossly underprepared, no easy lesson for zealous, young liberals.

More painful yet, PROVE came to realize that even under the best circumstances, not all people can handle college work, ever. Some people lack the linguistic or intellectual ability to do minimal college work. Granted, few students, perhaps five percent, fell into this category, but merely acknowledging such a category took years for PROVE.

The essential problem with America's equality fetish, implicit in the Lincoln myth and fostered by the government's efforts to engineer equal opportunity, is the unstated premise that people are basically the same. The passion for equality has a leveling effect. Somewhere in the transformation of equality of rights to equality of condition and opportunity, Americans have come to take equality literally; they

cannot acknowledge innate superiority or inferiority. In turning to higher education, the social arbiter, to insure equal opportunity, our myths about equality confront reality. In truth, some people are inherently disadvantaged, above and beyond inequities in circumstance. Open admissions and special services cannot compensate for some innate differences.

Another reality is campus resistance to open admissions. Disadvantaged students sometimes encountered overt resentment from faculty and other students. Nominally the source of resentment was a concern for "academic standards." Open admissions presumably would dilute the quality of education and jeopardize the reputation of the college. The real issue, however, has more to do with the dynamics of liberalism.

As Wills explains, the concept of the self-made man, the key to America's liberalism, assumes that only "the deserving rise; if the undeserving are also helped, what happens to the scoring in the game of spiritual effort and merit badges?" Champions of meritocracy, high school guidance counselors in particular resented PROVE. "Slackers" could drift through high school and still enjoy the pay off. In offering college to the least successful high school students, open admissions undermined the whole reward system of secondary education.

Resentment is but a small part of the difficulty encountered. For underprepared students, especially adolescents, college study is a foreign and troubling experience. They must acquire certain linguistic and rhetorical skills almost immediately in order to survive. They have to learn to manage their time without supervision while juggling often unrelated subject matters. College study requires more motivation and self-direction than secondary schools and even many types of employment. Underprepared students must cope with this change, to say nothing of the adjustment to the social environment of the college, all for the distant prospect of a degree in four years. The common belief that college determines social position intensifies the pressure, endurable only if the pay off clearly merits the aggravation.

Where urban employers, prompted by federal affirmative action, sought minority college graduates, the students in urban special services programs seemed to regard four years of inconvenience as a small price to pay for attractive employment and a new life. But in rural Vermont employment prospects are severely limited, and a college degree is less often a factor. In that context, students had greater difficulty justifying four years of their lives and sometimes thousands of dollars in educational loans if college did not lead to a job. Since the purpose of equal opportunity is competing in the market place, where the degree does not even up the starting line, the appeal of higher education for those excluded dissipates.

This consideration of liberalism is not intended to suggest that equal opportunity through higher education is altogether futile. The PROVE Program saw too many people benefit from college, even without graduating, to argue against the value of open admissions or the potential of compensatory programs. However, in turning to higher education to realize the American dream, the government has created unrealistic expectations for some students and placed equally unrealistic demands on the colleges. Given our peculiar notions about equality, self-improvement, higher education, and success, the assumption persists in this liberal society that admission to college, in and of itself, could summarily rectify social inequities and that college graduation will necessarily alter the individual's life. If one accepts this premise, "failure" at any point acquires an unreasonable significance.

PROVE stands for Program for Reenforcing Opportunities in Vermont Education. We always felt that the program should have adopted the title of another campus program, ACCESS, because PROVE was more committed to providing access than making students prove themselves. But when we understand liberalism, the program's acronym is inadvertently apt. Certainly our students felt they were proving themselves to the extent that they believed college graduation would determine their lives. The PROVE staff, secure with college and graduate degrees, tried to minimize the importance of college attendance for students deferred or dismissed, but society's perception of higher education, the very existence of the program, and the

external evaluation criteria conveyed another message. While the PROVE staff thought more in terms of opening doors, the federal government required proof of program effectiveness in terms of retention and graduation, and the students evaluated themselves in terms the market place. When the pay off is competition in the market place, "PROVE" is exactly right.

Explicating some dynamics of liberalism enables us to consider more thoughtfully the stories we will hear, to listen to the language, to recognize the assumptions, and to appreciate the changes in the people and the program. Understanding the ideological context informs the stories, and the stories reflect the ideology's potency. On one level, PROVE's story is about the weaning of young liberals, people who tried to make the dream come true. More importantly, these stories tell us about teaching, learning, human change, and the limits of being helpful and influencing individual choice. And only through people's stories can we approach such meaning.

C H A P T E R I V

REVISING PROVE

If I'd known then what I know now about psychology and counseling and school and change, I wouldn't have come out of my room all summer. (Will Ryan)

Tracing the evaluation of PROVE shows that between 1971 and 1977 the program increasingly specified the appropriate clientele and the intended learning and revised the courses and services accordingly. The review of the professional literature shows that the way PROVE eventually diagnosed students and measured learning illustrates the evaluation practices recommended by ETS and other evaluation authorities.

Because most of these changes in PROVE occurred independent of federal requirements and with little knowledge of the professional literature, it seems important to understand the thinking behind this unwitting progression towards a model of evaluation. Why did these educators make the changes they did? By listening to the stories which follow the beginnings of PROVE, we witness a different kind of revision, revision in the literal sense of educators re-seeing and re-thinking their work.

In the spring of 1973, George Sousa succeeded Ken Saurman as PROVE Director and Bonnie Brock left Johnson to enroll in the student personnel program at UVm. To replace Bonnie, George hired Will Ryan as a Resident Counselor. As Will explained, the PROVE position was his first job after completing a history major at UVm.

"In some ways PROVE was my first stab at deciding what I wanted to do. I'd gone through college under the guise of being a pre-law student. Upon acceptance to law school, I finally realized that all I was really interested in was getting accepted into law school. Not going. Which needless to say delighted my parents to no end. My father at that point was getting very burned out on teaching. And was very convinced that education was not the way to go. So my taking a job at PROVE precipitated a six month or so break in our relationship."

Will described the students he lived with in the 1973 summer program.

"In my hall that summer there were thirteen men. Just some of them: Chuck and John were roommates. Chuck had grown up in Wardsborough, Vermont, total population about the same as John's cellblock. John had done eight year's time. No teeth in front. Then there was Rosier, spoke in halting English. Steve Dawn, whose real name was Steve Campbell but he changed it because he was avoiding the draft. Rooming together were Ray and Wayne. Ray would later develop hypo what. What's that you get from dirty hypodermic needles? Wayne

would later do time again, for assaulting a student with a beer mug at a dance. Next room were Craig and Fred. Freddy had done a lot of time. In the next room were the Yost brothers, Allant and Roland. But Roland changed his name to Socrates. Lot of name changing that summer."

Will acknowledged that he was ill-prepared to serve such high need students.

"My only professional experience before this was being a resident advisor in the dorms, and I'd been an orientation advisor at the University for two years. I had worked as a counselor for nine to thirteen year old troubled delinquents one summer, but it was real middle class, connected to the school system. I had a very severe scepticism of psychology. I had never taken a psychology course in my life.

"It's like ignorance is bliss. Shit, if I'd known then what I know now about psychology and counseling and school and change, I wouldn't have come out of my room all summer. But I couldn't see the enormity of the task then. I was only twenty-two and still very egocentric. Not in terms of selfishness so much but in terms of world view. It was my first job. So I hadn't identified enough with the program to really adopt pride in the program, to make it better. Which really didn't happen until the next year."

Will recalled a student approaching him one night as he sat drinking beer and watching the Giants on television with another resident counselor.

"Tim knocked on the door and said, 'Can I talk to you Will?' I said, 'Sure.' Went outside and Tim said, 'I think I took too many aspirin' and I said, 'Gee Tim. How many did you take?' He said, 'About thirty.' And I said, 'Yeah, I think you took too many too.' And I took him to the hospital and the doctor said, 'I think we ought to pump his stomach. It'll be a good logical consequence.' I said, 'Fine. I'll pick him up tomorrow.' Took off, went back and got drunk.

"I mean I was very concerned about Tim. Of course. But I didn't worry about it. I didn't let it bother me. I mean here's a guy who lives next door to me now just tried to kill himself. I didn't wonder if I should have done anything differently. I didn't think like that.

"With our students, you saw just a lot of sadness and sorrow. And I was still too egocentric at that point, and therefore not a good counselor, to take any of it in. To help people you really have to take in some of the sadness and sorrow at some level. And I just wasn't doing it at that point. I wasn't irresponsible by any stretch that first year. But I also didn't let a whole lot of stuff bother me.

