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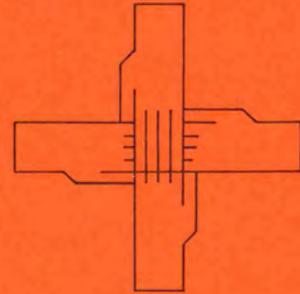
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**MEETING THE POST-SECONDARY  
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND FACILITY  
NEEDS OF THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED  
IN THE TWIN CITIES:  
ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS**



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MEETING THE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND FACILITY  
NEEDS OF THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED IN THE  
TWIN CITIES: ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

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STATE OF MINNESOTA

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Minnesota Higher Education  
Coordinating Commission  
550 Cedar Street  
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## PREFACE

Equality of educational opportunity at the post-secondary educational level is the last stage in recent challenges confronting the educational system. Basic questions are at the core of this new development. First, what constitutes equal educational opportunities? For some time equality has been equated with input, which, according to time honored traditions, is often related to per capita expenditures, remedial programs, student-teacher ratios, buildings, etc. Furthermore, political pressures distorted many of the well intended efforts to redress educational injustices. Rather than being based on socioeconomic and psychological principles which are at the root of educational inequality, many of the programs have a political-ethnic orientation which constitutes a provisional stop-gap to social turbulations. Rather than being based upon solid foundations with a perspective toward long range goals, the sense of urgency has caused educational programs to be initiated which have little or no relationship to outcomes. Second, what is the role of higher education in the provision of equal educational opportunities? Higher education as a system has never been expected to participate in the operational solution of social problems. The contributions of colleges and universities to the alleviation of social ills have traditionally followed two directions; research and manpower training. The higher educational system confronts an unprecedented change in that it is now called upon to play an active role in providing real and practical solutions to some basic social ills in the educational domain. At this point two basic philosophies pertaining to higher education are in sharp conflict. The traditional view of higher education as a system pursuing academic excellence, serving an intellectual elite, cannot be reconciled with the philosophy of education for all at the highest levels of the academic system. The view-point of some authorities, such as Barzun, is that universities have already overextended themselves as to endanger acknowledged academic claims. Furthermore, to allow academic institutions to be coerced by social forces into services they do not choose to render is, in the view of some, a threat to academic freedom. The academic institution has the right to refuse to take on new assignments.<sup>1</sup>

The view of the authors of this report coincides with those who regard higher education as an active and dynamic part of social change. Having already opened the door to new and unprecedented challenges which break through the classic concepts of higher education, the American post-secondary system has embraced the needs of society and can no longer choose the types of services it renders.

---

<sup>1</sup>Edward Levi. "Commitment to Reason." 1967.

The transfer from the classic (static) to the social (dynamic) existence is a troublesome and painful process. Higher education is not only confronted with the need to redefine the roles of its present institutions, but, also, with the necessity to initiate new organizational patterns, such as community colleges, when the tasks at hand are challenging organizational flexibility.

This study is a product of the ongoing debate in higher education. It addresses itself to post-secondary educational responsibilities toward the disadvantaged in the metropolitan area. The decision to impose geographic constraints upon this study has been purely administrative. Yet it is justified to regard the Twin City area as having the greatest concentration of educationally disadvantaged persons in the State of Minnesota.

The original idea was to focus primarily on physical facilities. However, as the study progressed it became abundantly clear that the difference in institutional perceptions of the education problems of the disadvantaged, the formative stages of definition of basic strategies and responsibilities, and the fluctuations and wavering as manifested in a multitude of operational approaches took precedence over the brick and mortar solution. This paper, then, is primarily a program analysis leading to a number of proposed organizational solutions.

The authors are most grateful to the large number of individuals whose cooperation made the conduct of the study possible. It is impossible to acknowledge all who have contributed, but there are some who deserve special acknowledgement. Special appreciation is extended to Mr. Richard C. Hawk, Executive Director of the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, and the members of his staff for their efforts to provide the means for transforming the proposed study into the completed study. The counsel of Dr. Walter Baeumler throughout the various phases of the study merits our most sincere appreciation. We are most grateful to Mr. Charles Dizard who performed the Herculean task of conducting the community interviews in a short span of time. Needless to say, without the active cooperation of the representatives of the State Junior Colleges, the State Colleges, the State Area Vocational Technical Schools, and the University of Minnesota, and the Private Colleges the study could not have been conducted. Last, and by no means the least, our appreciation is extended to the civic leaders and local citizens who gave of their time to participate in the study.

R. A. L.  
W. G. G.  
R. B. H.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

As we enter the decade of the 70's there is an increased awareness that one segment of our society does not have readily accessible to it advantages which are available to the majority of our population. For want of a better word, this segment has been called the "disadvantaged." Although the composition of this group may have changed somewhat through the years, the "disadvantaged" have existed since the foundation of our country.

In the past, many attempts have been made to improve the situation of the "disadvantaged" in our total society, but for the most part these attempts were fragmented and uncoordinated. A large part of this fragmentation was necessitated by the agrarian nature of our population, which tended to provide low visibility for the "disadvantaged." As our country became more urbanized, the "disadvantaged" tended to find their way to the central areas of our cities. This concentration of people with similar problems gave rise to an increased visibility which focused the attention of our populace upon the attendant problems of the "disadvantaged."

During the decade of the 60's, initial steps were undertaken to provide a concerted effort to find solutions to the problems of the "disadvantaged." One program which has as its major purpose the resolution of these problems is the Model Cities Program. Under the Model Cities Program, a multi-dimensional approach is utilized to seek solutions and to provide redress to the somewhat disenfranchised segment of our society. While Model Cities is of recent origin, it has become very apparent that the problems of the "disadvantaged" are very complex and simple solutions are not to be found.

One of the multi-dimensional aspects of Model Cities is the educational component. It is generally recognized that education can provide a major input into overcoming the obstacles faced by the "disadvantaged," but the question arises as to what level the greatest impact might be made. Education is a continuous process beginning in the home, extended and expanded through formal schooling, and continuing to a lesser degree throughout the remainder of life. At present, there is no structure whereby the educational process may be undertaken in the home or in an individual's later life; thus, if education is to be a major input, the focus must be upon the formal years of schooling.

Initially, the Model Cities' educational component focused upon the elementary and secondary levels because it is at these levels that the greatest impact can be made. While this approach is sound, the time span needed for results is considerable and in the interim many students fall by the wayside in an age where it is becoming increasingly essential that an individual acquire some type of post-secondary schooling. This situation has been recognized and more recently attention is being given to the post-secondary needs of the "disadvantaged."

Not only have the post-secondary needs of the "disadvantaged" been recognized by those directly involved in working with this segment of our society, but increased interest in their problem has been exhibited by agencies charged with the responsibility of providing the institutional framework to meet their needs. This awareness can best be illustrated through the discussion of the problem by the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission in their proposal for a Higher Education Facilities Special Opportunities Grant under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 in April of 1969.

*The obligation for making final recommendations to the next legislature for the future expansion of post-secondary opportunities in the Twin Cities metropolitan area creates an urgent need for thorough study of the special needs and means for meeting needs of those residents who live in disadvantaged areas. These areas include, but are not limited to, those designated for the model cities program in Minneapolis and in St. Paul. The low proportion of students coming from disadvantaged areas suggests that previous expansion of post-secondary facilities may not have been directed appropriately for meeting the needs of disadvantaged youth. While desirable choices among types of institutions to be established, programs to be offered, and design and physical locations of facilities cannot be expected to provide the complete solution to the many problems of disadvantaged youth, failure to take into account the special needs of this segment of the population may preclude effective post-secondary services to residents in disadvantaged areas. The purpose of this study is to make a thorough*

*assessment of the characteristics, needs, and alternative means for meeting needs for post-secondary education of metropolitan residents in disadvantaged areas. This study will be integrated with the general planning effort of the Commission for the Twin Cities metropolitan area and the results of this study will become part of the bases for recommendations on total future post-secondary education developments in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area.*

The problem is further amplified by the Commission when it states that:

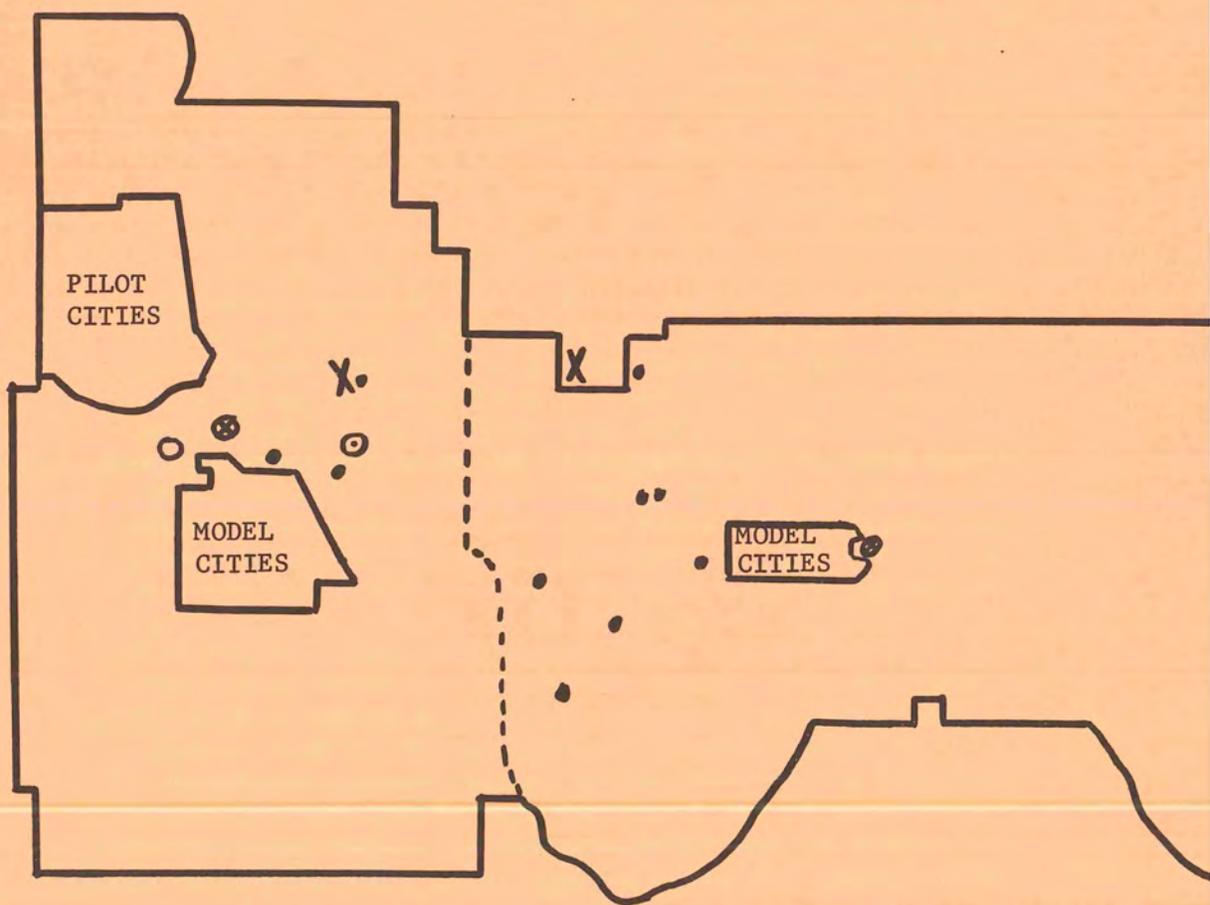
*Minneapolis and St. Paul have approximately 117,000 students in grade levels K-12 and 25,000 students in grade levels 10-12. About 20 per cent of these students are from areas described as having a high concentration of the disadvantaged. The students in these areas are not continuing their education in the same numbers as those in other areas of the cities. Fewer students complete high school as shown by the dropout rate which is higher for model cities area than for the city average; 30 and 14 per cent, respectively. . . . Furthermore, of those who do complete 12th grade, the per cent going on to post-secondary training is 20 per cent lower from the model cities neighborhood than the city average. The average for the state is 65 per cent. The goal for the State of Minnesota, as recommended by the Commission, is 85 per cent of all high school graduates going on to some form of post-secondary training by 1980. The intent is to narrow the gap between the average for the state and the average for disadvantaged areas or at least to prevent it from becoming greater. However, one cannot measure the strength of the need for post-secondary education in terms of numbers only. Consideration must also be given to persons in low socio-economic situations who may have no other opportunity for advancement but through continued education.*

*Although, within ten miles of the disadvantaged areas identified there exists one of the highest concentrations of post-secondary education facilities in the United States . . . it appears, from the small number of high school graduates who go on to school and the comments of some of those who do go on, that what they find is not relevant; the special needs of this segment of the metropolitan area are not being met at this time. Most of these institutions are private four-year liberal arts colleges which have high tuition rates and stringent qualification for entrance.*

The proximity of this high concentration is illustrated by Figure 1.1.

FIGURE 1.1

LOCATION OF POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS IN RELATION TO  
MODEL AND PILOT CITIES AREAS



X - University of Minnesota

● - 4-Yr. Private Colleges

○ - State Junior College

⊗ - Area Vocational Technical Sch

⊙ - Private Junior College

In the original proposal three questions were set forth as the foundation for the study which was to be conducted. These three questions were:

1. What are the kinds, amounts, and locations of facilities needed to provide for the special post-secondary educational needs of the disadvantaged in the metropolitan area?
2. What programs will the facilities need to accommodate and how much capacity is needed for each program?
3. How can the present facilities serving the metropolitan area and the state be most effectively incorporated into the total effort?

The answers to these three questions were to provide the basis upon which recommendations were to be made. It should be noted at this point that the above questions are modified in Chapter II.

#### Definitions

Certain terms germane to this report need to be defined. In some instances the definitions simply serve as clarification, but in others they assume a particular usage.

Disadvantaged. There appear to be as many definitions of the term "disadvantaged" as there are individuals to provide a definition. The difficulties involved in arriving at a definition receive more elaboration in Chapter III than will be attempted here. Only two points will be amplified at this juncture. First, there is a tendency to equate being disadvantaged with being a member of a minority group. In this study the equation of minority with disadvantaged is not made. Disadvantaged who also happen to be members of an ethnic minority are identified as the "disadvantaged minority."

Another point of attention pertains to a certain income level which is usually attached to any definition of the disadvantaged. Without the existence of any universally accepted guidelines to determine the income level at which a person becomes disadvantaged, no income level was utilized in the study team's definition. The term "disadvantaged" as utilized by the study team is as follows:

Persons who have educational, socio-economic, cultural or other handicaps (not physical or mental) that prevent them from entering into or succeeding in educational programs designed for persons without such handicaps.

Compensatory education. The concept "compensatory education" is frequently found in educational literature concerning the disadvantaged. (See Chapter III) Webster's definition of "compensate" is "to make up for" or "be a counterbalance to in weight, force, etc." The basic idea behind the concept of "compensatory education" is that an addition has been introduced into the regular curriculum to make up for cultural and educational deficiencies in the background of the student. These additions may take the form of a special and separate programmatic unit (e.g., a special course in reading) or an additional insertion into already existing programs (e.g., an expansion of already existing counseling programs to suit the needs of disadvantaged students). In each case, it was left to the institution to define which of its programs or parts thereof constitute compensatory additions to meet disadvantaged needs.

Post-secondary education. Post-secondary education refers to any type of schooling which requires a high school diploma or its equivalent. In this report, the concept is used in conjunction with diverse educational programs designed for age groups beyond the high school level.

Post-secondary institutions. Those institutions which offer post-secondary education. They include: private junior colleges, private colleges, area vocational-technical schools, state junior colleges, state colleges, and the University of Minnesota; private vocational schools are not included.

Community college. As utilized in this report, "community college" implies an ideational concept, not necessarily administrative, in which the institutionalized programs serve to meet the needs of the immediate community. This is a broader usage than is customary whereby community college is an amalgamation of existing junior colleges and area vocational-technical schools.

Minority. The term "minority" includes the Negro, Indian, and Chicano communities.

Urban. When the term "urban" is used, it refers to Minneapolis-St. Paul only and not to other areas of the state. It is interchangeable with the term "Twin Cities."

Inner-city. Inner city does not refer to a geographical region in either of the Twin Cities, but to areas which exhibit a density of disadvantaged populations.

Metropolitan area. When reference is made to the Metropolitan area, it implies the seven counties of Anoka, Ramsey, Hennepin, Dakota, Washington, Scott, and Carver, unless otherwise specified.

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The area utilized by the U. S. Census Bureau for statistical purposes. It includes: Anoka, Ramsey, Hennepin, Washington, and Dakota counties.

Pilot Cities. An area in the northwest section of Minneapolis which has been designated as a depressed area under the Pilot Cities Program of the Federal government. The general outline of the area is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

Model Cities. Those areas in Minneapolis and St. Paul which are under the auspices of the Model Cities Act. In Minneapolis, the Model Cities area is located in the south-central part of the city. The Model Cities area in St. Paul is somewhat less well defined due to the status of the planning stage which is in operation. The areas roughly correspond to those illustrated in Figure 1.1.

Summit-University area. An area in St. Paul which is bounded by University Avenue on the north and Summit Avenue on the south. It roughly corresponds to Target Area "A" of the St. Paul Model Cities program. In this report it is used to imply the St. Paul Model Cities area.

Community opinion leader. A person within a given community or area of the city who is knowledgeable about the opinions in the educational sphere of the members of that community and who has opportunities to exert influences upon the development of such opinions.

#### Organization of the Remainder of the Report.

The remainder of this report will be presented in the following manner: Chapter II will set forth the design of the study. Chapter III will present a review of the literature relevant to the study. Chapter IV details the demographic data for the Twin Cities. An analysis of the research conducted by the study team is presented in Chapter V. Future manpower needs are discussed in Chapter VI. Chapter VII sets forth the summary, conclusions and alternative proposals of the study team.

## CHAPTER II

### DESIGN AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents a discussion of the development of the research model, the activities preparatory to the conduct of the research, and the development of the research instruments. The activities involved in conducting the research are presented in the chapter entitled "Analysis of Research," Chapter V.

#### Design of the Study

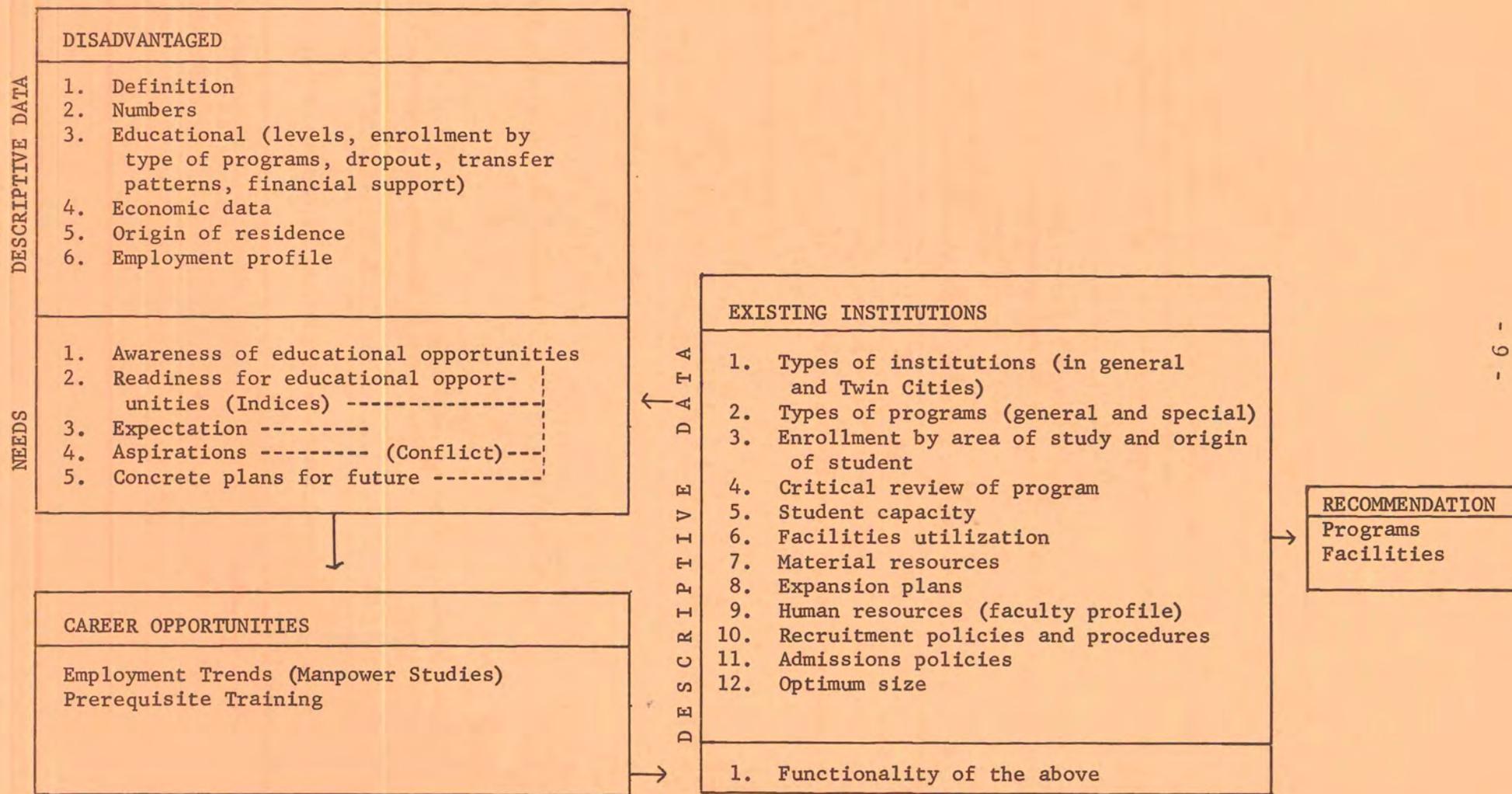
The design of the Special Opportunity Grant study was, by necessity, general in nature. Only a broad outline was provided; thus, the first task of the study team upon assuming their positions was to develop a research model in greater detail.

The initial step in developing a comprehensive research model was the review and discussion of the original proposal by the newly-formed study team to bring about an amalgamation of varying viewpoints. From this review and discussion came the observation that the traditional approach for meeting the educational needs of a segment of our society has been to focus upon the institutional facilities needed to serve a given number. Little attention has been given in the initial planning stages to the types of programs which were needed. This has resulted in duplication of facilities. The decision of the study team was to avoid this situation in the conduct of this study.

Three objectives were formalized to be achieved through the research: (1) to identify the educational needs of the disadvantaged, (2) to determine alternative programs to meet these needs, and (3) to suggest institutional solutions. To reach these objectives the efforts of the study team would focus upon: (1) the disadvantaged, (2) existing institutions, and (3) career opportunities.

A three-point model, which is presented in Figure 2.1, was developed to help visualize the inter-relationships among the three focal points of the study. In the development of the three-point model, it was the contention of the study team that an analysis of the data from the three points should suggest the types of programs needed to meet the needs of the disadvantaged. After the types of programs were determined, the alternative recommendations pertaining to the kinds of facilities (in broad rather than specific terms) could be made.

FIGURE 2.1: THREE-POINT PROBLEM MODEL



After the review of the proposal, the discussion of alternative approaches, and the development of the three-point model, a tentative conceptualization of the design was written. At this point a meeting with the permanent staff of the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission (HECC) was held to consider the design and to solicit suggestions. Dr. Walter Baeumler, University of Minnesota-Duluth, who later became a consultant to the project, was also invited to join the meeting. The study team's conceptualization of the design was discussed and judged appropriate.