"And Les Haskins would come into the room and say, 'I'm gonna take sopers tonight.' I'd say, 'Jesus Christ don't Les.' And he'd say, 'I'm gonna.' 'Why Les?' And we'd talk. And I'd go to dinner and when I came back the ambulance was carting him out of the hall. He'd done more sopers.

"I didn't any sense that I failed. It was that he was a very self-destructive young man and was going to do it, he did it and there's more people to worry about. My own level of responsibility for clients' actions was probably quite healthy in those days because I didn't know anything, not because I was any less neurotic.

"My impression was that these guys were fucked up, to be sure. But because of the whole confusion of the drug sub-culture, which I was a part of, I was in some ways, this sounds weird, we were brothers under the skin in some ways. I had a sense of how fucked up they were but my role with them wasn't to be direct, it was to be understanding. Our sense in those days was more that once you clarified the students' values, it all fell into place. Rather than you might have to instill a few values in places along the way."

George explained the appeal of PROVE's initial emphasis on values clarification and a non-directive, Rogerian approach to counseling.

"Oh it was terrific. It was the purest form of helping because you were reacting to a person's feelings, and you were totally accepting, and we loved them because they were there and and you were militantly anti-Freud. I remember how I would make fun of Gordon MacGregor for his Freudian leanings and many jokes about that, saying when is he going to get into the twentieth century and all that."

By 1973 George had worked in PROVE for one year. Will's first summer program was George's second, and some encounters with clients made George reconsider his counseling approach.

"There was a tremendous gaffe that I did with John Pope. John was one of the first people who came in regularly. I mean here I was with the real thing, a former criminal, a real Vermont hick. He looked the part. His personal habits were grotesque. He was somebody badly in need of salvation, and he's sharing with me the intimate feelings about how what a shit he thought his father was. I mean this was good stuff. And how important all this was to him and getting in touch with his feelings. There was that whole Perls gestaltie notion that if a person would only express those those bottled up feelings everything would get all better.

"So I was down there responding to John Pope's feelings and he was playing the game talking about how cruel his father had been and how neglectful his mother had been and that must have been awful John. I really thought John and I were doing some great therapy and all the

time John was buying time to keep me out of the way so he could deal drugs. He was dealing left and right.

"And I remember going to my friend Jeanie and just crying and wailing, 'I must be a terrible counselor. He blew one by me. I'm a fool. I'm a jerk.' So yeah, I thought I was a great success, for a while."

George recalled another client from his first year who forced him to re-think his counseling.

"You know Kim Godbout in retrospect seems to have had manic depressive illness real bad. I didn't even identify it as a manic episode even though I'd read all about manic depressive illness in abnormal psych class. It's funny how now I think back to just so many things she said and did and you know, that's a manic.

"I really thought if I could just calm her down and say, 'Look Kim you're in big trouble, you got to try to pull it together, you know, stop going to where they're rehearsing the play and screaming in the back of the theater.'

"Jesus Christ, I'm embarrassed. Sitting with Kim in my office, manic as a hoot owl, trying to get her to make sense when all she needed at that point was tons and tons of medicine. And I remember being hostile to Mackery, the psychiatrist, because his first response was always let me get her started on some medication and then we'll

talk about it. And in retrospect he was right and I was wrong but I hated him because of the medical model that we were trained to hate and all that."

By 1973 Anne Herrington had a different perspective than either George or Will. With the experience of three summer programs and one academic year, Anne was acquiring a revised sense of the appropriate clientele for the program.

"Well, you could say it cynically, let's find some people who can succeed. Now there are risks and then there are risks. The high risks, and then there are the moderate risks. Let's go for the moderate risks.

"There was the sense of saying well, any attempt at educational reclamation, whatever we wanted to call it, is most likely to succeed with people who can at least be responsive to that in some way. And there are some nuts that are too tough to crack and have any impact on. And we've at least got to begin to sort out those people that are just here to use us. You know, get the money, have a place stay, have a place to deal. It seems to me we saw that clearly in some students.

"We also had to learn. There weren't many places you could go for guidance. How do you start to define? Where is it appropriate for us to pred - In an open admissions program, where is it appropriate to prejudge students and say this is a flag that says it just not going to

be worth it?"

After three summer programs, Anne began to answer these difficult questions.

"People certainly who were chronic excusers, they've always got some excuse for not doing something. I mean the bottom line for me as a teacher was someone who is not delivering at all. Not doing anything. For me it was the ones that weren't doing it and then they would come in and talk. In individual conversations where Carl McBride's not doing anything and he wants to come in and talk to me about why he can't do this paper to make it my problem.

"And I think probably the first couple of years I would spend a lot of time trying to solve that problem for Carl so he could get into doing that paper. But no that's pretty easy for me to pick up on that now and I can just I can see that in my own conversations with students which I believe makes me more effective with students. It's not, I don't feel that in a cynical way when I talk about Carl say. I don't because if you can help them see it's their problem, that's an instructive thing."

George recalled how the Communication Skills instructors questioned him on the student admissions process at the end of the 1973 summer program.

"Why do we keep recruiting these people, I mean really, what's the sense of recruiting people with no chance at all of success? Don't we need some kind of a pre-selection?"

George began to realize that the writing instructors had a particular perspective on student commitment.

"One thing that that I think that you and Anne were very good at, that none of the counselors were too good at in the initial parts and I think this is another area where the counseling emphasis changed, was in really smoking out motivation. Because I think that when you're sitting down in a room with somebody trying to go through the painful process of rewriting, that's where you find out who's motivated and who isn't. You really do. That the people who were really motivated, who came with academically shitty backgrounds but were really motivated to do something about that even though they were inept, they could demonstrate that.

"It was almost that your message was that liberalism has to stop here. Their needs are so great and the motivation to do it simply is not there. Even though you're being a nice person and you want to help these people and all that good stuff, there's a point at which a standard has to be imposed. That we're not doing anybody any favors by playing this game. And the two of you were very slick because you would you would couch it in terms of the program's credibility which hit me right where I lived.

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"You and Anne were saying, why are we bothering, let's get rid of them now at the end of the summer and I wanted to carry them over. I remember we had some meetings in August, over whether we kept some people or not and each of you had probably four or five people you thought should definitely go and my whole thing was we can't throw anybody out until January."

Although George was increasingly inclined to agree with the instructors, as PROVE Director he worried about having enough students in the program.

"I became obsessed with numbers. And if anything would wake me up at four in the morning it was will we have enough people to start the year, are the applications coming in at the right pace? Because that's what Ed always wanted to know first, that's what the feds always wanted to know first, will we get enough people to meet the financial guidelines."

To help some of the high need students the program did not dismiss, Will provided extensive coaching on research papers during his first year. Will described assisting one woman with a paper on Joseph Kennedy.

"In my undergraduate bliss I was considered to be an expert on the Kennedys. So I spent a considerable amount of time helping her with it. I knew that her teacher knew that I was helping her with the paper

and other people did, so I thought, 'She better get a good grade in this paper.' That was really my only contact with her at that point. I worked pretty hard with her. I was probably a bit more directive with her than I would later be. 'Well why don't you look at it this way. Well yeah, but don't forget this.' So I was fairly directive."

Will felt assisting students with their papers was an appropriate service for a PROVE counselor. "It didn't take a genius to see the connections between the self-esteem and writing skills." Will did, however, candidly acknowledge that establishing credibility with the Communication Skills instructors was part of his purpose which raised for him the question: "Who were we serving? Were we serving ourselves or them?"

Although George understood Will's reasons, he initially objected to a program counselor serving as a tutor.

"Will came in very insecure about his counseling ability, but he always knew how to listen to students and burn off some papers. And I kept telling him that he was contaminating his role as a counselor by doing that, that was a tutoring role. I think Will jarred me loose on that one. Eventually I realized how much counseling credibility he had with students because he had sat down with them and done the paper. So when their world was falling apart he was a legitimate person to talk to because he had proved himself to them in a very direct way."

Helping people "when their world was falling apart" was a common notion in the program during this time. Will characterized PROVE in his first year as a "MASH mentality."

"We didn't look for crises, but we certainly didn't shrink from them. It was a lot of fun. For instance, on the opening day of school every year I'd go over to registration at the computer room and be a crisis course adviser for students. I'd love it. I was a gladiator. For two days just work. It would be so busy I just couldn't stand it.

"The excitement, good excitement. That it's a crisis that I have some skills for. It's that EMT [Emergency Medical Technician], academic EMT. I know more about the teachers. I'm a quicker adviser. I can read the students more quickly and better. I could do that. I enjoy being so busy. The same idea with a residence hall crisis or a crazy person in the dorms.

"We didn't take a crisis mentality, we didn't create crises intentionally. It wasn't neurotic to that extent. It clearly was a vicarious thrill of the excitement part of it. And after we had a few successes like that, it really gave the illusion of being effective. Because you could see such a direct result of your work more than some long-range planning."

During Will's second year, he began to question the actual impact of this MASH mentality on the students.

"We had the sense that the old regime was dying and that we had really accomplished something in the last year and a half. It's like when you walk into a situation and if it's bad, the reason it's bad is because you weren't there. Now we were having to live with some of our sins rather than trying to correct the sins of our predecessors.

"The malaise started to set in with the realization that well we've been here for a year and a half and some of the problems are still here and they're not getting better at all. In fact maybe even getting a little worse. Or maybe it's just that we're seeing more, understanding more about it, and we really didn't know how deep we were before. We thought we were helping and we weren't. We started to see that we weren't making the changes in students we thought."

As part of this realization, George recognized the unintended service that PROVE provided for referring agencies.

"I think we got real good at scoping out the referrals. There's something called 'the dump.' That mental health and human service agencies are constantly looking for places to dump their most difficult cases. And I think before we got wise, the PROVE Program was a nice dumping ground.

"PROVE was an ideal place to send a chronic patient that will give them a place to live. Stick them on a campus in a contained environment where they're not going to bother anybody in the community. That's perfect. They're out of your hair with live-in counselors to respond to their borderline needs around the clock. That's heaven. If they take a couple of courses, that's gravy.

"And that was the other thing that we fell prey to. The referring people would come back and say, 'Hey, I've never seen this kid do so well. He's just totally different and his self-confidence and his self-concept are changing.' Jim Merrit's guidance counselor was one. When Jimmy went back to visit the high school once. Saying 'I don't know what you're doing up there but boy keep it up.' Boy did that feel terrific. Jim, my client, yeah, you're right, he is doing better you know."

As George explained, the encouragement from the referring agencies in the early years helped him rationalize more student progress than he actually witnessed.

"I think you get absolutely microscopic about teensy-weensy changes that you place tremendous importance in. Little things like Jim Merrit who would show up once a week and have nothing at all to say. Those weeks when he showed an ounce of introspection, I would greet that as an event worthy of sky rockets.

"Will, of course, could never understand that. He very correctly said Jimmy Merrit is not going to make it, we got to get rid of him. And I really thought that Jim Merrit was a backwoods kid who only needed to be nurtured along. I underestimated his pathology, in a big way."

Although George still worried about student numbers for the federal reports, he eventually concluded that certain students should be dismissed.

"Well there's no question that we held on to them too long. Realizing that no matter how much you did, they simply weren't doing their part. And that's what became more and more clear, even though Will would pull them out of the fire in the eleventh hour. For me motivation became the criterion. It's funny how much emphasis I began to place on attendance. If they weren't even going, if they couldn't physically show up, if they couldn't drag themselves out of bed and be there, then that to me was motivation.

"I would have the counselors go to the faculty and find out attendance figures and that alone would tell me. That was how I would make my mid-summer evaluation. And then as a bonus of course who's talking and who isn't, who's reading who isn't, who's writing who isn't. But at least if they went. And for the ones who seemed to be making the effort to go, regardless of how they were doing, we'd fight to keep because that to me meant motivation that they were showing up."

As George explained, clarifying who should be allowed to stay necessarily led to re-thinking who should be admitted to PROVE.

"I think we were getting increasingly specific about exactly what it was we were trying to do, which was a very important thing. To really seriously look at the clientele we were bringing in and to shy away for example more and more from the state hospital cases. I distinctly remember early on thinking that they were the greatest thing in the world.

"And at the end of my second year there realizing, because I finally had gotten some good clinical experience, that there were certain people that I knew as soon as they walked in the door, I could smell a chronic mental patient. I could see the kind of problems we'd be having with them. I could see that we would just be a half-way house and simply telling them no this isn't the place for you. Now is not the time for you to come to college."

George conceded that he still had difficulty saying no to applicants.

"I felt kind of guilty because I had no basis for saying it except my own gut. They did qualify in every way for the program and yet I was telling them don't bother. On paper they qualified, on paper they were low-income people with a terrible educational background who had no prospects for success in any other way. And that was Ken's thing,

theoretically we'd take them all in and let the program sort them out. In fact the first year that I was there I had Ken's disease which was the worst the better."

As both a teacher and a therapist, George reflected on the difficulties of open admissions.

"It is just hard hard hard work. It's a lot easier to do developmental work with people who have the bottom of their pyramid filled in because they can do it. After a while it got very frustrating because you saw how unmotivated some of the people were. How abysmal some of the skills were.

"I can remember for some of the students I would say in my best helpful way, you know, come to me after class, let's talk, you didn't really understand this, I'll try to explain it. Explain away for an hour and realize it was not going in because the conceptual horse power just wasn't there.

"That was a slow but painful realization. What open admissions is really all about. That in reality when you open the flood gates, you're going to suck in a lot more people who don't have any coherent reason for being there than do. Not that in a selective college everybody is motivated, that's far from it, but the slice you get at the community college is much more frustrating to deal with.

"Another thing that I've learned about therapy. The essential act of therapy is the therapist has to carry the pain for the person for a while. That you literally, and not in a metaphorical way, that you physically carry their anguish for a certain period of time. And not some gratuitous Carkuff let me say how you feel.

"Working with these PROVE students you spent so much of your time carrying every groan and strain of some very low functioning people. I mean these people had a long way to go in terms of simple things like individuation not to mention the more complex ego development tasks such as perspective taking, thinking in more than one way, taking the other person's perspective, broadening the way in which they analyze reality, all the larger scale things of an ego development.

"That's a lot of what we were doing without naming it. But they were such needy people we had to carry incredible amounts of anguish just getting them through day to day. Getting some of these chronically depressed people out of bed every day and into class was a major effort."

In addition to reconsidering the appropriate clientele, the staff also began to redefine the appropriate support services and the whole notion of helping. As Will explained, "We realized that we'd probably do the students more good by being a little more sceptical and still helping the ones who really need it. We had less of a compulsive need to save everybody and this kind of thing." Will illustrated "the

shifting nature of the role we perceived ourselves in" with the issue of abortions.

"For example, Michelle Fitzpatrick, her first semester here thought she was pregnant. She just had an abortion a week ago, two weeks ago, thought she was pregnant again so I took her to Burlington to have a check. I would never have done that 1976. I would have said, 'Go down to the clinic to see if you're pregnant, to be checked,' or I would have said, 'Well, geez, maybe somebody else can take you in there or give you a ride to Burlington.' But then I felt she was a PROVE student, a new PROVE student, I took her in, to Burlington, took the afternoon off. I didn't even think twice.

"I can't say it's right or wrong, so much as it's just a different notion about how to assist people in school. At that point I just thought Michelle was a young scared kid from Brattleboro. It was a real class thing. She was a lower class looking at some middle-class aspirations. And she needed the support in that situation. So I didn't feel that bad about that.

"But what I suggested is by 1975 we'd become more efficient and realized that what this person needs is a friend not a therapist at that point. So a tutor-counselor can take her in or a tutor-counselor can fix her up with Dr. Bertocci down to the health center."

The program's notion of helping people changed in other ways. As George explained, the more paternalistic and directive counseling approach the program eventually adopted foreshadowed a general trend in the profession.

"Wouldn't you know that non-directive counseling is becoming declassé right now in favor of, they have different names for it, they don't call it directive but intrusive counseling. Intrusive counseling is where the counselor from their perch can see a little bit further down the road than the student can and tells them that.

"Now if that isn't the essence of what we did for counseling in PROVE. We would say, 'Look, you've got to understand. This is the way it's going to be. You've got to take my word for it. I know it doesn't look this way to you now but if you're really smart you'll do it this way.' Which was very unRogerian.

"In so many ways now counseling is into being prescriptive if we perceive a developmental need that the student isn't seeing. And that's one of the big things of developmental theory is that when you're in the middle of a developmental change you can't see it for what it is and people outside of you can see it much more clearly."

Will described a parallel change. Though more directive, the staff also began to assume less personal responsibility for student success.