### Preparatory Activities

To facilitate the execution of the research design, a Program Evaluation and Review Technique (PERT) chart was developed. This technique combines the development of a sequential order of events with estimates of the amount of time needed to complete a given event. As the study progressed, it became necessary to update the original PERT chart, but the pre-planning of events served to enhance efficiency in the use of time and resources.

In any research endeavor there are certain preparatory activities which must be undertaken. Rather than undertaking an elaborate and lengthy description of such activities, a partial listing will be offered to provide insight into the early stages of the study:

- Familiarization with the geography of the Twin Cities through the use of maps and personal visits.
- Determination of the availability of data. Interviews were held with personnel in the following agencies: Model Cities and Pilot Cities, public schools, city health and welfare, Neighborhood Youth Corps, civic organizations, higher education institutions, Metropolitan Council, the State Department of Education, and the Catholic schools.
- Development of a card file containing the names of knowledgeable people who were considered to be potential opinion leaders in the communities to be studied. This card file served as the starting point for respondents to the community survey.
- Review and assimilation of data prepared by HECC and data collected from the following sources: Model and Pilot Cities, public schools, University of Minnesota, city health and welfare, Metropolitan Council, University of Minnesota Bureau of Field Studies, Department of Manpower, Department of Vocational Education, and the Statewide Testing Office.
- Review of past and current literature relevant to the education of the disadvantaged.
- Attendance at conferences on: Model Cities and Higher Education, Vocational Education, and the Occupational Development Conference.

— Development of population projections for the Twin Cities. Additional information concerning the adaptation of the projections to estimate the number of disadvantaged is discussed in the section of Chapter V dealing with the demographic data for the Twin Cities.

#### Development of the Survey Instruments

As the activities of the early stages were proceeding, the kinds of data which would have to be obtained by other means became more apparent. It was determined that the most efficient use of time and resources would necessitate the use of survey techniques to obtain the needed data. Three instruments were developed: (1) a questionnaire for junior college sophomores in the Metropolitan area, (2) a questionnaire to survey existing programs offered by post-secondary institutions, and (3) an interview schedule to be used with community opinion leaders.

Junior College Survey. The questionnaire for the survey of junior college sophomores in the Metropolitan area consisted of nine items which were partially derived from a more comprehensive instrument used in a junior college survey in California by Ernest Berg and others. Additional information pertaining to the instrument is presented in the section of Chapter V dealing with the Junior College Survey.

Institutional Questionnaire. As it became apparent what types of data would be needed about existing programs offered by post-secondary institutions, a list of the needed information was compiled. After the compilation of the needs list, a conference was arranged with representatives of the following segments of post-secondary education: (1) private colleges, (2) area vocational-technical schools, (3) state colleges, (4) state junior colleges, and (5) the University of Minnesota. At this first meeting the nature of the study was explained, the list of needed data was discussed, and the assistance of the representatives was solicited. Expressions of cooperation were received, and the study team was asked to prepare the survey instrument for review at a later date.

The first draft of the questionnaire was prepared and forwarded to the representatives for their opinions and suggestions. The suggestions were reviewed by the study team and incorporated where possible into the second draft.

After the second draft was completed, a second conference was held to review the efforts of the study team. Minor alterations were suggested and incorporated into the instrument which became the final draft.

Community Survey. Preliminary drafts of the questions to be asked were developed by the members of the team for discussion. After much discussion, the first draft of the interview schedule was prepared. This first effort was then submitted to the project consultant, Dr. Walter Baeumler, for review and suggestions.

Upon receipt of the suggestions from Dr. Baeumler, a second draft was prepared and field tested. The field testing indicated areas in the schedule which needed additional consideration. The results of field testing were discussed with the consultant and a third draft was formulated.

During the time that the interview schedule was being developed, Mr. Charles Dizard was employed to be field interviewer of the project. Mr. Dizard assisted in the development of the third draft as he would ultimately utilize the instrument. The third draft was field tested upon completion. Information from the second field testing suggested adjustments which were incorporated into the final instrument.

### CHAPTER III

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PERTAINING TO THE DISADVANTAGED AND SOME APPROACHES TO EQUALIZE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AT POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

A myriad of methodological difficulties confront a writer on such a diffuse and controversial topic as the disadvantaged and their educational opportunities at post-secondary school levels. Professional literature on the subject is disorganized and unfocused as is the case with many new intellectual explorations. To gain closure within the limitations of the present document, it was decided to divide this chapter into six parts. The first, "The General Environment," highlights the urban setting, which is the matrix of the problem; the second, "The Disadvantaged Theoretical Frameworks," deals with the approaches to "disadvantagement;" the third, "The Disadvantaged Characteristics," surveys the basic contributions to the interpretation of the disadvantaged; the fourth, "Educational Deprivation as a Socio-economic Constraint," focuses on equal educational opportunities at the higher levels from a socio-economic point of view; the fifth, "Some Institutional Aspects Related to Equal Educational Opportunities," deals with institutional constraints in higher education as they relate to equal educational opportunities. The last part of this chapter, "Compensatory Education, Its Meaning and Some Operational Interpretations of Post-secondary Educational Institutions," constitutes a critical view of remedial procedures to serve the disadvantaged now underway in post-secondary educational institutions.

## THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

### The Problem of Disadvantaged Populations from an Urban Perspective

Although the problems of disadvantaged and underprivileged populations were not generated by the city, the city became the catalyst which brought the social, economic, cultural, medical and educational plight of stricken classes forcefully to the foreground.

Therefore, the vast volume of professional literature dealing with poverty in general and the education of poor people in particular is generally inspired by and focused on urban communities.

The socio-economic problems of the American inner city were, according to most urbanologists, exacerbated by geographic, economic and psychological isolation in the form of (1) the escape of the high and middle classes to the suburbs, (2) impoverishment of the inner city with the attendant loss of taxation support compounded by the shift of economic, political and cultural endeavors to the suburbs, and (3) the emergence of an even more rapidly increasing inverse relationship between growing needs of inner city populations and the ability of local authorities to relate to these needs. (Moses and Williamson, 1968:114, Alloway and Cordasco, 1969:41-42)

The exodus of the upper and middle classes from the inner city created an economically, educationally and politically restrictive vacuum. Alloway and his associates describe the vacuum in terms of three E's -- Education, Employment and Environment. The three E's are so closely tied together that regardless of causal relationships their effect upon isolation is the same. Faulty education restricts employment opportunities, which are also imposed by environmental restrictions. (Alloway and Cordasco, 1969:23-25) Thus, there emerges a vicious circle of events which results in what is known as the ghetto or slum and its related phenomena.

The emigration of the upper classes created a leadership vacuum in the inner city which was filled by local residents. This new leadership raised the expectation levels of its community by setting achievement goals commensurate with the ways of life in the suburbs. Thus, a reaction chain which usually appears in a climate of social mobility was set off. (Alloway and Cordasco, 1969:15-16) This reaction chain resulted in a syndrome of fear, distrust and frustration based upon the ambivalent relationships between the inner city and suburbs. Consequently, the ghetto gravitated into even stricter isolation than before. (Alloway and Cordasco, 1969:18)

To gain maximum protection from a perceived hostile environment, isolation tendencies became partly institutionalized. An anthropological study of the Addams community in Chicago exemplifies this tendency. In spite of a common school district, Addams residents strove to restrict their educational, religious and recreational needs to ethnic confines. Considerable generalized apprehensions appeared on the surface in those cases where racial isolation could not be completely observed, as in public schools. (Suttles, 1968: 56-59).

Distrust and withdrawal were also apparent in the community reaction to the intervention of the outside world in the form of urban renewal. Urban renewal in the Addams community was perceived as an attempt on the part of the middle class community and its leaders to make profit at the expense of the local residents. If juvenile arrest can be used as a means to assess the success of a community project, then the number of juvenile arrests grew after the implementation of the urban renewal project in the Addams area (in spite of the numerical decline of the Negro population, the number of juvenile arrests doubled). (Suttles, 1968: 196, 210, 216)

The inner city problem, then, is not only a socio-economic and cultural phenomenon but also a state of mind. Authorities in general believe that both can be met on educational grounds.

#### The Economic Factor from an Educational Perspective

Disadvantaged populations are frequently described from an economic point of view. Many programs such as those generated by the Office of Economic Opportunity are founded on the premise that economic improvement will somehow alleviate the overall plight of disadvantaged people. However, authorities generally agree that there is a strong link between education and economic opportunity. The "Three E Theory," for example, expounds the principle that education is the key to economic opportunity. Such a view is broadly shared by authorities who base their conclusions on an analysis of the labor market.

A common method of relating economic opportunity to education is to compare vocational achievement of high school dropouts with that of graduates. Following this method, Parrella showed that in October 1963, 32 per cent of the U. S. high school dropouts were unemployed as opposed to only 18 per cent of all high school graduates. Furthermore, 79 per cent of the high school graduates were either working or looking for work versus 66 per cent of the dropouts. She

inferred that many more dropouts than graduates had ceased to look for work. (Parrella, 1964: 522-529).

Similar conclusions can be drawn from Table 3.1, which was prepared by Schreiber. (Schreiber, 1967: 214). The median years of school completed by males in the civilian labor force has risen steadily from 1952 to 1962, but the median of school years completed by the employed has been consistently higher than that of the unemployed. Furthermore, as the median of school years completed by the employed rises, so does the median of school years completed by the unemployed. The difference between the medians of employed and unemployed has been almost constant over the years. By the same token, the unemployed of 1962 had almost as much formal education as the employed of 1952. In other words, the trend indicates that more and more education is required to secure employment.

TABLE 3.1

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY MALE PERSONS IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1952, 1957, 1959, AND 1962

Year	Total	Employed	Unemployed
October, 1952	10.4	10.4	8.8
March, 1957	11.1	11.2	8.9
March, 1959	11.5	11.7	9.5
March, 1962	12.0	12.1	10.0

To measure career opportunities by years of education alone is to oversimplify. Havighurst and his colleagues have already observed a significant relationships between social class and job opportunity. (Havighurst et. al, 1962). Basically, their interpretation is an elaboration on the "School year theory" in that it admits that success in school is related to a complex of social problems. Schooling, then, is the link between social class, its corollaries and job opportunity. As such, one of its functions is to promote certain styles of behavior and thought commensurable with the expectations of a defined social environment. Goldstein pursues this line of thought further by asking whether a life style which is pre-empted by class culture is more important to secure certain positions than formal education. With everything else being equal, social class styles may either

facilitate or complicate a career. (Goldstein, et. al., 1967:75). In other words, the relationship between the amount of schooling and job opportunity may, in many cases, not be linear as job accessibility is also dictated by social class factors. Froomkin and Jaffe concur with recent analyses showing the relationship between employment and median years of schooling when they state that "all classes of workers except professionals (whose average educational level was already 16 years or more in 1950) were better educated in 1960 than in 1950." (Jaffe and Froomkin, 1968:86-7) They go on to raise the question whether more education is, as commonly believed, an economic necessity. Using output as an evaluation criterion, they found conflicting evidence. On the one hand, there are industries whose output per worker over the years 1950-1960 increased less than three per cent annually in spite of a 15 per cent increase in the number of employees and a five per cent increase of high school graduates among the employees. On the other hand, some industries which have reduced the number of dropouts among their employees by seven per cent have increased their output by four per cent or more per worker. (Jaffe and Froomkin, 1968:86-7) They believe that dropouts can successfully cope with challenges of modern technology as has been demonstrated in developing countries undergoing industrialization processes. Furthermore, they refute the opinion that semi-vocational occupations are disappearing from the American sphere of economics by demonstrating that, for example, the number of farm laborers has increased by three million over the years 1950-1965. They conclude that:

*High levels of education are not a requirement for actually performing the major part of the work in a modern technological society. Everyone need not have a college education, indeed, large numbers do not even need a high school diploma. Therefore, emphasis on schooling because "modern technology requires it," especially for those uninterested or unable to continue their education, is doing education a grave injustice and putting an unnecessary strain on potential workers.*

*Education is valuable for its own sake---it may produce better citizens or more valuable members of a democracy. Unfortunately, giving everybody a high school education will not ensure full employment, since there is very little evidence that shortages of skills or education are likely to be bottlenecks to growth." (Jaffe and Froomkin, 1968:91-92)*

The foregoing discussion addresses itself to the mythical faith in the power of institutionalized education as it is being practiced. It shows that the broadly accepted Three E model may be an oversimplification of social realities, namely that employment may not be

directly related to the quantity of formal education. There is also some evidence that continued demands for higher educational standards are not so much an all-encompassing economic necessity as an expectation of an ideological nature. However, the myth of formal education, whether functional or not, has upgraded certain occupations. Many positions have moved from the non-college-expected to the college-expected bracket. Elementary education is a flagrant example. During 1950-1960, the number of jobs in that field increased 40 per cent and the total of college graduates employed grew from 55 per cent to 70 per cent. (Folger et. al, 1970:31).

Whether or not additional schooling is related to improvement of output, the fact remains that the importance of educational institutions, particularly at the post-secondary level, has increased tremendously. They are perceived as the gateway to an individual's future. Society cannot plan for educational and social improvement outside an institutional pattern. Therefore, in making demands on the educational systems their dependence on social structure must be borne in mind. Notwithstanding this fact, few competent authorities believe that the educational system has operated to the best of its ability to serve disadvantaged students. Therefore, a modified model of the Three E's concept can be adapted to show that educational institutions within their limitations have significantly contributed to an educational gap between various segments of society at all levels.

#### The Educational System as a Discriminatory Factor

Considerable efforts have been made to show that schools serving deprived populations are of poorer quality than schools in middle income areas. In this respect, the work of Sexton has had a significant effect. In analyzing a school system of 300 schools she comes to the conclusion that schools in low income areas are inferior to other schools in terms of physical facilities, programs, teachers, and quality of instruction. (Sexton, 1961). In an earlier work, the same author found that a major midwestern city's elementary schools had no medical reports on almost 50 per cent of the children of low income families (income \$3000-\$5000) as opposed to only seven per cent of children of high income families (\$9000 and above). (Sexton in Schwebel, 1968:96)

In addition to inadequate physical, instructional and medical services provided by inner-city schools, negative attitudes of teachers toward deprived children have been seriously criticized. Davidson and Lang showed that lower class children perceive teachers' attitudes toward them less favorably than did middle and upper-class children. Such perceptions were significantly related to achievement and self image. (Davidson and Lang, 1960:107-118). These and other findings were profusely used in Riessman's The Culturally Deprived Child, which

is an attempt to demonstrate that the school can greatly improve its services for disadvantaged students by enhancing social understandings and acceptance. (Riessman, 1962).

A third attempt to demonstrate how the school system discriminates against disadvantaged students is made by comparing per capita investments. (Goldstein, et.al, 1967:42). Goldstein, using Project Talent data, observes that, with the exception of the Urban Northeast, there is no discernible differentiation in per-student investment between inner-city and other school systems. It may, however, be argued that an equal per-student investment for inner-city and other school systems discriminates against the former in the light of their greater needs.

Empirical evidence about discriminatory school practices is still fragmentary and controversial in that it is not able to establish causal relationships. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that when measured by output the school has not rendered the expected services as far as disadvantaged students are concerned.

*By all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures. In neighborhood after neighborhood across the country, more than half of each age group fails to complete high school and five per cent or fewer go on to some form of higher education. In many schools, the average measured IQ is under 85, and it drops steadily as the children grow older. Adolescents depart from these schools ill-prepared to lead a satisfying, useful life or to participate successfully in the community. (Zacharias in Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:1).*

#### THE DISADVANTAGED: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Before discussing the disadvantaged student, an observation about the sources of information is of some importance. Literature on educational problems related to disadvantaged populations is relatively recent. The first concerted effort to study the characteristics and needs of the culturally deprived began during the social upheaval of the early Fifties. Until then, most of the work on lower classes was done by sociologists. Thus, many educational inferences are based on research carried out in that discipline, particularly in the field of juvenile delinquency. In addition, observations with respect to linguistics and other features of deprived cultures are largely based on the study of adults or junior and senior high school children. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:1; Goldstein et. al., 1967:36) Knowledge of the characteristics and needs of disadvantaged students at post-secondary levels is to say the least fragmented, derivative and

highly speculative. The speculative element is prominent in most definitions and descriptions of the disadvantaged individuals.

### The Disadvantaged--Definitions

Inherent theoretical difficulties are not only apparent in the numerous and rather frustrating attempts to define the disadvantaged, but also in the controversy generated by the term itself. There is hardly a concept in the educational dictionary which is described in so many synonymous terms. Gordon and Wilkerson mention a half dozen different terminologies and there are many more. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:1) If it has been difficult to agree upon a terminology, the definition of the concept is even more formidable. These can be categorized in five groups.

1) Operational definitions: Operational definitions are used in a strictly administrative sense in conjunction with operational needs, particularly in the area of monetary allocations. The Department of Labor, for example, applies the definition for a disadvantaged individual as "one who is poor, does not have suitable employment and falls also in one or more of these five categories: a school dropout, a member of a minority group, under 22 years of age, over 45, or handicapped." (St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 1, 1969)

2) "Repercussional" definitions: One aspect of the deficiencies of "deprived culture" is a repercussion from the established social institution. A description of these repercussions has been used as a defining method, for example, "a person may be called a 'marginal' youth since he is not acceptable in school and in the labor market, or, in the case of girls, has not achieved the role of wife." (Havighurst and Moorefield, 1967:18). Here the emphasis is on the negative reaction of the social institution (school, family, labor market) rather than on the characteristics of the disadvantaged. The shortcoming of such a definition is, of course, that social institutions in their reaction to human behavior are rather crude and indiscriminatory.

3) Cataloguing definitions: Cataloguing is a purely descriptive approach in which researchers lay out the traits which, in their opinion, typify the disadvantaged. The need for cautious evaluation of such generalizations is of essence, since they have been partly derived from inconclusive research and unreliable observations.

Deutsch describes traits of disadvantaged children as:

- 1) Deficiency in the equipment necessary to learn to read
- 2) Greater distance from maturation ceiling
- 3) Poor auditory discrimination
4. Insufficient experience with correction of enunciation, pronunciation and grammar
5. Less developed memory functions
6. Greater difficulty in handling items related to time judgment
- 7) Less opportunity to use adults as sources of information correction and the reality testing involved in problem solving and the acquisition of new knowledge.
- 8) Inadequate exposure to language use and manipulation
- 9) Deficit in syntactical organization and subject continuity
- 10) Insufficient understanding and knowledge of the physical, geographic and geometric characteristics of the world.

Deutsch's description is largely based on the assumption that human behavior is affected by language patterns and usages. (Deutsch in Goldstein, et. al., 1967: 34-35).

In a recent, more exhaustive effort, Berg and Axtell isolated 25 statements describing the disadvantaged. Six of these directly relate to language usages, seven describe thinking processes, eight reflect motivational and attitudinal aspects, and one is in the area of self-concept. In short, this effort, more than it actually describes the nature of disadvantaged youth, is a macrocosmic reflection of the ad hoc contributions of psychology to the understanding of the culturally deprived. (Berg and Axtell, 1968:9).

4) Eclectic--causal definition: Whereas the "cataloguing" and "repercussional" definitions treat the disadvantaged from a very specific point of view, the eclectic definition attempts to combine social and psychological factors in a cause-effect relationship. Such strategy

intensifies the speculative element in the definition. Deutsch, for example, characterizes disadvantaged children as

*. . .coming from an unstable family without a successful male model. They live under marginal social and economic conditions which include: a lack of privacy; limited opportunities to explore the outside world; lack of esthetically pleasing surroundings; and a scarcity of books, toys, puzzles, pencils and paper, and a lack of guidance and encouragement in their use.*

These deficiencies, according to Deutsch, result in stimulus deprivation. (Goldstein et.al, 1967: 36)

The California Advisory Committee on Compensatory Education defines a disadvantaged child as one who, in addition to low achievement as measured by standardized tests, has one or a combination of the following problems:

1) Economic deprivation attributable to an absent, nonproducing or marginally producing breadwinner;

2) Social alienation caused by racial or ethnic discrimination with all its accompanying deprivations in housing, employment, and education, or by membership in a different or non-English speaking subcultural group;

3) Geographic isolation because of transiency, or residence in an area far removed from adequate educational facilities. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:11).

Whereas Deutsch confines his statements to the home environment, the California Advisory Committee on Compensatory Education introduces political, ethnic and geographic factors. Such implied differences raise the question whether both definitions address themselves to the same population.

An extreme example of causal definition is that of Tannenbaum, who has exercised almost poetic freedom in the following statement:

*Social deprivation may, therefore, be characterized as a condition in which particular external and internal factors merge to narrow a person's behavioral alternatives for achieving self-fulfillment. Poverty, overcrowded housing, powerlessness, and low prestige are external pressures that delimit his degrees of freedom. He cannot sacrifice immediate gratification for compounded returns in the future because his is a battle for subsistence which must be waged*

*in the here and now. There are no securities from which to draw on a rainy day, no access to seats of power from which to gain a self governing voice, no special job skills to provide occupational maneuverability, no comfort at home to provide much needed relaxation, in short, no easy way out of a crisis treadmill. But, even if these external pressures were reduced, he would have to generate some power from within in order to widen his horizons. Education offers him an avenue for status mobility, provided he is motivated and has the necessary cognitive aptitudes. There are some clearly defined behaviors and values that can help break down the barriers of prejudice in the larger society regardless of one's economic state, but these life styles require strong ego and superego development to facilitate impulse control. Without the necessary educational propensities and adaptive personality and character traits, his degrees of freedom are further reduced. Thus, the socially deprived individual finds America's flow of opportunity passing him by while he is immobilized by the external conditions of his life and he lacks the inner resources to overcome his inertia. (Tannenbaum, 1967:63).*

5) Positive or "Romantic" definition: Riessman and others have suggested the creation of educational programs for disadvantaged students utilizing the positive aspects of their backgrounds. A definition of the disadvantaged based on such a philosophy would tend to ignore the usual definitions which belabor their deficiency. According to this approach, then, the disadvantaged may be considered resourceful, creative and motivated in the areas in which their interests lie, working well at specific tasks, capable of loyal personal relationships and impressionable. Some researchers stress cooperativeness, avoidance of strain, equalitarianism, informality and humor, freedom of blame and parental over-protection as a good way to describe disadvantaged children. (Havighurst and Moorefield, 1967:29; Berg and Axtell, 1968:10)

This approach is the most speculative of all since it is based on humane ideals rather than scientific observations.

Handicapped by the diversity of disciplinary approaches, social doctrine and political and social strain, the world of scholarship is not only divided on terminology, definitions or descriptions, but also on methodological processes to be applied in an endeavor to establish a theoretical framework for cultural deprivation.