"When I first came here, I really believed in the ideal, a sort of liberal ideal that who's doing the talking makes the difference. In other words, that if I tried to counsel a student about staying in school and George tried to counsel them about staying in school, George's chances of success were far greater than mine. And I realized somewhere around '74 or '75 that it doesn't make any difference. That what changes students is experience and the consequences of the experiences, not who the person was that the student talked to.

"We used to invest a lot of energy in that whole sort of cherished myth that if we match this student with that tutor, she'll get along well with her and learn more. When you come right down to it, what the fuck difference does it make? In other words, whether the student had Bob Warren or Gordon MacGregor for a teacher really didn't make any difference. I mean the student might like Bob better than he liked Gordon, but he'd probably stay in or flunk out regardless.

"There's some point, I think, to being sensitive and supportive. I'm not saying that, you understand me, right? But it doesn't make any difference who talks to whom. The personal teaching style of the faculty member isn't going to be the critical variable in learning."

At the same time PROVE was re-thinking the appropriate clientele and how best to serve them, the Office of Education was demanding standardized test results as a measure of learning. Anne explained how the program chose the McGraw Hill test.

"We needed something relatively painless that would show progress in a quantifiable way and the McGraw Hill was relatively painless. I remember that summer we tried four different tests. The Cooperative English test was supposed to be the best. Well it took what, two hours, and here you got the McGraw Hill, forty-five minutes max. Hot damn. And it seemed to show progress too. Wonderful. I cannot remember anything substantive about any of those tests.

"It was sort of like okay we got to do this thing. It's not going to hurt us that much so let's do it. So yeah I was relatively indifferent to it. I was not angry at it. It presented itself as a problem to me and so that was sort of interesting. Well what will we do with it? Now okay what could I say we learned? I can't remember anything about McGraw Hill but that doesn't necessarily mean it didn't serve a purpose. I can remember things about writings I'd read because those are real people and writings.

"For diagnostic purposes I think, the McGraw Hill did help some. To have something that can give you a standardized number that you learn to read. Helps a lot in at least deciding who you got to focus on to make decisions about such as the basic writing or basic reading sections. That's a useful purpose and it seemed to do that in ways that that matched with what we would see in terms of students' writing samples and also in terms of what we then see about their subsequent behavior, performance and skills. So I guess considering those things

we'd say yes it was some useful information and was seen to be valid in that sense. So I'm not entirely cynical about it.

"So on one hand I can say McGraw Hill doesn't show us the real stuff because the real stuff is can he write, and the test results only show that we valued just some grammar and correctness. Well some part of that was."

For Anne the actual changes in student writing were a more telling indication of the Communication Skills course's impact.

"I would look at what they had produced in the course and I would hope I would be able to show fairly obviously to someone else changes as evidenced in their writing. That they would write something that would have a point, and that would have a pattern or an order to it. I mean you look at first writing samples and there is this sort of string unraveling. It's not even a stream of associations. The mind never stops to reflect on any one thought. It just strings off into another so there isn't that much sense of a mind stopping and reflecting.

"Now I know. Now I have a much better sense of the degree to which a basic writer is so uncertain, will just censor everything in order to get it right, so you get stopped at the word by word level, so you can't even think really, so you can't keep any kind of thought.

"So I would hope at the end to be able to show one an analogic kind of writing where I could see in that a mind that has stopped and reflected and tried to make some generalizations and observations. That is a kind of conceptual activity that certainly was our bias, that we wanted to take them to. And I'd say you see evidence in that in a piece that had a point and did have some order imposed on it.

"And then certainly beyond that the more obvious. We do have a value to teaching them to write discourse that could look cleaned up. Which would mean controlled sentence structure and some of the niceties of grammar, by which they will be judged more than the rich people.

"The Bard College kids don't have to learn to spell; PROVE students have to know how to spell. Because Bard kids are little richies so they can say they've got dislexia or they came from a private school and we didn't have to do this at my private school. So that's a lot easier when you're from the wealthy professional families but when you are lower class you do not already have status, and you'll be judged more on the superficials as evidence of your lack of intellect, of course."

Unlike the staff of most freshmen writing courses, the Communication Skills instructors met weekly, year in and year out, to review lesson plans and evaluate writing assignments. Through these weekly discussions, the teachers came to understand the basic writer's difficulties and learned to specify the characteristics of competent

writing. In Anne's mind, this regular collaboration was the primary reason for the teachers' insights.

The PROVE Program in general exhibited an unusual collaborative dynamic which re-defined traditional roles and enabled the staff to learn from each other. In fact, collaboration was central to all the program revisions, both the reflections and the actual changes. As George explained, this dynamic initially grew out of an adversarial attitude towards faculty resistant to PROVE which George called "the good guys and the bad guys."

"The people who were loyal friends could always be counted on to violate any form of confidence which we did all the time internally. We always sat down and compared notes about what was coming down from here there or anywhere. Because it was very clear that in that setting to fight back the bad guys, we have to keep each other informed. And there was an ethic that we kept each other informed of everything that was happening."

George recalled how the PROVE staff actually criticized colleagues for social friendships with "bad guys."

"Anyone of us would have to pay a price anytime we had relationships with the enemy. One of the most interesting ones was Will Ryan's relationship with Roger Rath. Their friendship had nothing to do with education and everything to do with the fact that Will liked

fishing with Roger and was fascinated by Roger's mind. But because Roger had a very important role in the argument over academic writing vs. what some called bone head writing, Will had to continually apologize for being friendly with Roger."

As George explained, this adversarial perception did afford a substantial protection within the PROVE ranks which allowed people to learn from mistakes.

"The whole thing of why we could work so well together. We were always free to make mistakes, to be jerks, and we laughed at each other mercilessly on the inside. But the loyalty factor meant that when the outside world was being dealt with you always defended your own. And that was constant. Anytime any of the faculty wanted to make a comment about Anne Herrington shouldn't be teaching Commie Skills, whether it was Will or Colleen or me or Sally or Bonnie or anybody, you defended.

"We really looked out for each other externally which I think bought us the the leeway to really go after each other a lot privately. We chided each other and made fun of each other all the time. But the fear of making a mistake was not as great because you had room to screw up. And you knew that even if it was a bad screw up, it wouldn't leak out. It wouldn't go public, and that people let you do it because we all did it."

Anne described how she learned from her PROVE colleagues.

"I think we were able to adventure into things that would be anxiety producing ones because we were doing it with someone else that we trusted and respected and knew those things. We were not going off alone. We were working collaboratively and we were assuming we were learning different things from each other. I was learning things about human interaction that would be useful in how I work with students from George, Will, you and that was very important for me.

"So I learned how to work with tutors and then how to work with students more effectively. And that's just a very every day kind of thing you don't talk about but that was an important kind of learning. It was important for me to learn that the time you spend counseling with a student is very important educational time. You're trying to educate them into some ways of seeing alternatives and seeing choices. And that's the most crucial kind of education but it's also probably the one that is the most frustrating or discouraging when it isn't coming across."

Anne saw in the teachers' collaborative work a shared commitment to continually reexamine and improve the instruction.

"I was just trying to think I mean well why, what would impel us to do these things? And the bottom line I think there's, we all have a personal impulse to do things better. I think it's characteristic of

us as individuals. We want to sort keep tinkering with something. And I don't mean that in just a mindless sense. Well one we enjoyed variety, but we would see things that weren't quite working so that there's some aspect of a reflection on and there's a desire to do the best as we can at something. I think that was true of all of us.

"And I think one of the things I think was so crucial we all have egos of varying strengths but in a lot of instances the way our egos were realized were in building a program or doing well in our teaching. And I realized our egos could be realized in very collaborative kind of work. Did not require some individual kind of I did best. That our egos can be realised in some program success in some way as opposed to just I have to have me realized.

"So there's got to be a commitment to some kind of common thing that you're trying to do because if nothing else that gives you a ground, a basis for discussion. So you got to be committed to doing some thing in common but yet there was still a lot of room for your individual choices and preferences. And that's probably the only reason why any of our collaborative groups still were healthy for us because we always still had room to be individuals."

"When we worked together, it helps get some distance even when you're in the middle of a course or in the middle of your day to days with the program, helps get some distance helps you reflect on just the stream of your every day. It gives you some different perspectives for

reflection. One it creates a situation where you do that and it gives you some different questions and it's just more fun and easier to do that."

Because Communication Skills I and II were credit courses which eventually enrolled half the freshmen class, PROVE was not what Will characterized a mere "auxiliary program" like other Special Services projects. Anne described how institutionalizing Communication Skills went farther than Ed Elmendorf ever intended.