### THE DISADVANTAGED: CHARACTERISTICS

Socio-economic class is usually measured in terms of parental income, occupation and education. It has been established that socio-economic variables correlate significantly with many behavioral attributes considered to be part of the disadvantaged culture. Thus, research shows a relationship between social class and ability, motivation, attitudes toward school, personality, interest, values, etc. These observations led to Deutsch's generalization that ". . . the more constricted an individual's social frame of reference and the greater its distance from the cultural mainstream, the less meaningful and the less effective are the dominant cultural values that impinge on him in the schools and other social institutions. (Deutsch in Goldberg, 1967:40) However, the conventional background variables, when correlated with cognitive and other behavioral criteria, usually produce low correlations. (Folger et. al., 1970:307) Observations such as these advance the conclusion that the correlations were depressed not only because of the substantial overlaps of the three independent variables (family income, father's education and father's occupation) but also because deprivation as measured by intelligence, academic achievement, motivation, etc., is a function of human behavior which transcends the conventional notions of socio-economic class. Bloom suggests a distinction between environment according to the density of problem solving opportunity and encouragement to think clearly. (Bloom, 1964:77) Such an approach would be cutting across the conventional socio-economic stratification. There is no direct empirical evidence that implies that some generalized practices of low socio-economic environments cut across conventionally defined class lines. However, researchers have discovered certain behavioral and attitudinal expressions among lower socio-economic families which may be partially supportive of the aforesaid. Brooks et. al. found that school attendance is related to some parental attitudes which do not quite correlate with social class variables. (Brooks, et. al., 1962:103-108)

Moles, in an interview project of 800 low income families, showed that regardless of economic conditions, these families had very positive attitudes toward education and high educational aspirations for their children. (Moles, 1965).

These findings and others, although implying the need to re-assess basic notions about lower class cultures as they relate to education, are far from being conclusive, since they are exclusively based on verbal testimony which may merely be an external imitation of predominant values.

Whereas attempts to prove that the disadvantaged child confronts the educational system with basically the same qualifications as his more fortunate contemporaries were, at best, circumstantial evidence, other investigations establish that there are profound differences between the typical low socio-economic child and his middle class counterpart. Stodtbeck relates the low educability syndrome in low class Negro communities to the Negro mother's sense of threat and her socialization activities. He emphasizes the frustration element in child rearing practices such as abrupt and late weaning and bowel training, irregular feeding and irresponsiveness (when compared to middle-class mothers) to crying and relative impunitiveness toward dependency. Likewise, these mothers exact strong pressures against masturbation and sex play. They impose great pressures against aggressiveness of siblings and their physical mobility. The lower class Negro mother is strict about obedience. The educative technique of Negro AFDC mothers emphasizes physical punishment and de-emphasizes verbal usages such as praise and reasoning. Reaction to either desirable or undesirable behavior of children is immediate and simple. It is assumed that such practices reduce the child's opportunity to experience cognitive mediation in impulse control, thus introducing perceptual handicaps. (Stodtbeck, 1965; 109-110).

Similar observations are mentioned by Berelson and Steiner, who differ somewhat in their discussion of sexual impulse control. (Berelson and Steiner, 1964:480).

With the reduction of early childhood experiences to a simple set of authoritarian relationships dominated by the immediate situation, those human qualities which are rudimentary to the educative process remain undeveloped. Such a background, investigators speculate not only creates a cognitively deprived individual but also a youngster who is unable to relate the process of schooling to his own experiences. Explanation of how the values and methods of the school conflict with the cultural outlook and expectation of the disadvantaged vary. Thus, some investigators attribute to the disadvantaged a "less developed conscience." (Berelson and Steiner, 1964:480, Goldberg, 1967:43-50)

These generalizations must be regarded with caution because it seems that some "experts" have managed to insert their own biases through faulty methodology. In addition, most research is confined to the cognitive domain leaving the affective domain of the disadvantaged child to guesswork. Whether researchers have fully understood the affective relationships in lower socio-economic cultures and their impact on later development of the individual is highly questionable.

Language studies. Language studies constitute one of the most promising efforts to gain penetrating and comprehensive knowledge of the developmental process of the disadvantaged. Accepting the premise that human nature is manifested in verbal usages which not only contribute to the communicative skills but also provide for intellectual and emotional development, the analysis of linguistic patterns provides useful clues to emotional and intellectual behavioral patterns of social groups.

Bernstein, in his analysis of the British working class language (1960), observed a rigidity of syntax, inability to hold formal subjects through a speech sequence, condensed and individually implicit sentence organization and ". . . frequent use of statements where the reason and conclusion are confounded to produce a categorical statement." The results of verbal paucity, according to many commentators, restrict the disadvantaged to concrete forms of thinking, handicaps their intellectual development and narrows their conceptualization ability. In addition, it may be that depressed linguistic competence is related to emotional constraints which are manifested in some delinquent behaviors.

From the vantage point of cognitive expansion, the deprived student confronts the educational system handicapped by the absence of abstract thinking patterns. An excessive dependence on the concrete depresses the learning pace and narrows chances to establish a functional communication pattern which is the core of an effective educational procedure. It is generally believed that language depression is divorced from the innate intelligence quotient. An intensive effort, then, to help the disadvantaged expand their verbal experience may enable them to integrate into the educational system. (Loban, 1965: 127-128; Strodtbeck, 1965:98; Ausubel, 1967:315; Bernstein 1967: 233-235).

The disadvantaged on performance measures. Of all research projects, the language studies provide the most logical and consistent link between school performance and cultural background. In light of the handicaps imposed by language constraints, it is understandable that students from disadvantaged cultural backgrounds are inferior to other students on every conceivable measure applied by schools. Goldstein reports on a series of studies which show children from depressed socioeconomic backgrounds being inferior on I.Q. measurements to middle and upper class children. The same observations are made with respect to achievement and aptitude tests. (Goldstein, 1967: 32-37) Such observations are not surprising, considering the high correlation between intelligence, aptitude and achievement as defined by most of the

accepted measurements. The impact of these findings is not even mellowed by experiments which were aimed to reduce the cultural bias in conventional testing. Knoell and her associates administered a test battery to a number of urban black students who did not continue their post-secondary education. These students volunteered to take the tests (of itself a biasing factor). The tests were given in small groups to optimize the testing conditions. To reduce tensions even more, the testing situation was interlaced with "fun and games." Furthermore, the verbal aspect of the tests was reduced to a minimum. With some exceptions, the results were depressed although the authors showed that many of the subjects had attained test profiles resembling those of the typical community college freshman. (Knoell, 1969:25).

Most of the comparisons between student types are made on aptitudes and skills which are considered important in academic training. The lack of attention given vocational competencies has led many to believe that disadvantaged students have better chances to succeed in vocational preparation. Fragmental observations stemming from a follow-up conducted by the Minneapolis Public Schools cast some doubts on this assumption. A comparison of Differential Aptitude Test (DAT) scores of 202 dropouts<sup>1</sup> with those of 250 graduates indicated that the former were depressed on every conceivable measure, including "Mechanical Reasoning" and "Clerical Speed and Accuracy." The achievement problem of the disadvantaged, then, may not be confined to academic characteristics only.

Closely related to academic achievement is the motivation of the student. As expected, a large number of studies imply that the disadvantaged student suffers from motivational deficiencies which are imbedded in his reduced chances to succeed in his school career, his lack of long-range orientation, his excessive dependence on concrete gratifications and other socio-economic impediments which are habitually perceived as barriers to a successful career. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966: 17-18). However, the variety of research approaches to the problem of motivation make it difficult to synthesize conclusions regarding this issue. Many generalizations take into account only the individual's attitude toward academic achievement in the narrow sense. Other interpretations address themselves to the broader range of school climate and career aspirations. It is these latter points which indicate that certain motivational aspects cut across socio-economic lines. Kaufman reports on a sample of adolescents compared on school perceptions. He found that lower status youth indicate more positive school perception than do upper-class youth.

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<sup>1</sup>A dropout being defined as "a Minneapolis ninth grade student in 1957-58 who, we have reason to believe, did not graduate from a Minneapolis high school or any other high school in the country as of June, 1962." Although the report explicitly deals with dropouts, there is ample justification to assume that the lower socioeconomic levels of society are strongly represented by this group.

McDill and Coleman report in the same vein that college attendance plans and achievement orientation do not coincide with high status in adolescent and social culture. Whereas college orientation is an aspect of adolescent prestigious groups (high on socio-economic status), it is accompanied with negative achievement orientation. On the other hand, members outside the leading crowd (low on socio-economic status) are more prone to derive their college plans from an orientation towards achievement. (Goldstein, 1967:53,192)

The evidence provided by these two examples is not irrefutable, particularly since the methodologies employed do not provide a clear picture about the precise characteristics of the so-called low socio-economic classes which have been observed. However, they suffice to justify second thoughts with respect to latent motivational traits which reflect educational aspirations and competencies of the disadvantaged. A number of investigators have attempted to identify specific personality traits of disadvantaged youth. Observations in this respect are again ambivalent since they have been carried out by means of numerous methods and instruments. In addition, the samples used do not necessarily represent the same population.

It is generally believed that youth from depressed socio-economic classes have lower self-perceptions than their higher class contemporaries. The much quoted article of Davidson and Lang relates this phenomenon to teachers' attitudes. (Davidson and Lang, 1960: 197-107) On the other hand, a number of researchers identified personality traits which may reflect a more penetrating impact of a depressed environment. Haller and Thomas report (1962) that seventeen year-old males of low socio-economic status who were tested on the "Systems Personality Factor Test" displayed relatively low internal standards, will control and character stability. Rainwater (1956), using the "Szondi Test" on 25 eighth graders, found that the lower Socio-Economic Status (SES) groups were not likely to work because of people. Their gratification was based on purely egocentric tendencies. On the other hand, Downing (1956), using the Rorschach Test, arrived at conclusions which are opposite to those of Rainwater. Notwithstanding these results, a number of studies show that low socio-economic youth confront identity crises compounded by insecurities, feelings of rejection and low self-esteem. These studies lend the Davidson and Lang observations new dimensions and additional depth. Consequently it becomes apparent that the middle class youth is more prone to manipulate his school environment feeling secure in his ability to master himself and his surroundings by assuming more self and social responsibilities than his low SES contemporary. (Goldstein, 1967:18-67)

The reversibility of cultural deprivation traits. The common premise of the explorations into the characteristics of disadvantaged youth is the assumption that some or all of their ensuing deficiencies are the product of an adverse environment, and as such are reversible. The degree of such reversibility, however, is subject to speculation. In general, as far as intelligence is concerned, there is agreement that

*. . . the effects of the environments, especially the extreme environments, appear to be greatest in the early (and more rapid) periods of intelligence development and least in the late (and less rapid) periods of development. Although there is relatively little evidence of the effects of changing the environment on the changes in intelligence, the evidence so far available suggests that marked changes in the environment in the early years can produce greater changes in intelligence than will equally marked changes in the environment at later periods of development. (Bloom, 1964:88-89)*

Bloom also concludes that "less and less change is likely in a group or in an individual as the curve of development of a characteristic reaches a virtual plateau." (Bloom, 1964:218). The plateau, known as "the critical period," of most measured cognitive characteristics is reached during the early levels of schooling. The "critical period" hypothesis is further supported by the "accumulative deficit" theory, namely, that children whose intellectual capacities have been impaired by adverse environmental influences continue their process of academic and I.Q. retardation during their schooling years. (Ausubel, 1967:311, Havighurst, 1967:32)

Both the "critical period" and the "accumulative deficit" theories are subject to thorough re-evaluation. Measured intelligence and achievement isolate specific behavioral traits from the complicated inter-related matrix of total human behavior. Some psychologists suggest that the applied measurements of intelligence and achievement are not representative of the competencies of disadvantaged youth and, therefore, cannot be regarded as indicators of their intellectual potential. In addition, there is no sufficient and conclusive data on the effects of environmental intervention on cognitive development. Bloom speculates that "very powerful environmental and/or therapeutic forces may overcome and alter the most stable characteristics." (Bloom, 1964:218). Ausubel enhances this speculation by adding the generally known observation that adolescents and adults "seem to have a tremendous advantage in learning any new subject matter--even if they are just as unsophisticated as young children in that particular subject matter." (Ausubel, 1967:309) This apparently relates to the

fact that maturation enables the individual to move more rapidly from the concrete to the abstract levels of thought.

The "critical period" hypothesis has also discarded the affective element in human behavior. Considering the effects of self-perception on learning via instruction, there is evidence that the recent upheaval of young people, as expressed by the civil rights movement, has significantly enhanced their self-perceptions. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:19) The effects of this phenomenon on motivation and achievement must yet be determined.

Recent probes into the "accumulative deficit" principle have at least established that further verifications are required prior to its acceptance. An analysis of numerous intelligence measurements of 80 disadvantaged students in the New York public school system taken from first through ninth grade indicated that with the exception of one measurement (Otis Beta 6th grade) the intelligence quotients of the group did not vary significantly throughout the nine years. The analysis was undertaken to check the accumulative deficit theory. (Harris and Lovinger, 1968: 61-62).

#### EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSTRAINT

Reaching post-secondary educational levels. It has been implied throughout this discussion that socio-economic conditions are reflected in certain individual characteristics. The impact of these conditions on the future of individuals is not only manifested as cognitive and affective depressants but also as direct social constraints which are not channelled through the identified characteristics. Research, so far, has only identified select forms of socio-economic impact on the educational development of youth. The intricate net showing how these manifestations interacted must yet be demonstrated. What has been shown to date is the relationship between certain social class traits and educational and vocational aspirations of individuals.

A study conducted by Brodie attempts to identify three dimensions of social and human experience which impose constraints on an individual's academic career. The three dimensions are:

##### Constraining Social, Structural and Interpersonal Conditions

- Low objective social class position
- Low subjective class identification
- Low degree of parental pressure for college
- Low degree of peer influence for college

Constraining Demographic and School Characteristics

Female

Senior high school

Non-college preparatory course

Constraining Social-Psychological Factors

Negative attitudes toward society

Negative evaluation of school experience

Negative self-image (Suchman, 1968:9)

Brodie showed that each of these dimensions or parts thereof had either a reinforcing or a modifying effect on the others in terms of increasing or dampening student aspirations to pursue higher education. Studies of this type demonstrate the complex interactive relationship of various factors which determine the direction of future careers of youth. They fail, however, to demonstrate causal relationships. Likewise, these constraints are neither isolated nor weighted to make it possible to assess their real significance. Furthermore, considerable overlap seems to exist between some of the constraints. There is reason to believe that many variables comprising socio-economic constraints have not been identified. (Berdie, 1965:13)<sup>2</sup>

Whereas interpretations of the mechanism of class stratification with respect to future careers of individuals are partial and/or hypothetical, it has been conclusively demonstrated that low socio-economic class affiliation as measured, in many cases, by parental income, education, and profession is a crucial element in an individual's career.

In the early Sixties, Caro demonstrated that, irrespective of academic achievement, students' chances to attend college on a full-time scale are enhanced or depressed by factors associated with class affiliation. At the low achievement level, as indicated in Table 3.2, a high class, low achieving male had almost five times more chances of becoming a full time college student than his low achieving, low social class counterpart. (Goldstein, 1967:65)

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<sup>2</sup>Berdie, examining the population of Minnesota's high school juniors, found that ability, home background, socioeconomic conditions, schools and personality variables accounted for no more than 50 per cent of the variables which determine a college going future.

TABLE 3.2

PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES ATTENDING A  
FULLTIME COLLEGE, BY SOCIAL CLASS  
AND ACADEMIC APTITUDE

Social Class	Academic		Achievement
	High	Medium	Low
Male			
High	95.7	76.5	65.2
Medium	84.8	69.6	44.3
Low	84.2	35.3	14.3
Female			
High	90.4	70.2	70.0
Medium	70.3	39.0	30.9
Low	63.2	30.6	12.1

Source: Caro (1965), p. 40.

Sewell and Shah make a similar observation in their five year study of Wisconsin youth. They found that only 50 per cent of the high ability, low socio-economic boys and only 25 per cent of the high ability, low socio-economic girls attend college as opposed to 90 per cent of high ability boys and 75 per cent of high ability girls of high socio-economic backgrounds. These observations intensify the findings of Caro at the high ability levels. Also, Sewell and Shah concur with Caro that low SES has greater detrimental influence on college plans for girls than for boys. (Folger, 1970:309).

Sewell and Shah, analyzing a sample of over 10,000 Wisconsin students, also attempted to define the precise impact of social class and some additional variables on college going plans. (Sewell and Shah, 1968:566) The analysis is presented in Table 3.3. They demonstrate that SES alone, as measured by economic, educational and professional background of parents, only explains 18.2 per cent of the college going plans for boys and 22 per cent for girls. When intelligence is added, 27.5 per cent of the college going plans are explained for both sexes. It is also demonstrated that parental encouragement has greater impact on college going plans of youth than intelligence.

TABLE 3.3

STEPWISE MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, MEASURED INTELLIGENCE, AND PERCEIVED PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT WITH COLLEGE PLANS, SEPARATELY FOR MALES AND FEMALES

Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable	MALES		FEMALES	
		r/R	Variance Explained (%)	r/R	Variance Explained (%)
Socioeconomic status	College plans	.426	18.2	.478	22.9
Socioeconomic status and measured intelligence	College plans	.524	27.5	.524	27.5
Socioeconomic status and perceived parental encouragement	College plans	.567	32.2	.620	38.4
Socioeconomic status, measured intelligence, and perceived parental encouragement	College plans	.607	36.8	.638	40.7

Altogether, SES, intelligence, and perceived parental encouragement explain only 36.8 per cent of the college going plans for boys and 40.7 per cent of the college going plans for girls. This low explanation rate coincides with Berdie's findings mentioned earlier. (See footnote No. 2.)

Descriptions on the differential of college going plans based on SES analysis have consistently relied on rather crude measurements which defined SES by a few background variables. The failure to reach a more significant level of explaining college going plans partly resides in the fact that, to a large degree, explanatory additives to the basic SES are also functions of SES. Morgan and

Turner, for example, indicate that parental education is the most significant single factor influencing college going plans of youth. (Goldstein, 1967:25) Sewell and Shah, in weighting the variables comprising SES, have apparently depressed parental education. But, on the other hand, they confirm that the most important single factor in college going plans of individuals is perceived parental support. Numerous studies show that perceived parental support is usually a function of parental education.<sup>3</sup>

Persisting in school. The impact of low SES on a youth's college career is not limited to the planning or aspirational levels. As will be shown later, colleges do admit low SES students after a profound screening process, but those admitted are of the higher intelligence levels of their populations. The one year followup study of Project Talent, as well as the Sewell and Shah studies, shows that even after the intervention of the higher educational institution the chances for students to graduate correlate with socio-economic status. Speaking of totals, both surveys indicate that a low SES student, regardless of sex, has approximately 50 per cent less chance to graduate than his high SES contemporary. It is furthermore believed that SES in college graduation is a function of time. The longer the course of study, the higher the dropout rate among the low SES students. Table 3.4 has a more complete analysis.

Since the selection process enacted by higher educational institutions has already reduced some of the impeding influences of poor socio-economic backgrounds, explanations of the college persistence phenomenon are more fragile. The most significant factor associated with college persistence is parental education and moral support, or the lack of it. (Clark and Plotkin, 1967:120-121; Folger, 1970:319)

Medsker and Trend corroborate these findings on a sample of California students. Their detailed study of college attendance shows that the college dropout factor is associated with ability levels. However, they also demonstrate that over 40 per cent of college dropouts are of high ability levels. On the other hand, they found that college persistence and dropout are associated with the father's occupational level. In their conclusion they write:

*The youths who persisted in college, withdrew, or never attended differed greatly in their descriptions of their families. College persisters were much more likely to report that even before they entered college, their parents had highly encouraged them to attend.*

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<sup>3</sup>Berdie implies that the factors explaining college attendance plans vary in time and place. He also found considerable relationship between college going plans and father's education, but on many an occasion, there was a significant difference between correlations computed in 1951 and these of 1961. Furthermore, sex and residence were important factors depressing or increasing these correlations. Among other things, he agrees with findings that college going plans of girls are much more influenced by SES variables than those of boys.

TABLE 3.4

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE ENTRANTS GRADUATING, BY SEX, ABILITY, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: PROJECT TALENT, NATIONAL SAMPLE AND WISCONSIN SAMPLE

SES LEVEL AND SEX	PROJECT TALENT FIVE-YEAR FOLLOW-UP				SES LEVEL AND SEX	WISCONSIN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE EIGHT-YEAR FOLLOW-UP			
	INTELLIGENCE LEVEL					INTELLIGENCE LEVEL			
	Middle	High	Middle	High		Total <sup>a</sup>	High	Middle	High
Males					Males				
Low	30	*	57	29	Low	39		38	37
Low Middle	40	35	47	30	Low Middle	39		58	42
Middle	35	46	60	40	High Middle	47		65	49
High Middle	39	55	63	50	High	52		71	57
High	48	51	70	55					
Females					Females				
Low	*	*	*	40	Low	29		50	32
Low Middle	27	48	62	37	Low Middle	37		57	37
Middle	36	41	57	43	High Middle	39		52	40
High Middle	40	38	59	45	High	54		67	56
High	44	55	78	57					

<sup>a</sup> Total includes lower intelligence levels, as well as those shown in the preceding columns.

\* Too few cases to provide reliable percentages.

SOURCE: Project TALENT data from the one-year follow-up (shown in Table 10.2) and the five-year follow-up (Table 10.5). Wisconsin data from Sewell, William H., and Vimal P. Shah, "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence, and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, Winter, 1967, pp. 1-23, Table 5.

*They interacted with their parents the most, and somewhat more of them reported being closer to their parents. (Trent and Medsker, 1968:253).*

Low SES youth do not generally differ from their high SES counterparts in terms of job aspirations. These observations defy dominant assumptions that manual vocations are more attractive to low than to high SES groups. What may have been misconstrued as manual orientation apparently is the greater deficiency in career orientation which prevails among the lower SES's. However, there seems to be a difference in job expectations (as opposed to aspirations) between high and low SES's. This implies that one of the constraints in the future careers of low SES youth is class consciousness. (Goldstein, 1967:65-69).

Research has only partially explained the factors which have an adverse discriminatory effect on the careers of youth. These factors, as far as they are known and interpreted, stem from environmental pressures which can be stymied by remedial treatment. Such treatment apparently is most effective during the early stages of child development. However, the possibility of remedial intervention at the late adolescent and early adulthood stages has not been sufficiently explored. Moreover, there is ample justification for concerted remedial action at the post-secondary school stage. Although low SES youth do not differ significantly in their career aspirations from their higher SES counterparts, their career opportunities at the college level are depressed twice: once in terms of poor chances of reaching the college level and for a second time in terms of reduced chances to graduate. It is the second block which highlights the socio-economic constraints as artificial and arbitrary social impositions. At this point attention should be directed to the institutions of higher learning.

#### SOME INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS RELATED TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

It has generally been acknowledged that institutions of higher learning have increased their selectivity over the last decade. Selectivity standards have always been associated with academic aptitude. Based on the College Entrance Examination scores, institutions of higher learning in the USA have increased their admission standards about 0.17 of a standard deviation unit between the years 1961 and 1964. Most institutions also report an increase in their selectivity standards. (Folger, 1970:158) Collaterally, student populations have expanded

considerably. However, this apparently is associated with an overall population growth combined with increased pressures from academically gifted students rather than expanded educational opportunities for disadvantaged students. The tightening of selectivity standards also encompasses, though to a lesser degree, the junior colleges which are viewed as the most liberal of academic institutions in terms of open door policy. The consequences of this observation in the Metropolitan area are laid out in Chapter V. Efforts to recruit disadvantaged students have been too meek (owing to rigorous selection procedures) to have an impact on the ever bulging institutional admission standards. Dyer comments on this point:

*. . . the focus of the recruiters is usually too much on institutional prestige--on the needs of the institution they serve and not on the needs of the students whom the institutions are supposed to serve. (Dyer, 1968A: 101)*

The diversity of admission standards is also reflected in the drop-out rates with colleges exercising the most rigorous admission and recruitment standards having the lowest dropout rate. These are church related and private universities. (Clark, 1967:121, Trent and Medsker, 1968:109, Folger, 1970:309)

A second institutional constraining factor is finances. Knoell, Clark and others found that money problems are perceived by most disadvantaged students as the most important reason for not attending college or dropping out of college. (Clark 1967:120, Knoell, 1969:26) In the case of students from depressed environments, financial problems are not only incurred by tuition fees, study equipment and other expenses in the periphery of college life, but also the loss of income. The restraining income element as an institutional function is demonstrated by Trent and Medsker in their analysis of the California higher education system. (Trent and Medsker, 1968:12). Table 3.5 breaks the income element into levels.