"You know study skills and counseling, that's not that unique an idea in a student services division. There's always some kind of tutorial program. Ed probably initially had more of just the traditional kind of sense of including some study skills component, tutorial support services. Because it was clear in the beginning that Ed was sort of hedging on Supplemental Educational Services as just sort of the tutorial support, very much in the traditional sense.

"And we were the ones that kept pushing that. We were able to bring him over I think partly just because he was more inclined to go with his sense of what we did because he knew what we did was good. He had whatever signs that we were doing something substantial. So we could sort of sidle our way in just on the successes from the summers. So when the time came when there was substantial challenges, say a lay off kind of thing, Ed Elmendorf bit the bullet and no one else would have.

"But I think Ed probably did not begin with that full kind of curricular sense. And partly because I think Ed would have said, 'Well in the real world that doesn't happen. Well you don't have courses for credit in student services, that are the real courses.'"

At the same time, PROVE was becoming accepted at Johnson by more faculty. As George explained, teaching in the PROVE summer program, a financially attractive appointment, forced some resistant faculty to re-appraise their perceptions of the program.

"With the Vermont economy, when you have a one thousand dollar summer job to give out, you've got some power with faculty. Remember that? Can I teach a Core course? Boy, I mean Victor Swenson would get nice to you. The strangest things would happen. Because when guys are earning twelve grand a year, that extra grand means a lot. And it was a guaranteed grand, they wouldn't have to worry about enrollments, and they knew they'd have tutors to help students do papers. I mean that was a lush assignment and coopted I think a lot of people into that whole model of education."

Anne described some changing perceptions as the program staff and the college faculty increasingly worked together on common academic concerns.

"I certainly came to respect some faculty I hadn't before, say Paul Abajian. I can't necessarily say that he had a change in his attitude towards students because his attitude towards students may have been the same in a positive sense all along. I don't know. I think he thought initially PROVE was some carpetbaggers coming in, some people with a sort of funny federal program, just some social do-gooders, you know, let's all learn to discover ourselves. I think there was that sense we were just more bringing in some social misfits to just have a free ride in the school.

"I think clearly as a function of our being there a while working together and with them, some people who are serious about their teaching began to see that we did care about the quality of education and that our students learned something. And not just getting through or self-actualizing.

"So I think in some ways they realized we were committed to some of the same things they were. And that we were not committed to work against them. We were committed to support them whatever our roles were, my role as a teacher of writing and reading to help the students become better readers and writers which would also support what was happening in their courses.

"And also we began to clarify and help enforce some standards. So we were certainly supportive, working collaboratively and in many instances of leading the way of articulating standards and doing something to enforce them such as the writing competency test. That was clear and they saw that now."

In fairness to the faculty, Anne acknowledged that with substantial federal funding, the PROVE leadership had a clear advantage over individual faculty in developing a writing test.

"It was easier for us than them in some ways too. In our sort of quasi-administrative role it was easier in some ways for us to do something like the writing test, but certainly then they would support and work with us on it."

Although Anne created the writing competency and developed other standards at Johnson, in her particular capacity she never had to deal with the PROVE evaluation reports. As a teacher, she enjoyed the luxury of being content with her subjective sense of student progress. Anne described what she looked for as indicators of success in the later years.

"That they could get through semesters and that they would seem to be more stable. I guess what I would observe most that they seemed more independent themselves within the environment I saw them in. I'm assuming that meant they were more stable or self-sufficient. And I

would see them say in writing or reading and also in the other courses doing better. They were succeeding like other college people.

"So that was my evidence of success for them. But now someone's going to ask the question, 'Well how many was it? A lot of people that succeeded like that or just a few?' I don't know, maybe just a few. Maybe that was all. My sense is that it was more than just a few."

By 1977 PROVE could persuasively demonstrate to the Office of Education that it was indeed more than just a few.

C H A P T E R V
REVISING AND PROVING

As stated in the Introduction, "Revising PROVE" was initially intended on two levels, the program revisions and the re-thinking which prompted these changes. The program's acronym, PROVE, also means to establish the validity or to determine the quality of something by testing or presenting evidence which is the purpose of educational evaluation. In recognizing that both "revising" and "prove" have dual connotations here, "Revising PROVE" now suggests several levels of evaluation: the inherent necessity to describe and assess learning; the judgements educators make in establishing criteria for evaluating students and themselves; the role of storytelling in defining and judging student learning, teacher effectiveness, and program design; the contribution of local, functional standards to external program evaluation; the limitations of the federal, quantitative summaries in evaluating program judgements; and the potential for interviews and anecdotal evidence in formal program evaluation.

Chapter I presented PROVE's assumption and perceptions prior to the revisions. Chapter II traced the program's changes in evaluation criteria and measures and compared the 1977 evaluation design with the literature on evaluation. The differences in PROVE's later evaluation reports suggest important developments in the program, but the process of reflection and the judgements behind these changes became apparent

only by analyzing the ideological context in Chapter III and by listening to the stories in Chapter IV.

These educators' stories reveal four kinds of judgements, incompletely represented in the federal evaluation reports, which are essential for any responsible educational enterprise: defining the clientele, defining learning, letting go, and learning about learning.

Defining the Clientele

Given the context of the early 1970's, the original goals of the program, and our own youthful idealism, defining the clientele came slowly. Initially the PROVE staff was committed to open admissions in the most literal sense. We believed that higher education was the only way to rectify the economic inequities our students suffered and that everyone should have the chance to attend college. We assumed that with ample special instruction and encouragement, any reasonably motivated Vermonter could handle at least the minimal demands of Johnson's curriculum.

In time, our liberal commitment to equal opportunity gave way to reality. Admission to college does not automatically confer the ability to be a successful learner at the post-secondary level. College requires people to perform a fairly specialized set of activities.

We realized that failure and humiliation were virtual certainties for some acutely underprepared students. Allowing these students to attempt college study was actually a cruel disservice to them. We also found that students with chronic psychological difficulties lacked the self-direction necessary for college study. Further, these students often disrupted learning for other students and invariably placed excessive demands on the staff. We realized too that some clearly able students, for whatever reasons, simply chose not to learn. Finally, we eventually learned that even the most intensive, individualized instruction cannot enable some people to speak, write, and think in the manner required in higher education.

Reluctantly we conceded that certain students should be dismissed and others deferred. Given our liberal convictions about higher education as the great equalizer, perhaps the hardest lesson to learn was that the actual experience of higher education can never be universally accessible. This realization was harder yet to implement, for in qualifying open admissions, we accepted the onerous responsibility of determining who should be allowed to attempt higher education. Beyond the fading of the dream, the most troubling aspect of limiting open admissions was predicting human behavior and exercising a responsible judgement.

When Anne Herrington discussed the eventual criteria for deferring students, she hesitated on the word "predict." In fact, she did not complete the word, but instead began another sentence and used the word

"prejudge" in a voice that conveyed some dissatisfaction with that choice as well. Her hesitancy suggests both the commitment to open admissions the staff shared and the reluctance a responsible educator should feel about declaring in advance how an individual will respond to an educational experience.

From experience, the prudent educator acquires a healthy respect for each learner's uniqueness and the complexity of the learning dynamic. Students say and do things we could not have anticipated; they grow and change in ways that are inexplicable but heartening to witness. The inability to predict where a class discussion will lead or how an individual will respond to a learning experience is one of the conditions of the teaching profession.

Although predicting human behavior in education is problematic, the reflective educator cannot deny for long certain general but historically consistent patterns of student responses to given situations. These patterns do not include all student behaviors but the consistency of the patterns for the majority of students gives the educator some basis for acting and judging with some confidence. Through years of experience and reflection certain perceptions about student learning are proved or revised, gradually shifting from speculation to tacit knowledge and professional conviction.

In time we knew from experience that underprepared students who aggressively capitalized on the special instruction, tutoring, and support services could acquire the basic skills for survival in college in one summer program and two or three semesters. We came to expect that our freshmen could perform most freshman level work by the end of that year and would require relatively little program support in their sophomore year. We concluded that a candidate who, based on our diagnosis, would have clear difficulty "becoming" a freshman in the course of the freshman year should not be admitted.

Although Anne hesitated on the word "predict" and apparently was no more satisfied with "prejudge," she described with some conviction the student patterns which became the criteria for prescriptive admissions and student dismissal. Anne's intonation, word choice, and observations suggest the three dynamics of defining the clientele: amending the liberal dream of universal higher education, acknowledging the difficulty and responsibility in predicting human behavior, and acting responsibly on a history of perceptions and judgements about students and learning.

Defining Learning

Defining learning began with the realization that creating a supportive, caring environment does not in itself ensure the necessary learning. In addition to overcoming their fears about college, our

students needed to master basic academic skills to handle the curriculum. Recognizing these needs, we expanded the writing course to two semesters, introduced remedial courses in reading and writing, and prescribed more compensatory instruction. As we realized that undirected, free writing accomplished little for our students, we increasingly emphasized grammar, sentence structure, and rhetoric.

Defining learning took PROVE years because inexperienced educators tend to underestimate the demands of the tasks for their students, especially in writing. As Mina Shaughnessy notes, for the basic writer "the sense and nonsense of written English must often collide with the spoken English that has been serving students in their negotiations with the world for many years." We kept recognizing basic skills our students needed to master in order to handle more complex tasks, and we found we had to break down our objectives and to reconsider our instruction.

For example, grammar and usage are but a part of expository writing. To write a credible, analytical research paper, students must learn to use a library and to write accurate summaries of the material they have read. For students to summarize well, they first have to read actively, recognizing the structure of the material and understanding the difference and the relationship between main points and illustrative details. As we understood better the complexity of the students' tasks, we required exercises in library research, reading annotation, and text summaries as antecedent skill development for

analytical expository writing.

The experience of defining learning was not unlike peeling an onion. We kept discovering still another layer, still another antecedent skill which required course revisions.

Providing more basic instruction was only the prelude to defining learning because we had not yet described the specific behaviors which would indicate student mastery of the essential writing skills for college. Eventually we could say with some precision that our students should demonstrate the ability to employ precise language in grammatically correct sentences and logically ordered paragraphs for the purpose of examining ideas and evidence, determining relationships, and articulating contentions. Such a description of intended learning was the necessary antecedent for establishing primary rhetorical traits.

The initial impetus for examining primary rhetorical traits was pedagogical, defining intended learning and re-thinking our instruction. Primary rhetorical trait analysis is nothing more than an effort to systematically identify the key characteristics teachers intuitively respond to in student writing. The use of primary rhetorical traits grew out of our desire to specify the the basic components of effective college writing so we could design exercises and writing assignments based on intended learning.

This process led to other judgements. We also wanted to diagnose new students and assess their subsequent progress with some precision and consistency. We knew that the McGraw Hill test provided an incomplete means for diagnosing writing ability and evaluating growth. A multiple-choice writing test can only measure recognition, not execution; competent writing involves more than recognizing correctness. Using primary traits tells a teacher more about a student's writing development than a McGraw Hill test score because of the descriptive rhetorical categories such as cause and effect, generalizations and examples, and attention to audience. Writing sample ratings based on primary rhetorical trait analysis are probably the closest numbers can come to representing relative mastery of certain writing tasks.

At the same time, we were concerned that too many Johnson students graduated with inadequate writing skills. Various studies confirmed our own experience that merely requiring one or two writing courses does not ensure writing competence. Our experimentation with rating writing samples created the basis for the Johnson writing competency test.

The standards we established for the writing competency test were local norms, our judgements about what a college writer should be able to do. The writing competency test provided PROVE with a convenient and meaningful student evaluation measure. Because the test was institutionalized as a Johnson graduation requirement, the test results

were both functional indicators of student progress in that context and a persuasive measure for program evaluation for the Office of Education. Summarizing the number of students who met this standard to demonstrate PROVE's impact became a feature of the federal evaluation reports.

The implementation of primary rhetorical trait analysis illustrates the multiple levels of judging in education: defining learning, diagnosing students, assessing student change, revising instruction, establishing college standards, and evaluating program effectiveness.

Letting Go

Inexperienced teachers and counselors, especially in a compensatory program, tend to assume too much personal responsibility for their students' learning. Because in the beginning we believed that we could motivate our students to be successful learners, we regarded student failure as a reflection on our competence. In time we learned that teachers and counselors can only influence the circumstances that affect student motivation; educators can never actually instill motivation. At best we could anticipate student difficulties, simplify the tasks, reinforce successes, and reduce some anxieties. Motivation, the sustained willingness to take risks and accept failures, comes from the learner.

In specifying intended learning, we clearly assumed responsibility for the content and sequence of learning experiences. At the same time, we realized that we were not responsible for how an individual student responded to those experiences. Teachers are only part of the learning dynamic. In the final analysis, students learn as a result of a variety of choices they make, over which the teacher has little control. While increasingly exercising more control by defining the clientele, defining the learning, prescribing instruction, we simultaneously acknowledged that we actually had less control over learning than we initially believed.

Recognizing the learner's primary responsibility for learning was a critical insight in PROVE's educational philosophy which directly influenced program revisions in staff training and student evaluation. Necessarily, no quantitative evaluation report could enable the Office of Education to fathom or judge this important development. Quite the contrary, the plethora of intended outcomes in our grant proposals implied an ability to predict learning which we knew was impossible.

Once the PROVE teachers and counselors learned to feel less responsible for student choices, the tendency toward self-recrimination abated. Student grades ceased to be the primary criteria in staff self-evaluation. Most importantly, the staff spent less time attempting to rescue students who chose not to learn.

As the PROVE staff assumed less responsibility for student learning, we no longer saw ourselves as the only people at Johnson who could help underprepared students. We found that with careful selection and supervision, undergraduate tutor-counselors could provide much of the tutoring and support services and competently serve many more students than the professional staff had. By 1977 the program counselors and administrators spent more time training and supervising tutor-counselors and less time serving individual program students. Based on our own insights, helping the tutor-counselors learn when to let go was a central issue in the training program.

Similarly, the writing staff realized that Communication Skills alone could not adequately develop the students' writing skills. The most enlightened sequence of writing instruction has little impact on students unless further developed and reinforced in content courses across the curriculum. To this end, the program directed students into certain Johnson courses which emphasized analytical reading and writing and collaborated with those faculty on assignments and evaluation criteria.

Learning About Learning

The collaborative manner in which the PROVE staff described, discussed, and questioned each other about student change and program design was the primary vehicle for learning about learning. We

discovered in the first summer that talking with a colleague about assumptions, perceptions, experiments, successes and failures helped us to understand how people learn and to revise our teaching, both in the sense of re-perceiving and making changes. For seven years, the writing instructors met weekly to review course objectives, discuss recent assignments and strategies, and plan new ones. In addition to ensuring some consistency between class sections, the weekly exchanges were critical in helping us learn about our students and the writing process. Relating anecdotes about our teaching and our students enabled us to reconstruct those experiences, allowing numerous insights we could not have gained independently.

This revision through storytelling and collaborative reflection was characteristic throughout PROVE. The program design inclined the instructors and counselors from the outset to share information about students. Common values, prior friendships, and office proximity further facilitated daily exchanges between counselors and teachers. In the course of this collaboration, the staff members realized how talking with each other served as a vehicle for discovery and understanding.

Numerous conversations about anxiety reduction, the demands of the learning tasks, student motivation, and measuring learning made possible the program insights about defining the clientele, defining learning, and letting go. The tutor-counselor training program was predicated on our growing realization that all people involved in

teaching and learning need to describe and analyze out loud their encounters to make sense of their experiences, to learn from their mistakes, and to understand the limits of their influence.

Lev Vygotsky provides the most helpful explanation for why talking together and telling stories about educational experiences affords such insights. Thought is not merely speech minus sound. When we think, we converse with ourselves, an intimate audience. Inner speech is not just an interior form of external speech but instead "speech almost without words." We do not think in sentences or even necessarily in words but rather in images and metaphors which are coded and compressed with personal meaning. Extremely condensed and predicated in syntax, inner speech is different from external speech in form and function, dealing with semantics rather than phonetics.

Because thought does not consist of the discrete, sequential units characteristic of speech, thought can never have an exact counterpart in speech. Consequently, thought does not translate readily to the conventions of language. We can not say precisely what we are thinking. For communication, a thought must leave the private conversation of inner speech and pass through meaning to words for a public audience. The complexity of this passage from thought to semantics to phonetics explains in part the difficulty we often experience in expressing a thought to our own satisfaction.

Further, because of the nature of this passage, the thought is both provoked and altered in the search for words to express it. Since the structure of speech does not exactly mirror the structure of thought, the original thought actually undergoes many changes in the translation to speech. In choosing words which approximate some thought the speaker considers semantics and explicates personal meanings inaccessible in the private conversation of thought. The very act of converting a thought, highly predicated and compacted with personal meaning, to speech for an attentive audience clarifies and amends the unspoken thought. Talking about our experiences informs our understanding and uncovers additional insights.