Apparently there is a spill-over of the selection processes into the financial domain. Those types of institutions which enact the most stringent selection measures have a student body of the highest income groups. Thus, the median parental income of the University of California and the California private colleges' student bodies exceeds by 25 per cent and 50 per cent, respectively the parental income as represented by the junior and state colleges.

Urban institutions of higher learning have been traditionally more responsive to the lower socio-economic groups than college- and universities which are geographically remote from urban centers because of the accessibility factor.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this fact, which is confirmed by Cedar, the college going rate of urban low income citizens is greatly depressed when compared to the higher urban income level attendance rates. (Cedar, 1970:145-146).

TABLE 3.5

INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY COLLEGE TYPES -  
PARENT-SUPPORTED STUDENTS  
Percentage of Those in Each College Type

Income Class	Junior College	State College	University of California	Private College
\$ 0 - 1,999	1.6	0.7	2.9	0.5
2,000 - 3,999	6.2	3.3	2.0	2.9
4,000 - 5,999	15.4	10.0	7.4	5.8
6,000 - 7,999	19.0	16.6	11.0	11.7
8,000 - 9,999	16.4	16.8	12.9	12.4
10,000 - 11,999	13.9	19.5	13.1	13.3
12,000 - 13,999	7.0	10.5	11.2	13.8
14,000 - 19,999	10.7	12.7	20.0	18.0
20,000 - 24,999	2.5	3.2	6.5	7.3
25,000 and over	4.0	4.4	11.6	11.9
No response	3.1	2.4	1.3	2.2
Median Income (approximate)	\$8,800	\$10,000	\$12,000	\$12,300
% Parent-supported	49.7	71.5	83.6	97.7

Admission policies and finances are the two institutional constraints which are most readily identified in terms of being

<sup>4</sup>HECC found a high correlation ( $r = .61$ ) between the college going rate of a county with the proportion of new freshmen from that county who attended a public college or university in that county. HECC, *Rate of College Attendance in Minnesota, I* (November 1969), p. 5.

barriers to equal educational opportunities at the post-secondary educational level. However, even if these two overt institutional constraints were removed from universities and colleges, equal educational opportunities would still be remote. From the student's point of view, withdrawals, although frequently associated with financial problems, are often caused by academic and/or adjustment difficulties.<sup>5</sup> The latter can be deduced from the dropout rates of high aptitude students, which were discussed earlier. In addition, admission policies in conjunction with other sieving mechanisms, whether institutional or social, have already denied to those students in need of institutional support above and beyond a relaxation of the administrative constraints access to post-secondary institutions. Such needs fall within the domain of compensatory education.

#### COMPENSATORY EDUCATION: ITS MEANING AND SOME OPERATIONAL INTERPRETATIONS AT POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Approaches to compensatory education. Compensatory programs can be interpreted in three ways. First, there are programs designed to correct those learner's deficiencies which constitute a handicap in the pursuit of his educational goals. Such handicaps can be of a physical, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive nature, separately or jointly in any combination. Second, there are developmental programs designed to take the student from where he is and move him up. Such programs are not necessarily remedial in the sense that they compensate for physical or psychological deficiencies. They are merely of a preparatory nature. A third way of regarding compensatory programs is based on the assumption that methods used to evaluate disadvantaged students are invalid. Such programs presume to neither correct deficiencies nor develop a student's competencies beyond the normal need for these functions within the educative process; the stress is on the reinterpretation of a student's performance and abilities. Any of these patterns or combinations thereof are being provided at the college level. As can be seen, the concept "compensatory education," as it is used in educational literature debating the disadvantaged, derives from different theoretical and philosophical premises which contain conflicting as well as overlapping ideas. The lack of clarity with respect to most basic conceptual aspects of an over-all solution to the educational problem of the disadvantaged reflects the need for precise diagnostic understandings and definitions of the phenomenon of disadvantaged individuals. The only way to understand the compensatory approaches to post-secondary educational institutions is through the analysis of some examples.

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<sup>5</sup>See for example: Barbara Thomas, "Area Ten Community College," Junior College Reserach Review, 4 (October, 1969), p. 7.

Compensatory education in operation. The conceptual confusion in the endeavor to define and understand the problems of the disadvantaged has been documented in this chapter. It has also been shown that this lack of adequate conceptual framework has affected attempts to provide an acceptable model of compensatory education at the ideational level. With such background, any attempt to generalize about compensatory programs at the operational stage is even more formidable. As will be pointed out later, the link between many compensatory programs and psychological-social theoretical framework is, at best, superficial, the reason being that many of these programs have an institutional rather than human orientation.

Some meek attempts were made to categorize compensatory programs according to basic traits. Gordon and Wilkerson, screening the entire institutional range of compensatory education, relegate its programs to seven categories:

- 1) Teacher recruitment and training
- 2) Curricular innovation
- 3) Reading and language development
- 4) Counseling and guidance
- 5) Extra curricular innovation
- 6) Parental involvement
- 7) Community involvement (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:39)

Administrative facilitation (i.e., material aid, flexible admissions) may be considered an additional category. Such categorization focuses on special activities and services rendered to disadvantaged youth.

Another way of viewing compensatory programs is in terms of their goals. Lins and associates differentiate between three types of programs:

- 1) Programs which focus on job training constitute the diverse ventures in the realm of vocational education.
- 2) Programs which concentrate on social competence. These are programs which emphasize formal educational goals, many of which are aimed at academic achievement commensurate with formal expectation levels.
- 3) Programs which are aimed at mobilizing the deprived to solve social problems which they themselves share.  
(Lins, 1969:379-380)

Most compensatory programs at the post-secondary school level are focused on curricular development as well as on counseling and guidance. In the domain of goals, most compensatory programs at post-secondary school levels emphasize either vocational or social preparation. A survey conducted in the spring of 1964, based on a national sample of higher educational institutions which had compensatory programs, provides for an insightful impression of the nature of these activities, and is represented by Table 3.6 (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:35)

Colleges provided three types of service: guidance and counseling special instructional programs and administrative facilitation (mostly financial aid). The survey does not elaborate on the quality and extensiveness of the compensatory programs. The surveyors found city and district institutions much more amenable to compensatory services than religious, private, or state controlled institutions. Forty-three per cent of the former as compared to over 60 per cent of the latter did not have compensatory programs. Of the entire national sample 63 per cent of the institutions reported that they were not conducting any compensatory practices. Most of these programs were conducted by four distinct categories of post-secondary institutions: 1) liberal arts and general and terminal occupational; 2) both liberal arts and general, and teacher preparatory; 3) liberal arts and general, terminal occupation and teacher preparatory; and 4) liberal arts and general with three or more professional schools.

The number of students served by the special programs in 1954 was negligible. Over 50 per cent of the institutions served not more than 30 students in all services combined (summer programs were not taken into consideration). The investigators estimated from their data that in 1964 approximately 50 colleges and universities who had no compensatory programs planned to introduce them at a later period. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966:124-134). The authors of the survey conclude that, "The mainstream of higher education showed little or no concern for youths with educational handicaps born of poverty and discrimination." (Gordon and Wilkerson 1966:122)

The numerical status of compensatory service in academic institutions, as partial evidence indicates, has substantially changed during the late Sixties. The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education reported in 1969 that close to 154 academic institutions representing 13 western states offer programs for the disadvantaged. By the same token, 156 academic institutions, members of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, reported in 1968 that such programs were incorporated into their services. (Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1968; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1969)

TABLE 3.6

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS REPORTING VARIOUS TYPES OF  
COMPENSATORY PRACTICES: SPRING 1964

TYPE OF PRACTICE	N = 224	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS	
Special counseling and other guidance services		142	63.4
Special remedial courses in college		128	57.1
Special instruction in study skills, test-taking and so forth		89	39.7
Special remedial courses in college, yielding academic credit		63	28.1
Special tutoring in college		61	27.2
Special curriculum or sequence of courses		50	22.3
Lengthened time for completing degree courses		43	19.1
Special financial aid		121	54.0
Modified admission criteria		90	40.2
Precollege preparatory courses (for example, during summer, and so forth)		72	32.1
Special recruiting procedures		68	30.4
Special postgraduate program		8	3.6

The 13 western higher education systems provide 11 types of programs:

- 1) Special recruitment of minority freshmen
- 2) Orientation and preparation prior to admission for minority students
- 3) Relaxed admission standards for minority students
- 4) Financial aid for minority students
- 5) Tutorial help for minority students
- 6) Recruitment, financial and tutorial help for minority students at the graduate level
- 7) Teacher preparation for teachers of the disadvantaged
- 8) Faculty recruitment for minority groups
- 9) Black study programs
- 10) Urban affair institutes
- 11) Community service programs

### Discounting Programs at the Graduate Level

Five types of the foregoing programs are peripheral in that they do not serve the disadvantaged students directly. Four more also are peripheral in the sense that they only facilitate entry into the institution. Only one type of service is designed to help students with their actual work in college. Another aspect of these programs is that their ethnic ingredient overshadows broader social issues which are involved. As opposed to observations made in 1964, programs of 1968 and 1969 which are provided within regular institutional frameworks seem to be lacking in, or have an extremely weak counseling and guidance basis.

An analysis of most compensatory programs reveals two essential strategies.

- 1) The less selective programs which serve large numbers of students exercise the greatest organizational flexibility. However, these programs are allocated to the institutional periphery.
- 2) Institutions of higher learning, by and large, incorporate into their regular setting only programs which are subject to rigorous sieving processes. Hence, the number of students they serve is limited.

An example for the first strategy in New York's SEEK (Search for Education, Evaluation and Knowledge) program. SEEK is a college preparatory program designed to prepare minority students, whose high school achievement is below college admission standards, to enter college. The program is designed on a strong instructional and counseling basis. Its central thrust is toward a short stay of the SEEK student in the program and his speedy transfer to a regular college study sequence. By 1969, SEEK had extended its service to approximately 3,000 students. Although under the auspices of the state university, a serious conflict has emerged between the extra institutional program and the institutional academic system. The grounds for conflict appear in the established academic prerogatives such as standards for admission, expansion of the university functions, and fear of possible changes within the traditional academic structure. (Ballard, 169: 1-4, 10)

As opposed to SEEK, New York's College Discovery Program (CDP), is a compensatory program which is integrated with the organizational system. The program provides disadvantaged students with remedial

and counseling services to help them to complete a regular two year program in one of five New York community colleges. In spite of flexible admission standards, CDP reverts to rigorous selection procedures. Candidates are processed through two selection hierarchies. First, the candidate is nominated by his principal, counselors, and two of his teachers. At the second level, selections are made on the grounds of socio-economic and academic criteria. Such selection techniques reduced CDP to the service of a relatively small number of students when compared to SEEK. Even so, CDP is one of the largest enterprises of its kind in the U.S., having enrolled over 1700 students between the years 1964-67. The principle that institutionally integrated programs in college only serve small numbers of students is maintained by CDP which, apparently, enacts a third sieving process to compensate for the flexibility of the first two. Only 26.6 per cent (202 students) of the 1964, 1965 CDP entrants have graduated. (Dispenzieri, 1969: I-VII, 1-18)

The Chicago Central YMCA Community College is one of a very small number of post-secondary educational institutions which has incorporated a far reaching individually oriented compensatory program into its regular organizational setting. The college organized an intensive recruitment drive in the inner-city area using counselors and social workers, welfare agencies and field workers. (The program consists of far reaching curricular and instructional innovations.) One of its important aspects is that materials are matched to meet individual interests. No time limitation and vigorous examination schedules are imposed. Students, many of whom have only fourth grade reading competency, begin to work at their respective levels. A comprehensive evaluation of this program is not yet available but the observation has already been made that it takes the average inner-city student approximately two years to reach the college freshman level. (Selk, 1969: 20-22)

These examples typify the three basic organizational approaches to compensatory education at post-secondary levels. They do not include the large scale programs launched in the area of vocational education, which are largely short term projects to prepare disadvantaged students in specific vocational skills. Most of these programs culminate in placing graduates in low paying manual jobs.

The unique contribution in the past decade of American institutions of higher learning is to alleviate the educational plight of disadvantaged youth in three major areas.

- 1) Admission facilitation for a select number of qualified disadvantaged students by administrative incentives such as recruitment, financial aid and some compensatory services.
- 2) Compensatory service for a larger number of students on an extra-institutional basis.
- 3) Public services, direct and indirect (research, training of professionals, community projects, etc.)

The thrust in these three directions has encountered limited success and overwhelming criticism, mostly addressed to compensatory services for disadvantaged students, the essence of which is:

- 1) Most compensatory programs are poorly conceived and hastily put together.
- 2) Programs absorbed by the institutional structure by and large consist of a limited adaptation of already existing services which, even in their expanded form, do not meet the basic needs of disadvantaged students.
- 3) In general, programs which are hastily organized patchwork systems create a dysfunctional and cumbersome administrative structure.
- 4) Many compensatory programs not only lack a theoretical framework, but also ignore established research in their emphasis on principles whose futility has already been demonstrated.
- 5) Extra institutional programs are used by higher educational institutions as a protective screening device.
- 6) The institutional intent to serve disadvantaged students is seriously questioned in that higher educational systems do not assume responsibility for the outcome of their compensatory services.
- 7) The institutional intent is questioned since most compensatory projects have not been evaluated.
- 8) The institutional intent is questioned because the allocation of funds is inadequate.

- 9) The institutional intent is questioned in that in spite of an increase in the quantity of institutions having compensatory programs, there are signs of services being curtailed.
- 10) Increased and progressively intensifying screening and admission procedures are becoming apparent at post-secondary educational levels.
- 11) There are signs of unequal institutional participation in the compensatory educational endeavor which threatens to convert the community college into a screening institution to protect the rest of the academic establishment.

Vocational programs are criticized with the same scathing severity. Programs such as Job Corps and MDTA have, according to critics, failed to respond to the needs of the majority of their participants, most of whom have dropped out. In addition to poor quality, programs such as MDTA and Job Corps were victimized by administrative bungling and professional incompetence. The wisdom of focusing exclusively on the acquisition of marketable skills is being questioned. Such strategy was originally designed to meet the unique market needs of the Thirties. At best, the job training approach provides short term answers ignoring the basic psychological and social obstructions which impair the competence of disadvantaged youth to reach gratifying and permanent socio-economic solutions.

#### Summary

The educational dilemma of the disadvantaged is a social product molded in personality and reinforced by an inadequate institutional structure. Evidence suggests that equality of educational opportunity can be established at all levels though the earlier the remedial intervention the stronger the chances of success. Although basic understandings of the problems of the disadvantaged still leave much to be desired, research has advanced solid hypotheses which could be the focal point of many promising and effective educational programs. Educational attempts to intervene on behalf of the disadvantaged are in an inverse relationship to the level of the educational institutions, with most work being done at the public school levels. The impact of socio-economic barriers on the educational opportunities of youth at the post-secondary levels is overwhelming. The Carnegie

Commission on Higher Education estimates that 19 out of 20 youth from the highest socio-economic quartile ranking in the top ability groups (the highest 20 per cent) have free access to higher education as opposed to only 10 out of 20 of the lowest socio-economic quartile. (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 169:8) The chances of disadvantaged youth of somewhat lower academic competence to obtain adequate post-secondary training are negligible. The chances of disadvantaged youths who are at the fringes of expected academic achievement levels (between 15-25 per cent of the entire youth population, according to Folger and Havighurst) to obtain adequate post-secondary training are even less.

Higher education was the last of the educational levels to become aware of its responsibilities toward the disadvantaged. Over the last six years hundreds of programs for the disadvantaged have been launched by academic institutions. However, the burden is unevenly distributed. Institutional barriers are still formidable even among post-secondary educational institutions which provide programs for the disadvantaged. Evidence suggests that the tasks at hand conflict with the existing organizational pattern of higher education. This conflict is intensified by the dearth of funds, ideas, organizational and professional competence as well as commitment. Yet, higher education has also witnessed some inspired and new approaches to the educational problems of the disadvantaged. It is evident that the post-secondary educational system is undergoing a serious process of self assessment, which may culminate in a more hopeful educational future.

## CHAPTER IV

### DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE TWIN CITIES

This chapter deals with the analysis of population trends as they relate to the Metropolitan area.<sup>1</sup> The Metropolitan area consists of seven counties: Hennepin, Ramsey, Anoka, Washington, Dakota, Scott and Carver.

The University of Minnesota Bureau of Field Studies and Surveys completed a state-wide study of elementary, secondary, and area vocational-technical education for Minnesota in 1967. Some of its findings in regard to population plans are used in this study. Table 4.1 indicates that the population growth within the State of Minnesota during the 25 year period 1940-1965 has been much slower than the national population growth. To be more specific, an analysis of population growth between the years 1960 and 1965 reveals that Minnesota has grown in population at about half the rate of the United States. Furthermore, the Metropolitan area is the only area in the entire State of Minnesota with a growth rate in excess of the average national growth.

Between 1950 and 1960 the Metropolitan population has increased approximately two and a half times faster than any other area in the State of Minnesota.

On the basis of urban research data and demographic projections for the Twin Cities area, it is assumed that in the future the Metropolitan population will continue to increase at a disproportionate rate in comparison with other Minnesota population centers. At present about 50 percent of the population of the State of Minnesota is concentrated in the seven-county area. When this population is broken down by age group, it appears that the percentage of the people who are potential consumers of post-secondary education is larger than in the rest of the state.

The rapid growth of the Metropolitan area, when compared with other areas in the State of Minnesota, is further substantiated by Table 4.2. The table shows that the live birth rate within the Metropolitan area has increased relative to the birth rate of the state regardless of the decline of population growth which has been prevalent in the United

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<sup>1</sup>The Metropolitan area referred to consists of seven counties. Scott and Carver Counties have been added to the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) to keep in line with Minnesota Planning Region Eleven.

TABLE 4.1

POPULATION TRENDS SINCE 1940 IN THE UNITED STATES, MINNESOTA, AND THE FIVE  
GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF MINNESOTA

Governmental Units	1940	1950	1960	Per Cent of Change 1950-1960	1965 Estimated	Per Cent of Change 1960-1965
United States	132,164,569	151,325,798	179,323,175	+18.5	193,818,000	+8.1
Minnesota	2,792,300	2,982,483	3,413,864	+14.5	3,555,000	+4.1
Area "A" Metropolitan	1,000,558	1,185,694	1,525,297	+28.6	1,668,390	+9.4
Area "B" Northeast	414,098	407,434	440,366	+ 8.1	423,790	-3.8
Area "C" Northwest	301,189	292,534	286,113	- 2.2	290,657	+1.6
Area "D" Southeast	696,238	717,122	785,841	+ 9.6	810,574	+3.1
Area "E" Southwest	380,217	379,699	376,247	- 0.9	361,589	-3.9

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, 1960, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1961.

TABLE 4.2

RESIDENT LIVE BIRTHS IN THE UNITED STATES, MINNESOTA, AND THE FIVE  
SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF MINNESOTA, 1956-1966

Year	G o v e r n m e n t a l   U n i t s						
	United States	Minnesota	Area "A" Metropolitan	Area "B" Northeast	Area "C" Northwest	Area "D" Southeast	Area "E" Southwest
1956	4,163,090	82,859	37,745	10,775	6,600	18,259	9,473
1957	4,254,008	85,959	40,126	11,062	6,828	18,840	9,097
1958	4,204,759	84,924	40,005	10,726	6,666	18,694	8,830
1959	4,244,796	88,333	41,574	10,790	6,847	20,053	9,066
1960	4,257,850	87,523	42,132	10,845	6,705	19,481	8,718
1961	4,282,081	86,310	41,966	10,260	6,427	19,247	8,408
1962	4,167,362	84,783	41,646	9,709	6,538	18,779	8,108
1963	4,081,000	80,250	40,093	8,939	5,845	18,114	7,246
1964	4,054,000	76,895	39,094	8,132	5,580	17,187	6,896
1965	3,800,000	70,810	36,258	7,423	5,152	15,743	6,231
1966	3,629,000	66,666	34,397	7,177	4,410	15,055	5,627

SOURCE: Data from Section of Vital Statistics, St. Paul, Minnesota: State Department of Health.

States and in the State of Minnesota as well as in each individual region. The natural growth rate within the Metropolitan area has consistently climbed from the years 1956 to 1966 to the extent that in 1966, 52 percent of the live births within Minnesota had occurred in the Metropolitan area compared to 46 percent in 1956.

Table 4.3 reinforces the above facts from a different perspective. The gradual transition from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban population in the United States has been well demonstrated in research literature. The urban population of the United States has increased from 64 percent to 69.9 percent between 1950 and 1960. During these years Minnesota was still well below the national average. However, the increase from 54.5 percent in 1950 to 62.2 percent in 1960 illustrates the fact that urbanization within the State of Minnesota has gathered considerable momentum. Whereas in the last decade this trend increased by only approximately 6 percent at the national level, it increased by almost 8 percent at the state level. Most of that urban growth is accounted for by the ever increasing population ratio within the Twin City area, which implies that post-secondary educational problems will occur at a much greater intensity in the Metropolitan area than in any other area of the state.

TABLE 4.3

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION SHIFTS, 1950-1960

Governmental Unit	Urban		Rural	
	Total Population	Percent of Total	Total Population	Percent of Total
<u>United States</u>				
1950	9,848,511	64.0	54,477,287	36.0
1960	125,346,899	69.9	53,976,276	30.1
<u>Minnesota</u>				
1950	1,651,844	54.5	1,330,639	45.5
1960	2,122,566	62.2	1,291,298	37.8

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, 1960, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1961.

### Metropolitan Population Projection

National and state population trends imply that Metropolitan growth projections must be modified. Metropolitan growth typically takes the form of suburban expansion at the expense of the inner city. Table 4.4 shows the growth of St. Paul and Minneapolis in relation to the total Metropolitan population as well as in relation to the two counties within which the Twin Cities are located, namely, Hennepin and Ramsey. Several general trends can be pointed out. The total Metropolitan area population as well as the populations of suburban Hennepin and suburban Ramsey Counties have consistently increased between 1960 and 1969. However, demographic data for the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul indicate a different trend. Minneapolis has shown a decline of population from 1960 to 1969. Within that period the city lost slightly less than 30,000 people. While St. Paul does not show an actual decline in population, it shows a very slow rate of growth. The city has gained less than 5,000 people over the past nine years. The observed differences in growth rates may imply that Minneapolis and St. Paul are somewhat divergent in character and dynamics. However, these differences are not substantial enough to justify different approaches to the problem which is discussed in this study. An analysis of the total gains or losses of the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul when compared with the total Metropolitan population clearly indicates that both cities consistently lost in percentage of population when compared with the total Metropolitan population. During the years 1960 to 1969 Minneapolis has lost more than 7 percent of its population to the suburbs. St. Paul has lost a little more than 3 percent. This point is amplified in Table 4.5, which shows the rhythm of annual decreases as expressed in percentages in both cities. The total yearly decrease of the Minneapolis population when compared to the total Metropolitan area amounts to 4.55 percent. The total yearly population decrease in the City of St. Paul when compared to the total Metropolitan area amounts to 1.9 percent. Minneapolis decreased at an annual average of 0.75 percent when compared with the total Metropolitan population as opposed to 0.31 percent in the case of St. Paul. Over the entire period extending from 1960 to 1969, Minneapolis, when compared with the Metropolitan area, lost 7.34 percent of its population, whereas St. Paul lost only 3.59 percent. When one considers only the last five years of the discussed period, namely, 1964 to 1969, the annual average decrease of populations in the two cities maintains its proportion. It can therefore be hypothesized that the City of Minneapolis, when compared with the Metropolitan area, loses its population to the suburbs at about twice the rate of St. Paul.