Vygotsky's analysis explains in part why these PROVE educators were able to learn from each other through the years of collaboration, discussion, and reflection. Telling stories about teaching and learning and posing clarifying questions provokes insights and helps educators make sense of a sometimes inexplicable experience. But talking together as a vehicle for discovery does not explain the substance of the PROVE revisions or the success of the program's federal evaluation. At the heart of the PROVE story was the gradual but collective realization that defining the clientele, specifying intended learning, establishing standards, and making judgements including letting go are essential in any responsible educational enterprise, even an open admissions program.

In 1972 William Craig stated in the college's biennial report that Johnson's admissions policy "promotes the view that access to a liberal education (to free the mind of ignorance) is a right, whereas professional education is a privilege which imposes more rigid standards and requirements." Clearly Craig was not denying the need for some standards and requirements in a liberal education but suggesting that Johnson's standards should be less exacting than those for professional education. For a variety of reasons, Johnson never articulated these "less rigid" standards.

In this setting, PROVE enjoyed an unusual administrative freedom in admitting and dismissing students while the host institution declined to impose any standards. During the early years, PROVE regarded any suggestion of establishing standards as an elitist euphemism for denying equal opportunity. In a very real sense, this absence of standards which PROVE initially relished precipitated the major revisions in allowing the program to thoroughly explore and eventually recognize the folly of this thinking.

In time the PROVE staff concluded that college is a distinct educational experience and that graduation from college should indicate something. If a college degree has any meaning at all, it should at least suggest a minimally competent reader and writer. An illiterate college graduate is a contradiction. Higher education should be higher, or the whole enterprise does not make sense. This belated realization was the basis for diagnosing applicants, prescribing

courses, defining learning, and establishing reasonable standards such as the college writing competency test.

The PROVE story illustrates that learning how to define and measure learning well takes a long time, but the literature only rarely alludes to the inherent difficulty of this process. The authorities are in fundamental agreement that formal evaluation requires assessing inputs or antecedent behaviors and then comparing outputs with both inputs and intentions. In stressing the importance of describing learning and stating objectives in measurable, behavioral terms, they acknowledge a myriad of variables, but they offer little guidance or caution for educators. On the fundamental issue of defining learning, they present more imperatives than advice.

They tend instead to emphasize the role of the evaluator and the sequence of decision making. Perhaps because the professional literature is directed at other evaluators rather than inexperienced educators the concentration on matrices for decision making is understandable. Still, by their emphasis on other aspects of evaluation, they imply that defining learning and therefore learning itself is a relatively simple, almost mechanical process.

In discussing enabling or intervening objectives, Malcolm Provus does note that defining all the objectives with complete specificity in the beginning of a program is "patently impossible" because the staff rarely understands more than the terminal objectives. Provus also concedes that a complete data base at the outset is similarly

impossible. He suggests that the staff regard the data base as an "expanding file" as the staff becomes increasing aware of related factors and describes the program with greater precision. Provus is one of the few who identifies the educators' experience and knowledge as a factor in developing evaluation measures. Unfortunately, Provus's important observations about the inherent difficulty in defining learning are obscured by his discrepancy model which poses 3,420 questions and speaks of "program payloads."

Although the professional literature insists that judging is the ultimate purpose of educational evaluation, the persistent preoccupation with identifying a multiplicity of input and intervening variables affects a scientific disinterest and contradicts the reality of education. Determining all the possible variables in humanly impossible and unnecessary. Educators must make reasoned judgements about their students and their teaching every day based on their perception of certain variables. Selecting the variables to act on involves judgement in itself. No educator responsible would presume to know all the factors that influence learning, and any teacher who required all the variables before acting would be permanently immobilized.

Although developed independently of formal evaluation process, PROVE's progressive realizations about defining and judging student learning were actually the basis for the success of the 1977 proposal. The grant proposal consultant hired by PROVE could readily devise

objectives persuasive to federal evaluators because the program had already described the intended learning and created measures for the basic academic skills. The 1977 proposal succeeded because PROVE had unwittingly developed the data base and the criteria for judging student performance which formal evaluation requires.

That PROVE's major revisions did not result directly from the evaluation process required by the Office of Education suggests some limitations of the prevailing, formal evaluation approach. In defining learning and establishing admission and graduation standards, PROVE filled a vacuum at Johnson out of educational conviction. In fact, these realizations are fundamental and essential for any responsible educational enterprise. But ascertaining the mere presence of explicit standards in a program does not tell outside evaluators all they should want to know. Quantitative summaries do not provide a sufficient basis for evaluating a program's understanding of teaching and learning.

Formal program evaluation which is limited to student performance outputs is necessarily incomplete. Such an evaluation neglects important qualitative judgements about a program's process for defining learning and the appropriateness of the standards established and the measures employed. Subtle considerations such as letting go and learning about learning in cannot be understood through numerical reports. In addition to student performance inputs and outputs, ascertaining the extent to which a program has acquired these basic understandings about education ought to be a deliberate part of the

formal, program evaluation process.

Although the development of a writing competency test based on primary rhetorical traits implies insights on the writing process and indicates some commitment to establishing standards, program evaluators should want to know the specific traits employed and the reasons for this novel process. Numbers alone do not tell the whole story. A thorough understanding and evaluation of an educational program requires judgements about judgements.

In providing an understanding of PROVE's internal evaluation, the revisions behind the revisions, the stories here suggest the potential of interviews and other anecdotal evidence as a significant and revealing means for evaluating education. Grace Ward, Program Officer for New England, remarked that it took her years to trust anecdotal evidence as a credible source for program evaluation. Ward acknowledged that she had little background in educational evaluation when she assumed responsibility for Region I and required standardized test results as the most persuasive measure of program effectiveness.

Ward's initial impulse to rely on traditional quantitative measures is understandable. Sets of numbers about educational outcomes have an objective, scientific aura about them. Ward also knew that however reductivist these reports were, a program committed to genuine learning could find ways to represent with numbers, however incompletely, the learning they witnessed. More often than not, the programs which refused to employ standardized tests on the rationale

that such measures were invalid or racist had little learning to show. In time Ward came to realize that student writing samples, tutor logs, and site interviews with teachers and students were a useful component in evaluating a program's impact.

The PROVE interviews confirm Ward's experience. Teachers and counselors have much to say about students, learning, and themselves which bears directly on program evaluation. The penchant for nominally objective evaluation data overlooks a rich evaluation source.

Clearly, interviews cannot replace quantitative measures in program evaluation. The logistics of assessing all the federal grant applications for funding precludes such an approach. The sheer numbers dictate that federal evaluators must rely largely on some expedient approximations of program performance. Traditional, quantitative measures such as summaries of standardized test results serve this kind of condensation. If a program is effective, representing student learning in this way is relatively easy and not altogether inappropriate. As the PROVE story shows, measures such as writing sample ratings can serve local judgements about students while contributing to program evaluation.

Since the six people interviewed here are no longer involved with PROVE, their vested interest differs from current participants. Time and distance make their reflections selective in various ways. Thus, these interviews cannot be too readily construed as a prototype for practitioner interviews in program evaluation. Still, the stories they

tell suggest the potential for interviews as an accesible, revealing, and significant mode of inquiry and thus a legitimate component of educational evaluation. Their stories provide a quality of insight unattainable in quantitative measures which is too rich and compelling to be summarily dismissed on the grounds of subjectivity.

Evaluation authorities tend to distinguish between formative evaluation and summative evaluation with a decided emphasis on the latter. In formative evaluation during the installation stage, the evaluator serves more as a consultant, assisting the program in describing intended learning and developing appropriate objectives. In summative evaluation which follows the installation, the evaluator becomes a disinterested decision maker about program effectiveness. Characteristic of this emphasis, the Office of Education imposed summative evaluation early in PROVE's history without the benefit of formative evaluation. (At least in this instance, the early summative evaluation was not rigorous, allowing PROVE time to develop standards on its own.)

The PROVE story illustrates what responsible, reflective educators have always known: defining learning and learning about learning is ongoing. Since this process of is continuous, formative and summative evaluation should be regarded as concurrent, not sequential. In neglecting the importance and the continuous nature of formative assessment in education, evaluators have forfeited a rich opportunity to serve educators and to make penetrating judgements.

As this study shows, telling stories about their experiences helps educators understand the learning dynamic. This central insight for PROVE suggests an important role for evaluators which is minimized in the literature. Through interviews, evaluators can inform themselves about the educator's assumptions, intentions, and judgements. In telling stories, the unstructured and even self-serving observations of an educator can offer valuable insights into that person's epistemological and pedagogical assumptions, rarely conveyed in the quantitative federal reports, which ought to be a significant part of any formal program evaluation.

At the same time, in serving as an attentive audience, the evaluator can provide a valuable, structured opportunity for the educator to reflect out loud about teaching, student learning and program design. If both participants recognize the power of stories in understanding human experience and judging education, the exchange can become mutually insightful. Both evaluator and educator can learn about the program.

Defining and measuring learning is hard, hard work. Posing clarifying questions to educators and encouraging them to tell stories about teaching and learning helps these practitioners re-think and make meaning of their professional experiences, whether the audience is a colleague or outside evaluator. In the hands of an experienced educator, probing interviews have equal potential for both program development and formal evaluation.

KEY TO NOTES

The sources listed below are abbreviated in the reference notes according to the key on the left.

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- WR -- Will Ryan. Quotations by Will Ryan based on tape recorded and transcribed interviews conducted in 1982.

NOTES

The notes that follow are keyed to the text by catch phrase and page number of the source or the person interviewed.

INTRODUCTION (pages 1 - 11)

8. "story which brings meaning": HC, 183-188.
8. "speech minus sound": TL, 144-150.

CHAPTER I (pages 12 - 41)

14. "universal access": JSC, 2.
16. "I never thought": AH.
18. "But I guess": SC.
24. "It was incredible": AH.
25. "Nothing equals": SC.
27. "Access was clearly": EE.
31. "whole mystique": GS.
32. "I remember they said": BB.
33. "free writing stuff": AH.
34. "Ken's thing getting the students together": GS.
35. "I remember peeling": BB.
37. "I think of Liz": AH.
38. "But I don't see retention": EE.
39. "When you apply the statistical": GS.
40. "It was our objective": AH.

CHAPTER II (pages 42 - 109)

43. "to generate skills": HE68, Section 105. (b) (2).
44. "academic potential": HE68, Section 105. (b) (3).
45. "may provide": HE68, Section 105. (c) (2).
45. "proprietary institution": HE72, Section 417B. (c) (2).
46. "mea culpa generation": JRJ.
47. "not everyone is educable": JRJ.
48. "the loss of the sense": P71, 2.
48. "to enable these students": P72, 9.
49. "each student becomes": P72, 9.
49. "the high risk": P72, 13.
50. "theoretical assumptions": P73, 1.
50. "given proper environmental support": P73, 1.
52. "any positive change": P75, 25.
55. "average program involved": ETS, 10-18.
56. "where tests could be made": ETS, 10-23.
57. "obvious failures of various kinds": ETS, 10-27.
57. "the most positive evidence": ETS, 10-36.
57. "Whether these rewards": ETS, 10-27.
57. "program evaluation and renewal": ETS, 10-29.
58. "the persistence rates": ETS, 10-32.
58. "specific program objectives": ETS, 10-31.
- 60.* "buying off the poor": GW.

60. "nothing to monitor": GW.
61. "some measure of keeping track": GW.
62. "to provide compensatory": P75, 1.
65. "Strive toward retaining": P75, 3.
67. "academic potential": HE72, Section 417 B. (b) (3) (B).
69. "the poverty level": ETS, 9-11.
69. "being hard": GW.
73. "How did I know": GW.
76. "one indicator of minimal competency": P76, 9.
77. "develop each": P76, 14.
82. "informal evaluation": COE, 107.
83. "formal evaluation": COE, 112.
83. "full countenance": COE, 107.
83. "the succession of engagements": COE, 112.
83. "human activity": COE, 172.
85. "Intents include": COE, 114.
86. "the Gestaltist": COE, 117.
86. "input materials": COE, 118.
87. "benchmarks of performance": COE, 119.
87. "assigning a weight": COE, 122.
88. "process of ascertaining": D-M, 129.
88. "the greater the change": D-M, 136.
89. "all educational decisions": D-M, 134.
89. "the limits of the domain": D-M, 136.

90. "absolute or relative standards": D-M, 138.
90. "watchdog of management": ON, 186.
91. "explicit standards": ON, 189.
91. "The content of programs": ON, 172.
91. "content taxonomy": ON, 192.
92. "quantifiable, comparable descriptions": ON, 198.
93. "judgmental web": ON, 182.
94. "severe paucity": ETS, 10-5.
95. "not as a research question": AOL, 34.
95. "the success of the disadvantaged": ETS 10-23.
96. "greater awareness": ETS, 10-24.
96. "hard data": ETS, 10-31.
97. "If such groups": ETS, 10-35.
97. "standardized tests": ETS, 10-3.
98. "naive assumption": P77, 11.
101. "To develop program students": P77, 15.
102. "mastery of language mechanics": P77, 15.
103. "subsequent attrition": P77, 67.

CHAPTER III (pages 110 - 136)

111. "the great agreed-on": NA, 223.
111. "Four score": AL, 396.
111. "All thirteen colonies": IA, xvi.

112. "some eighty years ago": IA, xv.
114. "Americans would be troubled": AL, 103-106.
114. "the taste": DA, 100.
114. "Political liberty": DA, 101.
115. "feelings are turned": DA, 104.
115. "they owe nothing": DA, 105.
116. "to seek out": DA, 132.
116. "the effort to satisfy": DA, 136.
117. "I never met": DA, 137.
117. "It is strange": DA, 144.
118. "Among the works": OL, 72.
118. "what more or better": OL, 77.
118. "may be better": DA, 34.
119. "erroneous notion": DA, 146.
119. "Hence the desire": DA, 147.
120. "For in the land": CAL, 33.
120. "the true significance": NA, 159.
120. "We should all start": NA, 156.
121. "Status resentment": NA, 527.
122. "Our individualism": NA, 145.
122. "pin of equality": CAL, 49.
123. "ordinary to an extraordinary degree": AP, 29.
123. "He intends only": TY, 44.
124. "a sense of confidence": TY, 45.

125. "But the claim": NA, 222.
125. "always emulative": NA, 221.
126. "It is a mark": NA, 224.
126. "maintain a naive faith": NA, 225.
126. "Would it not be the better": ME, 618.
127. "these moments": NA, 225.
127. "May indulgent heaven": AC, 35.
127. "the unleashing": AC, 187.
127. "the whole history": AC, 207.
128. "hailed the American college": AC, 238.
128. "We are in danger": AC, 239.
129. "the great disrupter": AC, 222.
129. "to promote the liberal": AC, 249.
129. "where the leading object": AC, 252.
130. "the temple of applied science": AC, 265.
130. "Technical skill becomes": ME, 616.
130. "The explicit fear": ME, 609.
130. "the university which once": ME, 608.

CHAPTER IV (pages 137 - 170)

138. "In some ways PROVE": WR.
142. "Oh it was terrific": GS.
144. "Well you could say": AH.

146. "Why do we keep": GS
147. "In my undergraduate bliss": WR.
150. "I think we got real good": GS.
156. "For example, Michelle": WR.
159. "We needed something": AH.
162. "The people who were loyal": GS.
164. "I think we were": AH.
167. "With the Vermont economy": GS.
168. "I certainly came": AH.
169. "That they could get through": AH.

CHAPTER V (pages 171 - 192)

176. "the sense and nonsense": DI, 235.
183. "speech almost without words": TL, 145.
183. "thought does not translate": TL, 100.
184. "the original thought": TL, 126.
185. "promotes the view": JSC, 2.
187. "patently impossible": ON, 193.
189. "trust anecdotal": GW.

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APPENDIX

List of Interviewees

Anne Herrington	Communication Skills Instructor Writing Competency Test, JSC	1971-1979 1976-1979
Sally Candon	Resident Counselor, PROVE Dean of Students, JSC	Summer, 1971 1973 - 1977
Ed Elmendorf	Director of Admissions, JSC Vice President, JSC President, JSC	1968 - 1972 1973 - 1974 1974 - 1979
George Sousa	Senior Counselor, PROVE Director, PROVE	1972 - 1973 1973 - 1975
Bonnie Brock	Resident Counselor, PROVE	1972 - 1973
John Rison Jones	Senior Program Officer, TRIO, Office of Education, Washington	1968 - 1981
Grace Ward	Program Officer, TRIO, Office of Education, Boston	1973 - 1979
Will Ryan	Resident Counselor, PROVE Senior Counselor, PROVE	1973 - 1974 1974 - 1977