Table 4.6 provides a summary of the proportions of populations in Minneapolis and St. Paul when compared with the populations in the

TABLE 4.4

PERCENT OF TOTAL METROPOLITAN POPULATION  
IN MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL\*

Year	Total Metropolitan Population	Suburban Hennepin County	Minneapolis	Suburban Ramsey County	St. Paul	Minneapolis % of Total Metro. Pop.	St. Paul % of Total Metro. Pop.
1960	1,525,297	359,982	482,872	109,114	313,411	.3165	.2054
1964	1,691,624	435,692	472,687	131,331	309,689	.2794	.1830
1965	1,736,000	445,252	478,468	136,853	315,360	.2756	.1816
1966	1,778,433	466,753	475,110	144,427	318,355	.2671	.1790
1967	1,807,208	481,964	468,107	150,784	317,290	.2590	.1755
1968	1,835,908	501,657	457,768	157,270	316,171	.2493	.1722
1969	1,876,433	520,126	456,199	162,421	318,229	.2431	.1695

\*Based upon the population estimates of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Council.

TABLE 4.5

RATE OF DECREASE IN PERCENT OF TOTAL METROPOLITAN POPULATION  
FOR MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL

Year	MINNEAPOLIS		ST. PAUL	
	% of Total Metro Population	Yearly Decrease in % of Total Population	% of Total Metro Population	Yearly Decrease in % of Total Population
1960	.3165		.2054	
1964	.2794	.0092*	.1830	.0056*
1965	.2756	.0038	.1816	.0014
1966	.2671	.0085	.1790	.0026
1967	.2590	.0081	.1755	.0035
1968	.2493	.0097	.1722	.0033
1969	.2431	.0062	.1695	.0027
Total % Yearly Decrease		.0455		.0191
Average % Yearly Decrease		.0075		.0031
Decrease in % of Total Population 1960-1969		.0734		.0359
Decrease in % of Total Population 1964-1969		.0363		.0159

\*Decrease from 1960 to 1964 was divided by 4 to obtain estimate of yearly decrease.

total Metropolitan areas. This table suggests that the trends of decline as discussed earlier will continue up to the year 1975, with Minneapolis continuing to lose population at about twice the rate of St. Paul. While Minneapolis will have lost approximately 11 percent of its population when compared to the Metropolitan area, St. Paul will have lost only 5 percent. These figures imply that in spite of characteristic differences between the Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, the population trends are basically the same.

The population trends which were discussed earlier can be observed by reviewing Tables 4.7 and 4.8. The age groups most affected are those in the 14-17 category, the 18-19 category, the 35-44 category,

TABLE 4.6

PERCENT OF TOTAL METROPOLITAN POPULATION IN MINNEAPOLIS  
AND ST. PAUL WITH PROJECTIONS TO 1975

Year	Minneapolis	St. Paul
1960	.3165	.2054
1964	.2794	.1830
1965	.2756	.1816
1966	.2671	.1790
1967	.2590	.1755
1968	.2493	.1722
1969	.2431	.1695
1970	.2356	.1664
1971	.2281	.1633
1972	.2206	.1602
1973	.2131	.1571
1974	.2056	.1540
1975	.1981	.1509

TABLE 4.7

POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL  
BY AGE GROUPINGS FOR 1975 AND 1980\*

AGE & SEX GROUP	MINNEAPOLIS		ST. PAUL	
	1975	1980	1975	1980
MALE:				
0-4	28,627	33,397	21,599	25,048
5-6	9,840	11,781	7,424	8,836
7-13	31,511	37,354	23,775	28,016
14-17	16,970	17,494	12,804	13,120
18-19	7,968	8,382	6,012	6,287
20-24	17,730	21,343	13,376	16,008
25-34	27,107	34,309	20,452	25,732
35-44	20,335	22,030	15,342	16,523
45-54	20,520	20,594	15,482	15,446
55-64	15,859	17,882	11,966	13,411
65 & over	14,903	16,385	11,244	12,289
FEMALE:				
0-4	27,352	31,896	20,637	23,922
5-6	9,418	11,271	7,106	8,453
7-13	30,042	35,773	22,666	26,829
14-17	16,732	17,008	12,624	12,756
18-19	7,914	8,194	5,974	6,146
20-24	18,719	22,115	14,123	16,586
25-34	29,163	35,314	22,003	26,486
35-44	21,339	24,602	16,100	18,452
45-54	21,013	20,493	15,855	15,370
55-64	17,504	19,408	13,207	14,556
65 & over	21,355	23,346	16,112	17,510

\*Based upon data from the Metropolitan Council.

TABLE 4.8  
POPULATION PROJECTION FOR  
SPECIAL AGE GROUPINGS\*

<u>AGE &amp; SEX</u>	<u>MINNEAPOLIS</u>		<u>ST. PAUL</u>	
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>
<b>MALE:</b>				
18-21*	15,060	16,919	11,352	12,690
22-34	37,745	47,114	28,477	35,336
<b>FEMALE:</b>				
18-21	15,401	17,040	11,623	12,780
22-34	40,394	48,583	30,479	36,437
<b>TOTAL MALE &amp; FEMALE:</b>				
18-21	30,461	33,959	22,975	25,470
22-34	78,139	95,697	58,956	71,773

\*The assumption was made that the population would be evenly distributed among the ages in the 20-24 age category. Forty percent of the total in this category was added to the 18-21 total and 60% was added to the 25-34 category.

and the 45-54 category. This phenomenon reflects a demographic trend insofar as families with small children tended to leave the city area during the 50's and 60's. Likewise, people between 30 and 50 years of age, who are classified as the economically active population, tended to leave the city for the suburbs, especially if they were white collar workers. The large cities then had mainly populations in the youth dependency brackets and the senior dependency brackets. This observation is reported in national research literature as well as in studies which relate to the Twin City area.

In spite of the aforesaid, the Twin City area will have in both 1975 and in 1980 a substantial number of post-secondary school aged populations. In 1975 there will be over 30,000 young people between the ages of 18 and 21 in Minneapolis. This number will increase by almost 3,000 by the year 1980. It was assumed that the age groups from 22-34 are those people who may need additional post-secondary educational opportunities which are necessary for an upgrading process. This definition is purely arbitrary for operational purposes. It is projected that Minneapolis will have over 78,000 people in that category in 1975. In 1980 Minneapolis will have over 95,000 people between the ages 22-34. St. Paul will have nearly 59,000 persons in the same age bracket in 1975, with an expected increase to almost 72,000 by 1980.

Notwithstanding what has been mentioned earlier with respect to population decreases, in 1980 the Twin Cities will have approximately one quarter of a million young people with potential post-secondary educational expectations and needs.

#### SELECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SOME POVERTY STRICKEN

##### INNER-CITY AREAS IN MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL

A comprehensive study of inner-city problems and their relations to educational needs has yet to be written. Two studies, one by Augsburg College and the other by the Community Health and Welfare Council serve as a basis for the data presented here. The data do not constitute a comprehensive picture of inner-city problems in the Twin Cities but a selection of problems which impinge upon educational needs as they will be discussed later. The studies have a divergent methodology which caused some difficulties for secondary analysis and comparison. Consequently our data can only be taken as a digest of information contained in the original research on the inner city. More specifically, we provide an analysis of certain traits which bear on the educational problems of the impacted parts of the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The communities discussed

are the Near North, Central, Powderhorn and Longfellow in Minneapolis, and Summit-University area in St. Paul. The Minneapolis community figures are estimates based on the 1960 census tracts, whereas the figures on the St. Paul community are taken from the 1960 census tracts.

A first observation is that the population changes in the selected communities are in reverse relationship to the population changes in the Metropolitan area as described in Table 4.9. During the period between 1950 and 1960 the Metropolitan population has increased by 28.6 percent. The communities described in Table 4.10 experienced substantial decreases between 1950 and 1960. In Minneapolis these decreases ranged from 10.26 percent to 32.24 percent. The Summit-University area lost 18.5 percent of its population during the corresponding period.

Second, each community lost population in excess of the respective city average. Minneapolis proper lost 7.45 percent of its population; St. Paul had a population gain of 0.7 percent. The trends of population change as described earlier are, therefore, unequally distributed among various sections of the Twin City area. It seems that specific communities have been the main contributors to that over-all decrease. No figures are available to project changes for the next ten years. But it seems safe to assume that the observed trends have continued to operate during the nine years following 1960. As for the unevenness of the population decrease, no estimates and projections can be made. The various urban development programs and associated activities as well as various aspects of city life may effect change; however, any planning with regard to educational needs at the post-secondary level must take these population elements into account.

A third observation is that the number of isolated individuals in a major urban area is a potential indicator regarding deprivation with respect to educational needs. Many thousands of single young people, particularly young females, flow into the Twin City area to secure employment and/or education. Certain patterns in the distribution of single individuals may add to the understanding of a specific segment of the population. In the Central area 51.68 percent of the population in the year 1960 were "unrelated individuals."<sup>2</sup> The community

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<sup>2</sup>By unrelated individuals we mean persons who have no relative through first cousin within the particular community in which they reside.

TABLE 4.9

POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE IN ST. PAUL AND  
MINNEAPOLIS AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES THEREOF

Community	<u>MINNEAPOLIS</u> Population 1950-60				Census Tract	<u>SAINT PAUL</u> Population 1950-60			
	1950	1960	Change	Change %		1950	1960	1950-60	1950-60 %
Near North	63,952	54,737	- 9,215	-14.41	35	4,990	3,939	-1,051	-21.1
Central	58,615	39,715	-18,900	-32.24	36	4,528	2,412	-2,116	-46.7
					38	2,994	2,848	- 146	- 4.9
					39	3,980	3,353	- 627	-15.8
Powderhorn	94,476	83,851	-10,625	-11.25	40	4,540	3,657	- 883	-19.4
					54	4,623	4,328	- 895	- 6.4
Longfellow	40,167	36,045	- 4,122	-10.26	55	5,069	4,516	- 553	-10.9
					SU	30,724	25,053	-5,671	-18.5
Minneapolis	521,718	482,872	-38,846	- 7.45	SP	311,349	313,411	2,062	+ .7

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960. Data for communities are based on estimates.

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts 1950 and 1960.

TABLE 4.10

POPULATION IN PRIMARY FAMILIES AND NUMBER OF  
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS  
AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES BY CENSUS TRACTS AND  
COMMUNITIES, 1960

MINNEAPOLIS						SAINT PAUL					
Community	Population in Primary Families		Unrelated Individuals		Total Population	CT	Population in Primary Families		Unrelated Individuals		Total Population
	No.	%	No.	%	Number		No.	%	No.	%	Number
Near North	49,440	90.32	5,297	9.68	54,737	35	3,383	85.9	556	14.1	3,939
Central	19,192	48.32	20,523	51.68	39,715	36	2,074	86.0	338	14.0	2,412
						38	2,538	89.1	310	10.9	2,848
Powderhorn	67,627	80.65	16,224	19.35	83,851	39	2,591	77.3	762	22.7	3,353
						40	2,492	68.1	1,165	31.8	3,657
Longfellow	32,567	90.35	3,478	9.68	36,045	54	3,768	87.1	560	13.0	4,328
						55	3,105	68.7	1,411	31.2	4,516
Minneapolis	400,457	82.93	82,415	17.07	482,872	SU	10,951	79.6	5,102	20.4	25,053
						SP	275,553	87.9	37,858	12.1	313,411

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing  
1960. Data for Communities are based  
on estimates.

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and  
Housing, Census Tracts, 1960.

which has the next greatest concentration of unrelated individuals is Powderhorn with 19.35 percent of its people in this category. Both Central and Powderhorn have a larger percentage of unrelated individuals than the over-all average for Minneapolis, which was 17.07 percent. A similar observation may be made for the Summit-University area which had 20.4 percent of unrelated individuals in 1960. This exceeds by 8 percent the over-all average of 12.1 percent for unrelated individuals in St. Paul. Without pursuing the meaning of these figures in great depth, the communities under discussion are known as among the most educationally deprived areas in the Twin Cities. For the purposes of this study we can assume that a substantial portion of the population for which post-secondary educational opportunities are planned is not living in a family setting.

#### Income and Employment

Analysis of median incomes for St. Paul and Minneapolis discloses that low incomes are scattered over the Twin City area rather than concentrated in communities typically identified as deprived areas. Table 4.11 presents the median income breakdown. Although these communities show the lowest income indicators, the differences between communities based on median income do not seem significant. A review of the table will show however, that Central in Minneapolis and Summit-University in St. Paul are among the lowest ranking areas relative to indicators of income. There are other communities such as Mt. Airy in St. Paul and University in Minneapolis which also indicate a substantially lower median income compared to the over-all city averages. These figures and the projection for future years as they are available for St. Paul disclose that a substantial number of families and individuals in the Twin Cities, irrespective of place of residence, can ill afford the costs of higher education.

Table 4.12 is lacking in raw numbers from Minneapolis and its selected communities. Yet, the figures shown in Table 4.12 indicate a trend which apparently is typical of the urban deprived areas. As can be expected, the communities of the Twin Cities with large segments of low socioeconomic status populations show a disproportionate incidence of employment in low status occupations such as household, service, and labor jobs to the Cities as a whole. Twenty-five percent of the Summit-University working people are in the low occupational status category as compared to 16.8 percent for the city average. Close to 27 percent of the working people in the four select Minneapolis communities are categorized in this occupational bracket as compared to an average of 22.5 percent for the City of Minneapolis. The category of craftsmen and foreman, which is ranked above the household etc., does not show a unilateral picture. Summit-

TABLE 4.11

## MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL

<u>MINNEAPOLIS</u>		<u>SAINT PAUL</u>						
Community	Median Income 1959	Community	Median Income 1959	1966	1968	1970	1975	1980
*Camden	\$6,620	*Summit Avenue	\$5,280*					
*Northeast	6,368	*St. Anthony Park	7,645	\$8,677	\$8,933	\$9,327	\$10,206	\$11,328
*Near North	5,699	**Como Park	7,282	8,265	8,556	8,884	9,721	10,985
*Central	4,495	**Rice Street	5,729*	6,802	6,732	6,989	7,648	8,642
*University	5,658	**Phalen Park	6,367	7,226	7,481	7,786	8,500	9,605
*Calhoun-Isle	6,767	**Hayden Hts.	7,088	8,045	8,328	8,647	9,462	10,692
*Powderhorn	5,879	**Hamline	6,669	7,589	7,836	8,136	8,903	10,060
*Longfellow	6,289	**Thomas-Dale	5,903*	6,700	6,936	7,202	7,880	8,904
*Southwest	7,939	**Mt. Airy	4,868*	5,525	5,720	5,939	6,499	7,344
*Nokomis	7,367	**Dayton's Bluff	6,240	7,082	7,332	7,613	8,330	9,413
*Minneapolis	6,401	**Hazel Park	6,886	7,813	8,089	8,398	9,190	10,385
		**Macalester	7,415	8,416	8,713	9,046	9,899	11,186
		**Summit-Dale	6,010	6,821	7,062	7,332	8,023	9,066
		*St. Paul	6,543					

\*SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960. Data for Minneapolis communities are based on estimates.

\*\*SOURCE: City Planning Board St. Paul 1967.

TABLE 4.12

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PEOPLE ENGAGED  
IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS BY COMMUNITIES  
IN 1960\*

OCCUPATION	SUMMIT-UNIVERSITY		SAINT PAUL		OCCUPATION	NEAR NORTH, CENTRAL POWDERHORN, LONGFELLOW		MINNEAPOLIS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%		NO.	%	NO.	%
Prof., Tech., Kindred, Mgrs. Offs., Props.	1,199	11.50	25,639	20.40	Prof., Tech., Kindred, Mgrs. Offs.	NA	16.32	NA	20.10
Clerical - Sales	2,455	23.60	36,369	28.90	Clerical - Sales	NA	30.10	NA	37.85
Crafts., Foremen, Operative, etc.	2,904	28.00	34,287	27.30	Crafts & Fore- Men	NA	25.79	NA	20.50
Private Household, Service, Laborers	2,664	25.00	21,114	16.80	Labor & Service	NA	26.76	NA	22.55

\*SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.

University is near the St. Paul average. The four Minneapolis communities are substantially below the city average. The top categories show clearly that the averages for both Minneapolis and St. Paul are substantially higher than the averages of the five communities.

Unemployment in the poverty stricken areas of St. Paul and Minneapolis is more pronounced than in the Twin Cities area as a whole (Table 4.13).

The portion of unemployed persons in the Near North community exceeds by approximately 30 percent the average unemployment percentage for Minneapolis. The Central community has two times as many unemployed persons as the City of Minneapolis in general. The St. Paul data presents a proportionately greater difference than Minneapolis as Tract number 35 has 2 1/2 times the St. Paul unemployed rate and Tract 39 is twice as high. The rates for Minneapolis and St. Paul are identical at 4.3 percent unemployment in 1960.

TABLE 4.13

UNEMPLOYMENT IN MINNEAPOLIS AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES THEREOF  
AND SUMMIT-UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY IN 1960

Community	MINNEAPOLIS*		Census Tract	SUMMIT-UNIVERSITY**	
	No.	%		No.	%
Near North	1,410	6.3	35	189	10.9
			36	22	2.5
Central	1,854	8.2	38	71	5.9
			39	135	8.9
Powderhorn	1,660	4.1	40	83	4.6
			54	89	4.9
Longfellow	602	4.1	55	168	7.7
Minneapolis	9,621	4.3	SU	758	6.8
			St. Paul	5,707	4.3

\*SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960. Data for Communities are based on estimates.

\*\*SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.

### Levels of Educational Attainment

In the publication, The Agony of the Cities (Alloway and Cordasco, 1969:23-27) a vicious circle called "The Three E's" was determined. The Three E's stand for education, employment and environment. The relationship between education, employment and environment is demonstrated by the data in Table 4.14. The communities which have consistently appeared at the bottom of income and occupational scales are also relatively low in the median number of school years completed. In 1960 the communities of Camden, Northeast, Central and Longfellow had a lower percentage in school years completed than Minneapolis as a whole. Almost 60 percent of the general population of age 25 and over within these communities had not graduated from high school. In St. Paul the discrepancies between educational standards in various communities are even more apparent as evidenced in Table 4.15. Whereas for the city as a whole 52 percent of the population of age 25 and above had not completed high school in 1960, the percentage of persons in those communities which fall into the educational deprivation bracket exceeded, in most cases, the 70 percent level. The communities most affected are Rice Street, Thomas-Dale, Mt. Airy, West 7th Street, and to a lesser degree (still 62.4 percent) the West Side. The same communities are also disproportionately represented in the median college years completed. In 1960, 12 percent of the people of Minneapolis of age 25 and over had some college experience; however, only 6.6 percent of the Northeast population, 7.7 percent of the Near North and 9.4 percent of Central have had similar preparation. Ten percent of the St. Paul citizenry of age 25 and over have had some college experience; however, only 3.6 percent of the people of Rice Street, 6.3 percent of the people of Phalen Park, 6.3 percent of the residents of Dayton's Bluff, 4.2 percent of the people of Thomas-Dale, 3.6 percent of the people of Mt. Airy, 5.2 percent of the people of West 7th Street, and 7.3 percent of the West Side fall into that category. As the level of education increases, the differences between the city as a whole and its deprived communities also increase. Almost 10 percent of the Minneapolis citizenry were college graduates in 1960; 3.4 percent of the Camden community, 4.4 percent of the Northwest community and 9.3 percent of the St. Paul inhabitants were college graduates; however, only 1.7 percent of the Rice Street area, 3.7 percent of Phalen Park, 2 percent of Thomas-Dale, 3.4 percent of Mt. Airy, 3.8 percent of Dayton's Bluff, 2.9 percent of West 7th Street and 4.4 percent of the West Side community fall into this category. Comparing St. Paul with Minneapolis it may be observed that from the educational point of view St. Paul is more homogeneous in structure with low education areas found throughout the city. Minneapolis is, according to overall percentages, slightly more impacted with low educational levels than St. Paul; consequently, it is fair to assume that the portion of

TABLE 4.14

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY ADULTS 25  
YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY COMMUNITY FOR  
MINNEAPOLIS, 1960 CENSUS REPORT

Community Name	Less than High School (Grade 11 or Less)		High School Graduate (Grade 12)		Some College (Grades 13-15)		College Graduate (16 years or more)		Community Total
	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	
Camden	12,290	57.4	6,731	31.5	1,618	7.6	756	3.5	21,395
Calhoun-Isles	7,260	35.6	5,807	28.5	3,762	18.4	3,570	17.5	20,399
Central	17,584	64.0	5,760	21.0	2,595	9.4	1,539	5.6	27,478
Longfellow	14,554	61.6	5,495	23.3	2,158	9.1	1,418	6.0	23,625
Near North	19,535	64.7	7,159	23.7	2,313	7.7	1,183	3.9	30,190
Nokomis	13,285	43.1	9,960	32.3	4,404	14.3	3,148	10.2	30,797
Northeast	17,978	61.4	8,090	27.6	1,930	6.6	1,278	4.4	29,276
Powderhorn	27,800	55.6	13,676	27.3	5,288	10.6	3,273	6.5	50,037
Southwest	11,539	29.9	12,336	31.9	7,549	19.5	7,229	18.7	38,653
University	6,806	43.9	2,794	18.0	1,949	12.6	3,940	25.4	15,489
Total by Educational Level	148,631	51.7	77,808	27.1	33,566	11.7	27,334	9.5	287,339

\*Percents are based on total population in each individual community which is 25 years of age and over.

TABLE 4.15

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY ADULTS 25  
YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY COMMUNITY FOR  
ST. PAUL, 1960 CENSUS REPORT

Community	Less than High School (Grade 11 or Less)		High School Graduate (Grade 12)		Some College (Grades 13-15)		College Graduate (16 years or more)		Community Total
	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	
St. Anthony Park	370	12.89	501	17.46	517	18.01	1,284	44.74	2,870
Como Park	5,725	49.85	3,433	29.89	1,288	11.21	1,039	9.05	11,485
Rice Street	5,918	71.93	1,877	22.81	294	3.57	140	1.70	8,228
Phalen Park	9,598	64.28	3,838	25.70	943	6.32	552	3.70	14,932
Hayden Heights	3,809	49.90	2,821	36.95	618	8.10	387	5.07	7,634
Hamline	4,691	55.44	2,129	25.16	972	11.49	662	7.82	8,461
Thomas-Dale	6,038	71.08	1,930	22.72	357	4.20	174	2.05	8,495
Mount Airy	1,225	72.92	337	20.06	60	3.57	57	3.39	1,680
Dayton's Bluff	6,001	61.72	2,731	28.09	617	6.35	373	3.84	9,723
Hazel Park	4,271	50.62	2,939	34.83	771	9.14	458	5.43	8,437
Macalester	9,109	37.31	7,260	29.74	3,829	15.68	4,223	17.30	24,413
Summit-Dale	13,374	53.53	6,236	24.96	2,900	11.61	2,467	9.87	24,983
Highland Park	2,372	15.54	4,413	28.91	2,763	18.10	3,016	19.76	15,266
West Seventh St.	6,112	70.41	1,857	21.39	454	5.23	255	2.94	8,680
West Side	5,783	62.44	2,389	25.79	680	7.34	411	4.44	9,262
Battle Creek	678	48.57	507	36.32	118	8.45	95	6.81	1,396
Non-Residential Districts	3,907	68.32	1,112	19.44	461	8.06	287	5.02	5,719
Totals by Educational Level	88,981	51.83	46,310	26.98	17,632	10.27	15,880	9.25	171,664

\*Percents are based on total population in each individual community which is 25 years of age and older.  
SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960; and City Planning Board of St. Paul.

educationally deprived in Minneapolis is larger than that in St. Paul. Minneapolis and St. Paul cannot, however, be stereotyped in terms of large educationally deprived concentrations limited to a few areas.

The Number of Economically Disadvantaged,  
Ages 18-21, in Minneapolis and St. Paul

The population figures presented in this section are taken from the Standard Rate and Data Service, Inc., Market Data Statistics as of January 1, 1969. SRDS gives population figures, the number of households, and the percent distribution of households with consumer spendable income within income brackets. The brackets utilized here are those households with less than \$3,000 spendable income and those from \$3,000 to \$4,999.

First, the population was divided by the estimated number of households to determine the average number of persons per household. Second, the number of persons per household was then multiplied by the number of households within an income bracket to determine the number of persons within that bracket. Third, percents of male and female members of the population were determined by using Bureau of Vital Statistics' information and, fourth, the same information was used to determine the size of the population affected in the age bracket 18-21 (college-age youth).

The data in Table 4.16 are to be seen as extremely conservative due to the method of analysis. The percentages showing number of households per income bracket were county-wide figures which would actually mean that the core cities have a higher percentage in each bracket.

The data indicate a total of 84,766 males and females in the Twin Cities with a spendable income of less than \$4,999 per year. When broken down into the age group 18-21, St. Paul has at least 2,325 persons of this age in families with less than \$5,000 spendable income, and Minneapolis has at least 3,609 persons, for a total of 5,934 youths in the Twin Cities. Of the total 5,934, at least 1,082 youths are in families with less than \$3,000 spendable income per year.

A reasonable verification of the foregoing figures can be derived through another analysis. Approximately 10,200 high school students graduate yearly in the Twin Cities. Normally about 60 percent go on to some form of post-secondary training while the rest are absorbed by the labor market, institutions, the military, streetcorners and, in the case of girls, marriage. Usually about 10 percent of the males not immediately going on to school enter the military and 10 percent of the females are married. Assuming that married girls and

TABLE 4.16

THE SIZE OF THE ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED GROUPS  
AGED 18-21, IN MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL

A.

	Population	Households	Pop. per Household	Percent Under \$3,000	Total Under \$3,000	Percent \$3,000 to \$4,999	Total \$3,000 to \$4,999
Minneapolis	490,000	173,480	2.83	2.3	11,292	8.2	40,258
St. Paul	319,000	103,360	3.09	1.3	4,152	9.1	29,064

B.

TOTAL POPULATION

	Less than \$3,000		From \$3,000 to \$4,999	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Minneapolis	5,522	5,770	19,686	20,572
St. Paul	2,030	2,122	14,212	14,852
Total	7,552	7,892	33,898	35,424
Grand Total	84,766			

C.

POPULATION AGED 18-21

	Less than \$3,000		From \$3,000 to \$4,999		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	387	404	1,378	1,440	3,609
	142	149	995	1,039	2,325
	529	553	2,373	2,479	5,934
	1,082		4,852		5,934

Mpls. - St. Paul Total 5,934 youths ages 18-21 in families with less than \$5,000 spendable income

servicemen are temporarily out of the post-secondary market, an annual minimum of 3,500 young adults are not training for specific occupational careers, and can be considered to be underemployed.

Of the 60 percent going on to some form of post-secondary training, 50 percent will not complete their programs. Thus, a minimum of 3,000 students per year will be dropping out of post-secondary programs. This means that within each year a minimum of 6,500 young adults have to be funneled into the labor market. From past history and present trends it can be ascertained with a reasonable degree of certainty that a disproportionate number of those young adults are from poverty-level income families and more often than not, they are non-whites. These same young adults could benefit from a variety of programs if (1) they were aware of such program alternatives, and (2) they became aware of which alternative could suit them best as individuals.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH

This unit undertakes an analysis of a tri-dimensional effort dealing with (A) the student from the standpoint of aspirations and perceptions of high school juniors and the perceptions of sampled junior college sophomores, (B) the institutions as they relate to the specific problems of the Twin Cities population, and (C) the community as surveyed relative to its perceptions and expectations of educational opportunity. As in other parts of this study, the variety of reporting and record-keeping practices by public agencies allowed only a minimal synthesis of data. A common base for information retrieval is not now available. Results from the questionnaires for the Minnesota College Statewide Testing Program, obtained from the Student Counseling Bureau, Office of the Dean of Students of the University of Minnesota, were difficult to compare because slight changes in questionnaire format occurred from year to year.

A. THE STUDENT

The student is discussed from two points of view. One view deals with the aspirations of high school juniors based on responses to the Minnesota Statewide Testing Program questionnaire. The second view is based on the perspectives of a selected sample of junior college sophomores and their educational experiences.

Educational Aspirations of Twin Cities Juniors

Data presented in the tables were compiled from the Minnesota Statewide Testing Questionnaire, which is completed in January of each year by high school juniors. The data presented here are for 1967 and 1969. Juniors selected their choices of post-secondary opportunities from a comprehensive list of schools; however, Area Vocational-Technical schools were not included as specific choices until after 1967.

The first four college entries, indicated by "Metro Area", in Tables 5.A4 and 5.A5 are in the seven-county area. The category "Other" includes all preferences for all other schools in and outside Minnesota not otherwise mentioned in the tables. The "None" category includes those students who did not answer this

TABLE 5.A1

POST-HIGH SCHOOL PLANS OF ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS JUNIORS  
 COMPARED TO JUNIORS IN SUBURBAN HENNEPIN COUNTY AND  
 IN SUBURBAN RAMSEY-WASHINGTON COUNTIES IN 1967

Response	1967 PERCENTAGES				
	St. Paul	Mpls.	Suburban Hennepin	Suburban Ramsey- Washington	Statewide
What education do you plan after high school?					
Go to college	46.83	49.36	60.1	54.0	45.72
Trade school	10.67	7.27	5.9	8.3	8.81
Business school	6.35	6.29	4.7	4.9	7.24
Nursing school	3.95	3.14	3.6	3.6	5.46
Other	3.38	3.08	3.8	3.4	5.36
	71.18	69.14	78.10	74.20	72.59
Don't know	2.46	3.08	2.4	2.3	2.48
No further schooling	0.00	0.05	0.0	0.1	0.04
If not education, what?					
Get job immediately	3.24	4.24	2.1	3.1	2.73
Farm with Dad	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.1	0.60
Farm not with Dad	0.03	0.00	0.0	0.1	0.20
Armed Forces	2.19	2.26	1.4	1.5	2.46
Marriage and Work	1.08	0.84	0.5	0.6	0.62
Marriage	0.68	0.73	0.4	0.6	0.51
Other plans	1.11	0.89	0.9	0.7	0.94
Don't know	0.91	1.37	0.6	0.9	0.87
Further schooling	0.14	0.14	0.2	0.2	0.19
No Response	16.98	17.25	13.4	15.6	15.74
Number	2,962	4,388	7,578	3,105	41,679

TABLE 5.A2

COMPARISON OF SOME POST-HIGH SCHOOL PLANS  
OF MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL JUNIORS IN 1969, BY SEX

	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL FEMALES %	TOTAL MALES %
	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Minneapolis	St. Paul		
	%	%	%	%		
Coll. or Univ.	48.73	43.25	45.97	38.86	46.41	42.85
AVTS	3.44	9.57	7.82	19.34	6.04	12.87
Private Trade	0.77	0.86	4.47	2.89	0.81	3.78
Bus./Comm.	7.50	6.44	1.27	0.84	7.05	1.08
Other Schools	6.10	7.06	0.89	1.33	6.51	1.08
Immediate Work	12.34	10.25	3.82	4.58	11.45	4.15
Armed Forces	0.50	0.67	20.73	17.65	0.57	19.38
Other Plans	20.61	21.90	15.03	14.52	21.16	14.80
Number	2,212	1,630	2,123	1,660	3,842	3,783

particular question as well as those who specifically marked "No Preference".

All figures presented are in terms of public high school juniors. All statewide figures have had the Twin Cities juniors deleted with the exception of Figure 5.A4; however, there was no accurate way available to delete the 2,710 private and parochial school juniors in the Twin Cities from the statewide figures. There are also a number of nonpublic juniors across the state who are influencing the data relative to comparisons of public juniors although the effect of this group on the data seems negligible. An attempt was made to compare Minneapolis-St. Paul figures with those of the seven-county area; however, present reporting practices did not permit an economical means of collapsing the seven-county public high school data. A limited comparison of Twin Cities juniors and students in suburban Hennepin and suburban Ramsey-Washington Counties was possible for the year 1967. The suburban data were taken from studies performed by the University of Minnesota Bureau of Field Studies and Surveys.

Post-high school plans. Table 5.A1 offers a 1967 comparison of Twin Cities juniors with those in the suburbs. The data indicate substantial differences in the types of education plans of the students. The greatest differences appear in the plans for college as the range is from 46.8 percent in St. Paul to 60.1 percent in suburban Hennepin County. St. Paul juniors choose college as a choice less often and trade schools more often than other juniors in the Metropolitan area.

The comparison indicates that a larger percentage of Twin Cities juniors than suburban juniors (1) get jobs immediately, (2) plan on entering the military service, (3) plan to get married, (4) enter business and trade schools, and (5) are not sure of their plans. The suburban juniors show the highest percentage of college plans. The juniors in the out-state areas give greater preference to business schools, nursing schools, and other types of education not specified. Approximately 20 percent of all juniors seem to be unsure of the next step in their education or their plans after high school.

Differences in plans do appear in a comparison of juniors from one school to those of another. Although the traditional contrasts between male and female aspirations are evident in our data, residential location seems the overriding variable. Table 5.A2 presents a comparison of post-high school plans by sex of Minneapolis-St. Paul juniors in 1969. Both the Minneapolis females and males plan on college more often than their peers in St. Paul; whereas, the figures show that the St. Paulites, both male and

female, plan on the Area Vocational-Technical Schools more often than do similar groups in Minneapolis.

The totals for both cities indicate that the greatest choice differences between the sexes occur in Area Vocational-Technical Schools, private trade schools, the armed forces, business-commercial schools, immediate work plans, and other plans. The first three categories are selected most often by males and the latter three by females.

As mentioned previously, the MSTP had made some changes in the questionnaire between years. For example, significant change in one question increased the response rate by 10 percent. The change in responses by making the question of college attendance more specific is indicated in Table 5.A3. The 1967 questionnaire solicited responses as to what the students planned on doing after graduation with no time limitation. In 1969, however, the question was restated to solicit responses as to plans "for the first year after graduation" thus fewer students indicated they actually would be in school when compared to the number indicating specific educational choice. The reasons why students delay their educational plans can be summarized as:

- (a) About 15 percent more of the males were planning on military service.
- (b) With more students wanting to go on to college the proportion of students who seek work to earn tuition money also increases.

This indicates that the percentage of students who make an educational choice is increasing; however, the percentage of juniors who express that they will attend college the first year after graduation is decreasing. This may indicate that to attain an 85 percent attendance goal, substantially more financial aid will have to be forthcoming. As an estimate based on this data, at least one-seventh of the 85 percent will be almost entirely dependent on some form of financial aid.

TABLE 5.A3

A COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS AFTER HIGH SCHOOL FOR MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL JUNIORS WITH JUNIORS STATEWIDE

	1967 PERCENTAGES		1969 PERCENTAGES	
	Selected a Post-Secondary School	Will Attend After Graduation	Selected a Post-Secondary School	Will Attend First Year After Graduation
Minneapolis	64.72	69.14	77.86	63.54
St. Paul	58.54	71.18	73.19	65.19
Statewide	64.79	73.51	78.68	67.93

A comparison of college preferences. The number of area juniors indicating a desire to attend post-secondary schools increased by 14 percent from 1967 to 1969. As can be seen in Table 5.A4, the rate of increase in the preference of Twin Cities juniors and juniors statewide is about the same at nearly 14 percent for each; in raw numbers the 14 percent represents an increase of 9,252 juniors over the 1967 rate (1,040 of these are Twin Cities public school juniors). The increase in students planning to further their education pushed the total number of juniors over the 75 percent mark in 1969. If those juniors could be assisted in every way possible to follow through, an 85 percent on-going rate might be attained nearer to 1975 than to 1980.

The preference of Twin Cities juniors for schools in the seven-county Metropolitan area which comprises Planning Region Eleven increased by 10 percent between 1967 and 1969, as compared to 5 percent by juniors in the remainder of the state. St. Paul juniors preferring Metropolitan area schools increased from 36 percent in 1967 to 49 percent in 1969. Minneapolis juniors show only a 7 percent increase in interest for the same schools. Although 49 percent of all Twin Cities juniors say they will attend schools in the Metropolitan area, the percentage increases to 65 percent when we look only at those juniors planning on going to college in Table 5.A5. This indicates that students are increasingly looking to their immediate area for educational opportunities. The figures also indicate that the rate of out-state students coming into Metropolitan area schools is quite stable.

TABLE 5.A4

A COLLEGE PREFERENCE COMPARISON OF MINNEAPOLIS  
AND ST. PAUL JUNIORS WITH JUNIORS STATEWIDE  
IN JANUARY OF 1967 AND 1969

College Choice	1967 PERCENTAGES				1969 PERCENTAGES			
	St. Paul	Mpls.	Twin Cities	Statewide Less Twin Cities	St. Paul	Mpls.	Twin Cities	Statewide Less Twin Cities
U. of M.	29.08	35.32	32.81	14.38	21.49	32.58	27.80	13.56
A.S.J.C.	0.88	1.09	1.01	1.08	4.92	4.69	4.79	3.48
A.V.T.S.	----*	----*	----*	----*	17.33	7.66	11.83	4.64
Private	<u>6.41</u>	<u>5.40</u>	<u>5.81</u>	<u>4.47</u>	<u>5.74</u>	<u>3.98</u>	<u>4.74</u>	<u>3.42</u>
	36.37	41.81	39.63	19.93	49.48	48.91	49.16	25.10
U.M. Brs.	0.57	0.71	0.65	3.15	0.61	0.51	0.55	2.40
St. Coll.	6.82	6.68	6.73	14.86	5.14	5.71	5.46	12.47
Other	<u>14.78</u>	<u>15.52</u>	<u>15.22</u>	<u>26.85</u>	<u>17.96</u>	<u>22.73</u>	<u>20.68</u>	<u>38.71</u>
	<u>22.17</u>	<u>22.91</u>	<u>22.60</u>	<u>44.86</u>	<u>23.71</u>	<u>28.95</u>	<u>26.69</u>	<u>53.58</u>
	58.54	64.72	62.23	64.79	73.19	77.86	75.85	78.68
None	41.46	35.28	37.77	35.21	26.81	22.14	24.15	21.32
Number	2,964	4,388	7,352	52,359	3,290	4,346	7,636	59,121

\*Data not available on 1967 questionnaire.

TABLE 5.A5

A COLLEGE PREFERENCE COMPARISON OF ONLY THOSE TWIN CITIES  
AND STATEWIDE JUNIORS WHO PLANNED ON CONTINUING  
THEIR EDUCATION IN JANUARY OF 1967 AND 1969

Choice College	1967 PERCENTAGES			1969 PERCENTAGES			
	St. Paul	Mpls.	Statewide Less Twin Cities	St. Paul	Mpls.	Statewide Less Twin Cities	
METRO AREA	U. of M.	49.68	54.58	22.19	29.36	41.84	17.24
	A.S.J.C.	1.50	1.69	1.67	6.73	6.03	4.42
	A.V.T.S.	---*	---*	---*	23.67	9.84	5.90
	Private	<u>10.95</u>	<u>9.61</u>	<u>6.90</u>	<u>7.85</u>	<u>5.11</u>	<u>4.35</u>
		62.13	65.88	30.76	67.61	62.82	31.91
	U.M. Brs.	0.98	1.09	4.86	0.83	0.65	3.05
	St. Coll.	11.64	10.32	22.94	7.02	7.33	15.85
Other	25.24	23.98	41.44	24.54	29.20	49.19	
Number	1,735	2,840	33,923	2,408	3,384	46,517	

\*Data not available on 1967 questionnaire.

The percentage of area students choosing the University of Minnesota, state colleges and private colleges decreased from 1967 to 1969, while the junior colleges and Area Vocational-Technical Schools showed an increase. The change can be attributed to increased opportunities in area junior colleges and the addition of Area Vocational-Technical Schools as a choice on the questionnaire. The Area Vocational-Technical Schools have a greater impact on St. Paul juniors as the ratio of St. Paulites selecting them is almost 2 to 1 over that of Minneapolis juniors. The total number of juniors in the Twin Cities increased nearly 4 percent from 1967 to 1969, but those preferring the University of Minnesota decreased by 5 percent.

One might argue that the above data are derived from a junior's subjective plans which may be changed. How reliable, then are these data as a basis for decision-making in planning for the future? In an attempt to test the reliability of the information available to us, the University of Minnesota enrollment plans and actual enrollments were compared for the following reasons: (1) as a prestige school, many juniors may indicate a desire to attend, although their choice may not be realistic because of finances and academic grade point averages; thus, we would tend to obtain a minimum factor of attendance rather than a maximum; (2) the University's enrollment records for past years by high school attendance were thorough and accurate; and (3) the University enrolls a greater percentage of students from area high schools year to year and, thus, presents a constant for all practical purposes. The enrollment data for 1967 and 1968 in Table 5.A6 were obtained from the University files, while the preference data for 1966 and 1967 were taken from the statewide testing program. The results indicate that not everyone who chooses the University of Minnesota actually enrolls, but more are following through than before. Slightly more than 58 percent of the Twin Cities students who indicated the University as their choice in 1966 enrolled at the University in 1967. Of those juniors who selected the University in 1967, slightly more than 64 percent enrolled in 1968. Based on the premise that the University has high academic standards, it could be generalized that a greater percentage of those juniors selecting other types of schools will follow through on their plans.

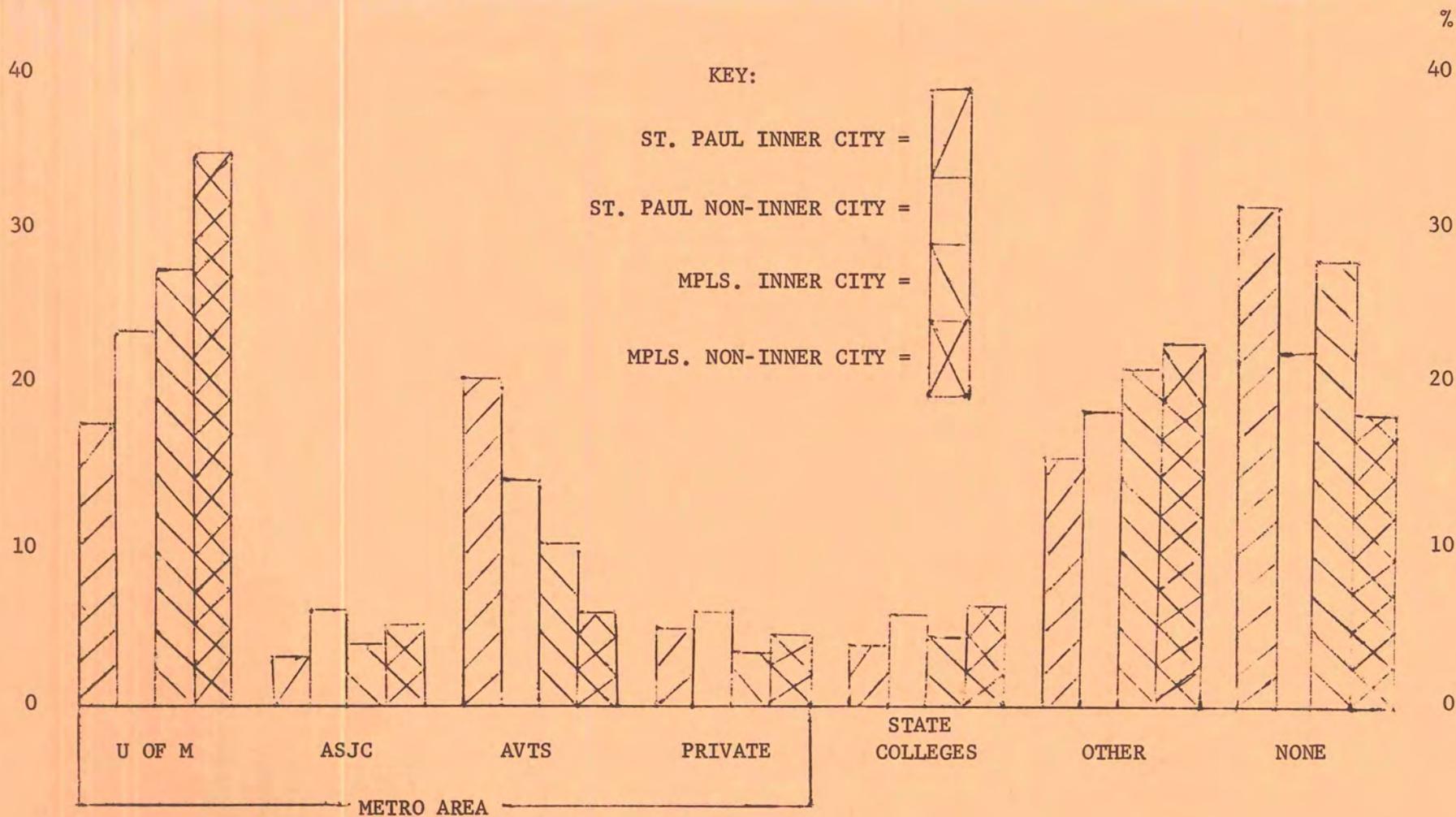


FIGURE 5.A1: A COMPARISON OF POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL CHOICES OF ALL MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL JUNIORS BY INNER-CITY AND NON-INNER-CITY SCHOOLS IN 1969

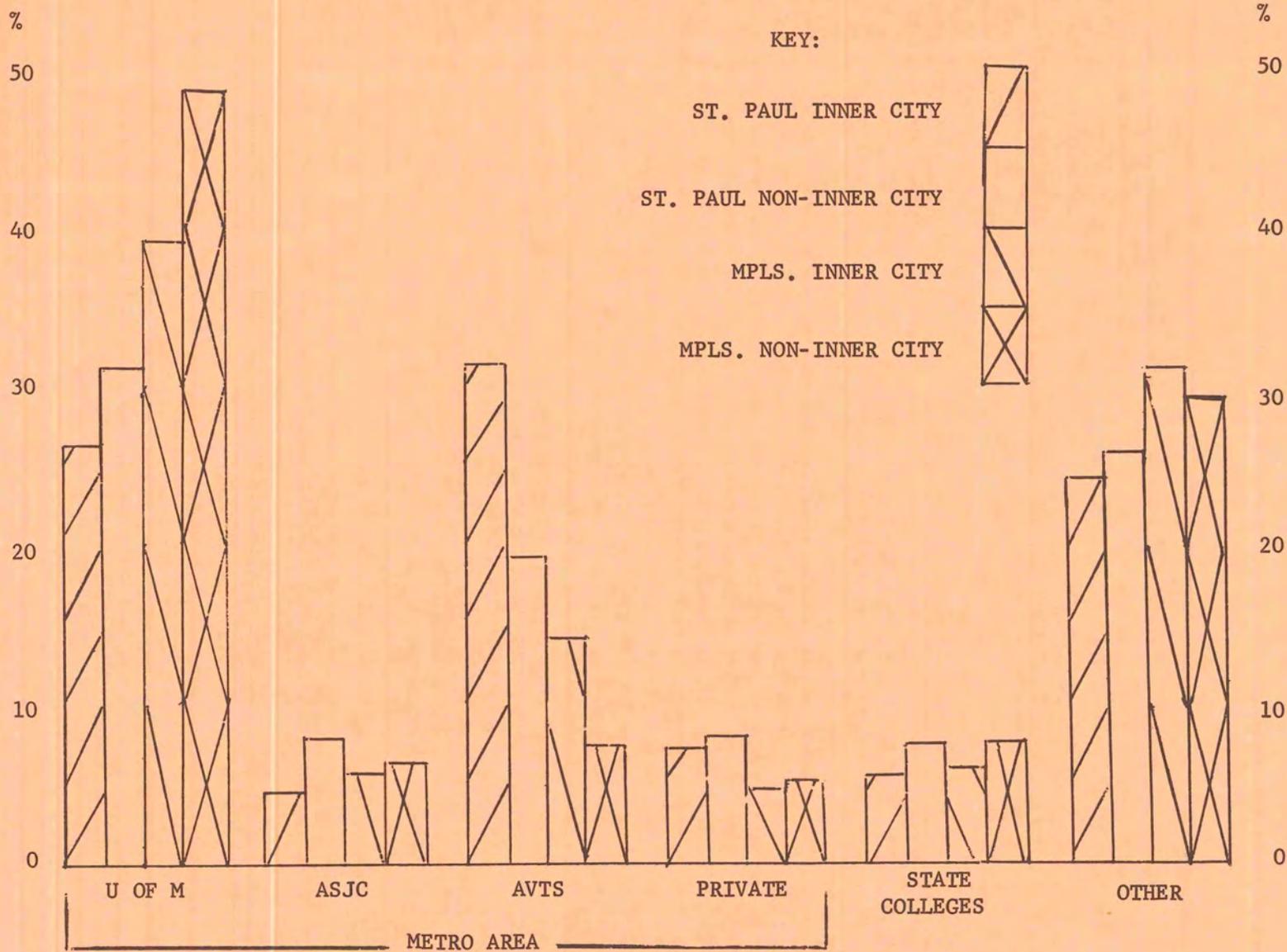


TABLE 5.A6

A COMPARISON OF TWIN CITIES JUNIORS WHO PREFERRED THE U. OF M. IN 1966 AND 1967, AND THE NUMBER ACTUALLY ENROLLING IN 1967 AND 1968

City	Preference 1966	Enrolled 1967	%	Preference 1967	Enrolled 1968	%
Minneapolis	1,392	809	58.12	1,550	1,003	64.71
St. Paul	853	501	58.73	862	553	64.15

College preferences of inner-city juniors. Inner-city schools in St. Paul and Minneapolis showed differences compared to non-inner-city schools in students' mean scholastic aptitude test scores, educational level of parents, and family income. Figure 5.A1 presents a comparison of post-high school educational choices of all Minneapolis-St. Paul public school juniors by inner-city and non-inner-city schools in 1969.

There are consistent differences in the kinds of post-secondary educational aspirations between inner-city juniors and juniors in non-inner-city schools within the city. The same differences also appear when comparing St. Paul juniors with those in Minneapolis. A greater percentage of inner-city than non-inner-city juniors plan to (1) attend Area Vocational-Technical Schools (5 percent more) and (2) not attend any post-secondary school (10 percent more). A greater percentage of non-inner-city juniors than inner-city juniors plan to: (1) attend the University of Minnesota (8 percent more); (2) attend area junior colleges (2 percent more); (3) attend area private schools (1 percent more); (4) attend school within the Metropolitan area (5 percent more); (5) attend state colleges (2 percent more); and (6) attend other schools (2 percent more). Over-all, then, approximately 15 percent more of the non-inner-city juniors plan to attend college than do the inner-city juniors. The data also indicate sharp differences between inner-city juniors in St. Paul and Minneapolis. More of the Minneapolis inner-city juniors are planning to go on, and they seem to have more mobility than do those in St. Paul. The only categories that the St. Paul inner-city juniors choose more often than any others are Area Vocational-Technical Schools and No Choice or No Plans.

Figure 5.A2 presents the same type of information as does Figure 5.A1; however, it comprises only those students planning to attend a

FIGURE 5.A2: A COMPARISON OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL CHOICES OF ONLY THOSE TWIN CITIES JUNIORS PLANNING TO CONTINUE BY INNER-CITY AND NON-INNER-CITY SCHOOLS IN 1969

post-secondary school. Of these students, a slightly greater percentage of inner-city juniors than non-inner-city juniors prefer Metro Area schools (St. Paul - 5 percent and Minneapolis - 1 percent). If we refer back to Figure 5.A1 where all juniors were included, the situation is reversed in that more non-inner-city than inner-city students prefer the Metro Area schools (St. Paul - 4 percent and Minneapolis - 6 percent). Figure 5.A2 does point out some sharp differences in aspirations as 31 percent of the inner-city juniors in St. Paul prefer Area Vocational-Technical Schools whereas only 14 percent of inner-city students in Minneapolis do so.

Father's educational level. One-third of the fathers of Twin Cities juniors in 1969 never completed high school, and approximately one-third did not go beyond high school. Close to 36 percent of the St. Paul juniors indicated that their fathers did not complete high school as compared to 29 percent of the Minneapolis juniors and 39 percent of the juniors in the remainder of the state. Table 5.A7 presents the data from the viewpoint of the juniors in 1969.

TABLE 5.A7

FATHERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AS STATED  
BY TWIN CITIES JUNIORS IN 1969

Level	PERCENTAGES		
	St. Paul	Minneapolis	Statewide Less Twin Cities
8th Grade or Less	19.15	14.83	26.93
Some High School	17.11	13.93	11.71
H. S. Graduate	28.15	28.86	25.10
Bus./Trade School	8.36	9.73	7.49
Some College	10.06	11.05	8.81
B.A. or More	13.22	17.92	14.19
No Response	3.95	3.67	5.76
Number	3,290	4,335	59,132

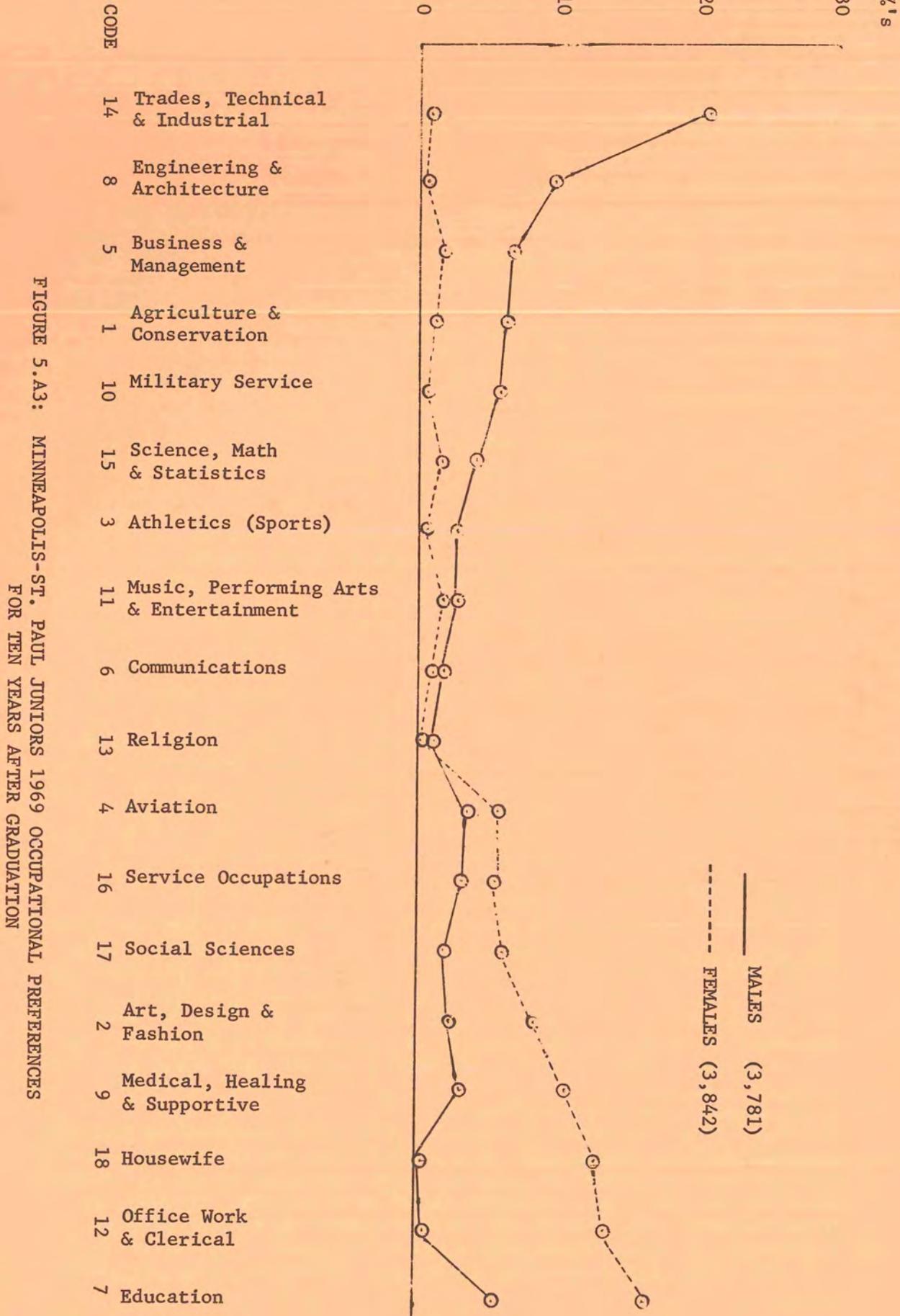
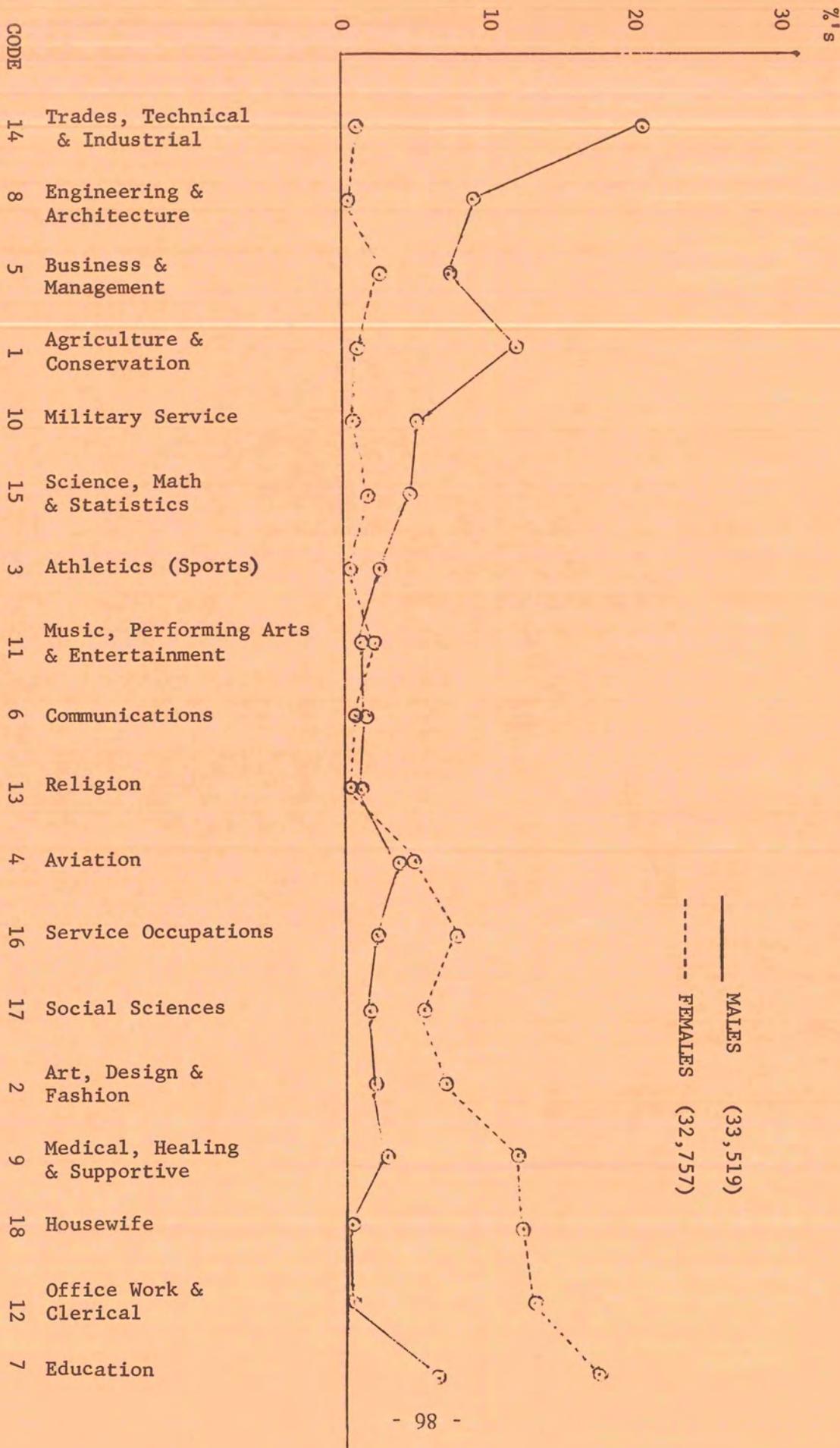


FIGURE 5.A3: MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL JUNIORS 1969 OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES FOR TEN YEARS AFTER GRADUATION



Many studies have shown that parental educational level strongly influences the educational aspiration of children. This means that those students with parents of low educational attainment must be recruited to facilitate their attending post-secondary schools; it also suggests that, in St. Paul, close to one-fifth of the 85 percent on-going goal will come from families with low educational attainment, and thus, from low income families -- indicating the need for revitalizing financial aids for education.

In terms of real numbers or projected figures from Table 4.8, the one-fifth of 85 percent for 1980 in St. Paul would be 4,330 students in the age range 18-21. Minneapolis would have 5,773 in the same range. Therefore, a minimum of 10,000 post-secondary students ages 18-21 would need extensive financial aid in any one year between 1975 and 1980. If each were to receive \$500 to \$1,000 in aid, the range of the total would be \$5 to \$10 million in necessary financial support for Twin Cities students alone.

Minneapolis and St. Paul schools were ranked according to the percentage of fathers of 1969 juniors who did not complete high school. The schools were also ranked according to their average Scholastic Ability test scores for juniors. Minneapolis schools indicate a rank correlation of .96 between test scores and fathers' education, while St. Paul schools indicate a rank correlation of .87. Both correlations are significant and raise issues regarding not only parental encouragement, but also the quality of education in inner-city schools when compared to non-inner-city schools.

Occupational preferences. Figures 5.A3 and 5.A4 describe the occupational groups that the juniors aspire to attain ten years after graduation. The groups of occupations are used rather than specific occupations for simplicity. After ten years a student would be more apt to be within the same group than in the indicated specific occupation. (Also see Table 5.A2).

The figures are arranged so as to show the areas dominated by male preferences and those dominated by female choice. The percentages for Minneapolis-St. Paul are similar to those for statewide juniors with two exceptions: (1) the statewide figures indicate a greater preference for agriculture and conservation on the part of the males, and (2) the statewide females prefer the service occupations more strongly than the Twin Cities juniors. The groups of occupations on the questionnaire do not correspond to the categories used by the Department of Labor, and no conclusions can be drawn with regard to government projections as to the need for people in those areas ten years hence. Evidently men and women will continue their dominance in certain occupational areas regardless of the

recent thrust for equal opportunity in jobs and pay.

### Summary

The summary of this section is limited to a review of its highlights.

1. The number of juniors indicating a desire to attend post-secondary schools increased by 14 percent from 1967 to 1969.

2. The preference of Twin Cities juniors for schools in the seven-county Metropolitan area which comprises Planning Region Eleven increased by 10 percent from 1967 to 1969, as compared to 5 percent by juniors in the remainder of the state.

3. The percentage of students choosing the University of Minnesota, state colleges and private colleges decreased from 1967 to 1969, while the junior colleges and Area Vocational-Technical Schools showed an increase.

4. Not everyone who chooses the University of Minnesota actually enrolls, but more are following through on their plans than before.

5. The percentage of students who make a post-secondary educational choice is increasing; however, the percentage of juniors indicating they will attend the first year after graduation is decreasing.

6. Approximately 20 percent of the juniors seem to be unsure of the next step in their education or career after high school, indicating a necessary increase in career counseling at all levels.

7. There are consistent differences in the kinds of post-secondary choices aspired to by inner-city juniors when compared to juniors in other schools within the city; these differences also appear when comparing St. Paul juniors with those in Minneapolis.

8. St. Paul juniors favor vocational schools and private schools in the Metro area, whereas Minneapolis juniors favor the University of Minnesota and junior colleges.

9. Males and females continue to have sharply contrasting profiles of occupational and post-secondary aspirations.

10. One-third of the fathers of Twin Cities juniors in 1969 never completed high school, and approximately an additional third did not go beyond high school.

11. The "tokenism" approach to financial aids will have to be revised so as to provide educational opportunities through funding on a realistic basis.

### Students Perception of Educational Opportunities

To estimate educational opportunities for the disadvantaged in the Metropolitan area, it was necessary to collect information about students' perceptions with regard to some effects of the educational institution on their life and plans. Time and budget limitations forced us to restrict our attention to Junior College sophomores within the Metropolitan area. The data, therefore, must be interpreted within these limitations. Although the desirability of extending the analysis to a more representative sample of students is not disputed, even a limited undertaking of this type may be regarded as an important contribution. It was assumed since the five junior colleges in question, are located within and on the fringe of the Metropolitan area, that they would be accessible to inner-city populations. Furthermore, the recently initiated open door policy of junior colleges has removed an administrative obstacle which has kept many potential students out of school. The junior college, then, was regarded as serving students from a broad social, economic and cultural background. Studies conducted by the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission and Berg and Axtell (1968) support this view when they report that junior colleges serve a broader human range compared to universities and state colleges. It was, therefore, reasonable to expect more disadvantaged students in junior colleges than in any other institution, perhaps with the exception of the area vocational schools.

To test our assumptions, we adapted a nine item questionnaire which was partially derived from a comprehensive instrument used in a junior college survey conducted in California in 1968. (Berg and Axtell, 1968: Appendix B) The California study identified disadvantaged students on six sieving items. Three related to economic aspects, two denoted cultural-educational features and one referred to the racial origin of students. A close review of the California results implied that for the purpose of a brief survey instrument sieving items should include:

1. Levels of Income: Students were disadvantaged by the income level of the main family bread earner. Those whose families had an average annual income exceeding \$4,000 were considered in the high group. Students coming from families with an average annual income of \$4,000 or less composed the potentially disadvantaged group.
2. Levels of Family Head's Education: A scale of five educational levels was used: (a) eighth grade or less (b) some high school (c) high school graduate (d) some post-high school training (e) college graduate or more.

The seven remaining items relate to some of the most pertinent problems which are believed to relate to the planning of facilities and programs: (1) the economic support of the student while in college, (2) moral support of the family, (3) problems encountered by the student while in college, (4) help given to the student while in college, (5) students' additional needs to facilitate college work, (6) evaluational reactions of the student to his college experience, and (7) frequency of unplanned prolongation of college attendance.

The student was also asked to specify the high school from which he had graduated. This item was used to identify Metropolitan junior college sophomores by geographic origin.

The administration of the questionnaire. In the month of February, 1970, 1,949 questionnaires were sent to all sophomores in the five metropolitan junior colleges. The survey was a part of an overall endeavor initiated by the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission on a state-wide basis. Seven hundred seventy-one questionnaires were returned. Of these 746 questionnaires (approximately 38 percent of the questionnaires sent out) were usable. The rate of return of usable questionnaires from among the five colleges was balanced, ranging from slightly over 35 percent to approximately 39 percent.

The relatively low return raises the problem of bias. From this study's vantage point, such concern can be substantially reduced. The colleges in question represent, in part, a typical suburban student population and, in part, a typical inner city population. If social, economic or cultural variables biased returns, suburban colleges could be expected to have a much greater return of questionnaires than the inner city institutions. With an almost equal return distribution for each of the colleges, it may be assumed that socioeconomic and cultural differences had no, or little, effect on the sample size and distribution.

TABLE 5.A8

DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNS BY INSTITUTIONS

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Number Sent</u>	<u>Total Returned</u>	<u>Percent Returned</u>	<u>Total Usable</u>	<u>Percent Usable</u>
A	485	198	40.82	191	39.38
G	351	135	38.46	130	37.04
I	307	112	36.48	110	35.83
J	393	161	40.97	157	39.95
Q	<u>413</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>39.95</u>	<u>158</u>	<u>38.26</u>
TOTAL	1,949	771	39.56	746	38.28

Some background characteristics of the metropolitan junior college sophomores. Of the 746 students whose questionnaires were usable, 99 or slightly over 13 percent were of the low income group.

TABLE 5.A9

DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER BY INCOME LEVEL

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>More Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Less Than \$4,000</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
8th Grade or Less	94	14.53	41	41.41
Some High School	75	11.59	13	13.13
High School Graduate	193	29.83	22	22.22
Some Post-high School	177	27.36	14	14.14
College Graduate or More	99	15.30	8	8.08
No Response	<u>9</u>	<u>1.39</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.01</u>
TOTAL	647	100.00	99	99.99

Of these, only 41 or approximately 5 percent of the total also met the lower educational background level (head of family completed 8 years of education or less). Ninety-four of the high income group met the lowest educational background criterion and represented approximately 12 percent of the total number of usable returns. The fact that the high income group is more strongly represented at the lowest educational level is naturally accounted for by the larger size of the group. On the other hand a comparison of the trends within the groups confirms some of the well established socioeconomic phenomena. In the high income group the students of low educational background constitute only 15 percent as opposed to approximately 41 percent in the low income group. The low income group is also more strongly represented at the second educational level (family head having some high school education) than the high income group. At the third educational level (family head graduated from high school) the trend reverses itself. Thirty percent of the high income group family heads had completed high school as opposed to 22 percent of the low income group. The educational gap between high and low income groups increases with each level. Slightly over 27 percent of the high income family heads had some post-high school education as opposed to 14 percent of the low income group. Approximately 15 percent of the high income family heads were college graduates or more as opposed to 8 percent of the low income group. These statistics not only confirm the relationship between income and education but<sup>1</sup> also provide some foundations to speculate about the metropolitan junior college student bodies. This crude sieving process restricted to two variables divulges that only about 5 percent of the sophomores meet some criteria generally attributed to disadvantaged students. Had other background variables such as race, housing, number of books at home, intelligence levels, and achievement levels, been added to the identification procedures, the percentage of disadvantaged would have been reduced even more. The metropolitan junior colleges may then be conspicuously denuded of graduates handicapped by material and educational circumstances. (Glaezer, 1968:74) These observations do not repudiate the principle that the junior college has expanded educational opportunities but assert that the sample of sophomores is a clientele that does not usually pose the challenges expected from disadvantaged students.

How metropolitan junior college seniors support themselves. In the questionnaire, five different ways of students support were identified: (1) family support, (2) work, (3) economic grants, (4) scholarships, and (5) loans.

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<sup>1</sup>This point has been discussed in detail in Chapter III.

TABLE 5.A10

DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT BY FREQUENCY AND LEVEL OF INCOME

Frequency	More Than \$4,000		Less Than \$4,000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	261	40.34	35	35.35
2	337	52.08	51	51.51
3	32	4.94	8	8.08
4	12	1.85	2	2.02
5	2	0.30	0	0.00
No Response	3	0.46	3	3.03
Total	647	99.97	99	99.99

Most students depend on more than one financial source. Approximately 60 percent of the respondents use at least two sources of income. Basically, the frequency table shows very similar economic patterns within the high and low income groups. Still, a substantial number of sophomores live on one income source. There are more high income students depending on one income source than there are low income students. The percentage of dependents on two sources of income is approximately equal for both groups. Slightly over 50 percent of the students in either group are in this category. Almost 9 percent of the low group versus 5 percent of the high group depend on three sources of income. However, at this level, the number of students is too small to generalize. Few students have to wrestle their livelihood from 4 or 5 different sources.

TABLE 5.A11

DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT BY LEVEL OF INCOME AND TYPE

Type of Economic Support	More Than \$4,000		Less Than \$4,000	
	Number	Percent*	Number	Percent*
Family Support	344	53.16	43	43.43
Work	556	85.93	66	66.67
Economic Grant	82	12.67	27	27.27
Scholarship	28	4.32	9	9.09
Loans	53	8.19	20	20.20

\*Represents a percentage of the total respondents to the questionnaire for each category.

Most students draw their financial support from families, work or both. A combination of family support and work is the most frequently used economic basis. As can be expected, the percentage of students supported by families is slightly higher in the high income group than in the low income group; approximately 53 percent in the former versus slightly over 43 percent in the latter. A larger ratio of the high than low income students is engaged in gainful employment. Other sources of income were apparently more readily available to the low income group of which approximately 27 percent received economic grants versus 13 percent of the high income group. Approximately 9 percent of the low as opposed to slightly over 4 percent of the high income group received scholarships. Twenty percent of the low income group received scholarships. Twenty percent of the low income group received loans versus 8 percent of the high income group. The data shows that to some degree, compensatory processes alleviated financial burdens of disadvantaged students allowing them to invest more time and energy in pursuit of training and education. Finally, the relatively large role of family support in the financial affairs of students is partly a result of husband supporting a wife or vice versa. The questionnaire does not discriminate between this type of support and the more common family allowance.

Family moral support. Research discloses that family attitudes with respect to post-secondary education are the most dominant influences on a student's career.

Over 90 percent of the students in the high income group claim that their families were highly supportive of their plans to attend college. The same is true with respect to the low income group but to a lesser degree. The difference between the groups apparently

TABLE 5.A12

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY REACTION TO STUDENTS ATTENDANCE AT JUNIOR COLLEGE BY LEVELS OF INCOME

<u>Reaction</u>	<u>More Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Less Than \$4,000</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Urged me to come	304	46.99	29	29.29
In favor of it	279	43.12	48	48.48
Kind of Neutral	51	7.88	16	16.16
Kind of Against it	6	0.93	5	5.05
Very Much Against it	4	0.62	1	1.01
No Response	3	0.46	0	0.00
TOTAL	647	100.00	99	99.99

lies in the degree of perceived supportive family attitudes. Thus, almost 47 percent of the high income group said that they were urged by their families to go to college. Approximately 29 percent of the low income group were urged by their families to attend college. On the other hand, slightly over 48 percent of the low income group families were in favor of college attendance. It seems, then, that family moral support is not just a question of occurrence but more explicitly a question of intensity and expressiveness. As may be expected, families of low income students were more frequently perceived to be neutral or even opposed to college attendance than families of the high income group. About 16 percent of the low versus 8 percent of the high income group families are reported to be neutral. Only a few students report negative family attitudes. However, most of these attitudes occur in the low income group.<sup>2</sup>

Analysis of some background variables compared by family head levels of education. To substantiate observations and generalizations and obtain comparisons which are numerically better matched, further analysis of the data is based on a sub-sample divided in two by educational background of family head. The data was grouped into students whose family heads had completed 8 years of formal education or less and students whose family head had attained post-high school education or more. The low group comprises 135 students and the high group consists of 301 students.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 5.A13

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS BY\*  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

	8th Grade or Less		Post-High School or More	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
More than \$4,000	96	71.01	281	93.35
Less than \$4,000	39	28.89	20	6.65
TOTAL	135	100.00	301	100.00

\*The financial-educational dichotomy between the groups is corroborated by a chi square of 44.1 which is significant at .001 level.

<sup>2</sup>The role of parental support in college attendance and persistence has been discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>3</sup>For brevity, the group whose family head completed 8 grades or less will be called "low educational group." The group whose family head completed more than high school will be called "high educational group."

Table 5.A13 shows the relationship between levels of income and education. The larger percentage of the high educational group is also of the high income category. The low educational group is more than four times larger in the low than in the high income category.

Some of the observations made earlier are more clearly delineated by the data in Table 5.A14. More of the low than the high educational group depend on one source of income. The trend is reversed in the second category; denoting students living on two sources of income. Approximately 57 percent of the high educational group as opposed to 43 percent of the low educational group have two sources of material support. The low frequencies in the three remaining groups do not offer a basis for meaningful comparisons.

TABLE 5.A14

DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL\*  
LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

<u>No. of Financial Sources Used</u>	<u>8th Grade or Less Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Post-High School or More Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1	63	46.67	102	33.89
2	59	43.70	173	57.48
3	6	4.44	18	5.98
4	4	7.96	5	1.66
5	0	0.00	1	0.33
No Response	<u>3</u>	<u>2.22</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.66</u>
TOTAL	135	99.99	301	100.00

\* The chi square is based on categories 1-4.  $\chi^2 = 8.52$  and is significant at the .05 level. The high educational group is different from the low by number of material support resources.

The high educational group is much more frequently supported by family than the low educational group. Approximately 60 percent of the high versus 47 percent of the low educational group depend on families for material support. Similarly, gainful employment is more frequently the source of support in the high educational group.

TABLE 5.A15

COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL GROUPS BY TYPE OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT\*

	<u>8th Grade or Less</u>		<u>Post-High School or More</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Family	63	46.67	182	60.47
2. Work	97	71.85	268	89.04
3. Economic Grant	28	20.74	34	11.30
4. Loans	21	15.56	22	7.31
5. No Response	3	2.22	2	0.66

\*Chi square is based on categories 1-4.  $\chi^2 = 18.32$  and is significant at the .001 level.

The differences are substantial -- slightly over 89 percent of the high educational group support themselves by work. This difference is partly accounted for by the relatively large ratio of the low educational group receiving grants and loans.

The data in Table 5.A16 substantiates some of the earlier observations. Students in the high educational group tend to have more intense family moral support than their low counterparts. Taking supportive attitudes as a whole, both groups of families supported students' college attendance equally. Over 90 percent of both family groups were supportive of their children going to college. Negative family attitudes were more dominant in the analysis based on income. This advances the theory that lack of family support for education at this educational level is primarily dictated by material considerations rather than by poor educational background.

TABLE 5.A16

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY REACTION TO STUDENTS ATTENDANCE AT JUNIOR\*  
COLLEGE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

<u>Reaction</u>	<u>8th Grade or Less</u>		<u>Post-High School or More</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Urged me to come	48	35.56	154	51.90
In favor of it	63	46.67	130	42.72
Kind of Neutral	11	8.15	16	5.06
Kind of Against it	7	5.19	0	0.00
Very much Against it	2	1.48	1	0.32
No Response	<u>4</u>	<u>2.96</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>
TOTAL	135	100.01	301	100.00

\*A chi square was computed on the basis of categories 1-3.  $\chi^2 = 5.7$   
(.27 less than is necessary for the .05 level of significance.)

Problems encountered by sophomores in junior colleges. An understanding of the kinds of problems perceived by students during their college experience is mandatory for the planning of educational improvements. Students were asked to describe their perceived problems in two ways: (1) They were asked to check any number of perceived problems on a prepared list which we had derived from various instruments and supplemented by staff and consultants. (2) They were asked to freely add any comments related to problems not covered in the first part. The structured section of the questionnaire is analyzed by economic and cultural levels.

Of the ten categories listed in Table 5.A17, only three showed substantial differences between the low and the high economic groups. The high economic group is more disadvantaged with respect to the college course contents than the low group. Approximately 31 percent of the high group complain about irrelevancy of programs. Only 15 percent of the low group made a similar statement. Thirty-nine percent of the high group are unsure of goals and plans as opposed to slightly over 27 percent of the low group. The only problem in

TABLE 5.A17

DISTRIBUTION OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE BY INCOME LEVELS

<u>Type of Problems</u>	<u>More Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Less Than \$4,000</u>	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent*</u>
Irrelevancy of programs and/or classes.	199	30.75	15	15.15
Do not know why I came here.	14	2.16	1	1.01
Difficulties with coursework.	67	10.35	9	9.09
Unsure of my goals and plans.	252	38.94	27	27.27
Personal Problems.	88	13.60	---	---
Don't feel as though I fit in here.	13	2.00	1	1.01
Need more time to study.	114	17.61	25	25.25
Money.	222	34.31	38	38.38
Transportation.	69	10.66	7	7.07
Other.	65	10.04	13	13.13
No Response.	106	16.38	20	20.20

\*Represents a percentage of all respondents to the questionnaire for each category. N = 647 + 99 respectively.

which the low group substantially surpasses the high group is the need for more time to study. Approximately 25 percent of the low income group deplore the time factor as opposed to almost 18 percent of the high income group. The main concern of the high group, according to frequency, is restricted to:

1. Unsure of plans and goals.<sup>4</sup>
2. Money.
3. Irrelevancy of programs and/or classes.
4. Need more time to study.

The same problems are also most frequently mentioned by the low income group in a slightly different order:

1. Money.<sup>5</sup>
2. Unsure of plans and goals.
3. Need more time to study.
4. Irrelevancy of programs and/or classes.

As a whole, the high income group is more critical and demanding than the low income group. For example, almost 14 percent of the high income group mention personal problems interfere with college work. Personal problems are not mentioned by the low group. These observations raise the following questions:

1. Are there two levels of expectations with regard to the services to be rendered by junior colleges?
2. Can the differences in expressive criticisms be attributed to two sub-cultures?
3. Can we assume that a substantial number of disadvantaged students have been weeded out of post-secondary education for lack of expressive skills?

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<sup>4</sup>A chi square was computed for the four variables. The obtained value of 11.19 is significant at less than the .02 level. Cross mentions this point in her summary of research relating to junior colleges. Many junior college students are uncertain of their interests, especially with respect to their plans beyond junior college. For many junior colleges appear to be an escape route not a goal. Some of these aspects may also account for other disorientation features, namely students perceiving programs as being irrelevant. (Cross; 1968: 25, 49-51)

<sup>5</sup>It has been observed that junior college students, to a large degree choose to attend junior colleges because of financial restraints and their corollaries. Financial hardships, therefore, are very close to the every day life experiences of large segments of those students. Again, in this perception of money as one of his most serious problems the metropolitan junior college student is typical of the entire population of junior college students. (Cross; 1968: 22; Glazer, 1968: 75-76)

Using the high and low educational sub-samples for the problem analysis, some of the earlier observations cannot be confirmed. Both groups are quite similar with the exception of their reaction to program relevancy. The high educational group is proportionately more critical of study programs than the low educational group.

Apparently, the educational level of the family head has some impact on student's expectations of his college and/or his ability to verbalize them.

TABLE 5.A18

DISTRIBUTION OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

Type of Problems	8th Grade or Less		Post-High School or More	
	Frequency	Percent*	Frequency	Percent*
Irrelevancy of program and/or classes.	31	28.18	93	36.33
Do not know why I came here.	3	2.73	3	1.17
Difficulties with coursework.	15	13.64	31	12.11
Unsure of my goals and plans.	48	43.64	117	45.70
Personal problems.	15	13.64	43	16.80
Don't feel as though I fit in here.	2	1.82	9	3.52
Need more time to study.	25	22.73	48	18.75
Money.	49	44.55	110	42.97
Transportation	12	10.91	29	11.33
Other.	14	12.73	27	10.55
No Response.	25	18.52	45	14.95

\*Represents a percentage of the total respondents to the questionnaire for each category. N = 135 + 301 respectively.  $\chi^2 = 1.95$  not significant.

The open end description of problems is a further measure of educational needs. Only a small percentage of the returns contained free comments. Twenty-one percent of the high income category gave some indication of having problems above and beyond those laid out in the closed section. About the same percentage of low income students reacted to the open end part.

With less than 25 percent of the total sample answering the open end part of the questions, only the economic criterion were used in the analysis. The open end responses were tallied by categories. Each individual was tallied only once in the category of his main concern. Some of these concerns were repetitious of

TABLE 5.A19

PERCENT OF TOTAL RETURNS

<u>Junior College</u>	<u>Income More Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Total Returns</u>	<u>Responses</u>	
Metropolitan	25	21	22.1
No. Hennepin	140	28	20.0
Lakewood	119	45	37.8
Anoka	153	16	10.5
Normandale	<u>140</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>22.1</u>
TOTAL	647	141	21.8
<u>Junior College</u>	<u>Income Less Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Total Returns</u>	<u>Responses</u>	
Metropolitan	15	7	46.7
No. Hennepin	17	2	11.8
Lakewood	11	4	36.3
Anoka	38	11	28.9
Normandale	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5.6</u>
TOTAL	99	25	25.2

the problems defined in the first part of the question. However, the fact that students felt the need to repeat an already defined problem in their own words makes it more meaningful. Therefore, repetitions were recorded.

TABLE 5.A20

## PROBLEMS

STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN ANNUAL INCOME OF MORE THAN \$4,000

<u>Opinions</u>		<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Tranfer problems.	N	4	5	4	4	5	22
	%	19.0	17.9	8.9	25.0	16.1	15.6
2. Curricular deficiencies scheduling choice, challenge	N	5	5	4	2	5	21
	%	23.9	17.9	8.9	12.5	16.1	14.9
3. Irresponsiveness of counselors particu- larly in matters re- lating to transfer.	N	2	2	7	1	6	18
	%	9.5	7.1	15.6	6.3	19.3	12.8
4. Academic problems	N	4	4	3	1	4	16
	%	14.3	14.3	6.7	6.3	12.9	11.3
5. Impersonal treatment, lack of consideration and atmosphere.	N	2	1	7	--	4	14
	%	9.5	3.6	15.6	--	12.9	9.9
6. Facilities	N	3	--	3	1	3	10
	%	14.3	--	6.7	6.3	9.7	7.1
7. Relevancy of training	N	--	1	1	5	3	10
	%	--	3.6	2.2	31.2	9.7	7.1
8. Lack of Money	N	--	3	3	--	--	6
	%	--	10.7	6.7	--	--	4.2
9. Miscellaneous	N	--	--	1	1	1	3
	%	--	--	2.2	6.3	3.2	2.1
10. Transportation	N	--	1	--	--	--	1
	%	--	3.6	--	--	--	0.7
11. Not Applicable	N	1	6	12	1	--	20
	%	4.8	21.4	26.7	6.3	--	14.2
TOTAL	N	21	28	45	16	31	141
	%	14.9	19.9	31.9	11.3	22.0	100.0

The most frequently mentioned problem in Table 5.A20, relates to transfer of credits. Fifteen percent of the open end comments of the high economic group imply concern in this area. This percentage would have been substantially higher had reactions of students expressing dissatisfaction with transfer-counseling been added. Second in frequency, were problems related to curricular deficiencies such as inflexible scheduling, insufficient curricular choices, and lack of challenge. Fourteen percent of the high economic group complain about one or more aspects of the instructional program. Counseling services are criticized by 12 percent of the high economic group commenting that counselors do not meet student's needs. In this context, needs are largely associated with future plans of the transfer.<sup>6</sup> However, many of the respondents also mention personal and academic problems not met by existing counseling services.

Approximately 11 percent mention academic problems. Very few students concede academic difficulties in the first part of the question. The fourth frequent category of concern is a rather diffused compilation of problems related to feelings of being subjected to an impersonal administrative structure. Of special interest are the 7 percent of students who feel the need to repeat in their own words a concern regarding the irrelevancy of instruction. The low frequencies of responses in the other categories render interpretation fruitless.

Table 5.A22 is added to this commentary for the purpose of visual comparison. The size and spread of the low income group's answers defies generalizations.

Who helps students to solve their problems at college. Compensatory education is provided by an institution in many ways. It may take the shape of a specially designed program or it may be provided by informal services of the instructional and auxiliary

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<sup>6</sup>In this context, concern for transfer should be mentioned in conjunction with the fact that only small percentages of junior college students manage to transfer to four-year colleges. In California only 20 percent of the entering junior college students transfer to four-year institutions. Characteristically, junior college students state their intention to transfer. Naturally, two-thirds of junior college students say they will transfer but actually only one-third does. It seems, then, that the junior college plays the role of a buffer zone between the student and a four-year institution. Apparently metropolitan junior college students are aware of this fact. (Glaezer, 1968: 76) See also Chapter III. In Minnesota, 87.6 percent of junior college sophomores are in transfer programs, 63.8 plan to attend four-year colleges and the University. No figures are available of how many actually materialize their plans. (Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, 1970A: 7)

staff of the institution. The following tables show what sources of help are most noticed by students.

TABLE 5.A21

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES RELATING TO HELP RECEIVED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS BY LEVEL OF INCOME

<u>Help Received From</u>	<u>More Than \$4,000</u>		<u>Less Than \$4,000</u>	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent*</u>
Friend(s)	212	32.76	23	23.23
Faculty Member(s)	185	28.59	18	18.18
Counselor	164	25.34	21	21.21
Administrational Staff	29	4.48	6	6.06
Program offered by the college	20	3.09	6	6.06
Social and/or religious groups on campus	5	0.77	2	2.02
Other	21	3.24	4	4.04
No Response	279	43.12	41	41.41

\*Represents a percentage of total respondents to the questionnaire by each category.

Table 5.A21 shows that the peer group is the most important single factor helping students to solve their problems. Almost 43 percent of the high income group versus approximately 23 percent of the low income group say that they are helped by friends.

The high income group submits its problems to faculty members more frequently than the low income group.<sup>7</sup> Counselors help the low income group more frequently on a proportionate basis than the high income group. Fifty-four percent of the high and 39 percent of the low income group admit being helped by staff members.

Junior colleges apparently have few, if any, programs especially designed to help students to solve individual problems. Social and religious groups on campus play a minor role in this respect. The category "other" comprises family members, employers, etc. They, too, play an insignificant role in helping students to cope with their problems. The large number of respondents who did not answer this particular question is of some interest. The ratio of "no response" within each of the two economic groups is about equal. Approximately 43 percent of the high versus 41 percent of the low income group are included in this category. Some open end comments indicate that many students in this group do not receive any help.

An analysis of a sub-sample divided by levels of education of family heads supports some of the earlier observations. (Table 5.A23). Both high and low educational groups are helped most frequently by peers. The high educational group relies heavily on faculty help. Faculty and peers are the main sources of help of the low group. Counselors remain the third supportive factor of both groups.

High and low groups whether divided by economic or educational levels display similar patterns in seeking help with their problems. However, staff members were more frequently approached by the high group than by the low group.<sup>8</sup> A number of questions arise from these observations:

1. Are the compensatory services provided by junior colleges geared to accommodate the non-deprived student populations more than the deprived?
2. Are potentially deprived students wanting in those communication skills which are essential in order to take

<sup>7</sup>Trent mentions that junior college transfer students ranked junior college instructional services higher than counseling services. As mentioned elsewhere, these are the upper 20 or 30 percent of the entire junior college population. (Trent, 169: 18-19)

<sup>8</sup>Chi-squares computed for Tables 5.A21 and 5.A23 are not statistically significant.

TABLE 5.A22

## PROBLEMS

STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN INCOME OF LESS THAN \$4,000

<u>Opinions</u>		<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	Transfer Problems	N 2	--	3	1	--	6
		%					24.0
2.	Academic Pressures	N --	1	--	4	--	5
		%					20.0
3.	Curriculum deficiencies, scheduling classes	N 1	--	1	1	--	3
		%					12.0
4.	Irresponsiveness of counseling - particu- larly on transfers	N 1	--	--	1	--	2
		%					8.0
5.	Facilities	N --	--	--	1	1	2
		%					8.0
6.	Miscellaneous	N --	--	--	1	--	1
		%					4.0
7.	Lack of Money	N --	--	--	1	--	1
		%					4.0
8.	Transportation	N --	--	--	1	--	1
		%					4.0
9.	Not Applicable	N 3	1	--	--	--	4
		%					16.0
	TOTAL	N 7	2	4	11	1	25
		%	28.0	8.0	16.0	44.0	4.0
							100.0

TABLE 5.A23  
 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES RELATED TO HELP RECEIVED TO SOLVE  
 PROBLEMS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

<u>Help Received From</u>	<u>8th Grade or Less</u>		<u>Post-High School or More</u>	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Friend(s)	39	57.35	96	54.86
Faculty Member(s)	29	42.65	97	55.43
Counselor	28	41.18	76	43.43
Administrative Staff	6	8.82	13	7.43
Program offered by college	5	7.35	9	5.14
Social and/or religious groups on campus	0	0.00	2	1.14
Other	3	4.41	9	5.14
No Response	67	49.63	126	41.86

\*Represents a percentage of total respondents to the questionnaire for each category. N = 135 + 301 respectively.

TABLE 5.A24

## DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES REFLECTING OPINIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY INCOME LEVELS

		More Than \$4,000				Less Than 4,000			
		Don't		No		Don't		No	
		Yes	Know	No	Response	Yes	Know	No	Response
1. I should have entered an area vocational school	N	13	101	510	23	0	9	86	4
	%	2.01	15.61	78.83	3.55	0.00	9.09	86.87	4.04
2. I didn't know what I wanted for a job/career	N	259	73	292	23	28	7	60	4
	%	40.03	11.28	45.13	3.55	28.28	7.07	60.60	4.04
3. I should have started work instead	N	10	55	559	23	0	7	86	6
	%	1.55	8.50	86.40	3.55	0.00	7.07	86.87	6.06
4. I should not have come here	N	25	72	525	25	3	6	87	3
	%	3.86	11.13	81.14	3.86	3.03	6.06	87.88	3.03
5. My coursework will result in a satisfactory job	N	312	240	77	18	55	24	18	2
	%	48.22	37.09	11.90	2.78	55.56	24.24	18.18	2.02
6. The work I will get has no relation to my coursework here	N	34	174	412	27	7	11	76	5
	%	5.26	26.89	63.68	4.17	7.07	11.11	76.77	5.05
7. I want to transfer but my grades are not good enough	N	70	104	452	21	4	12	79	4
	%	10.82	16.07	69.86	3.25	4.04	12.12	79.80	4.04
8. I want to transfer but have money problems	N	184	52	389	22	35	8	53	3
	%	28.44	8.04	60.12	3.40	35.36	8.08	53.53	3.03
9. I want to transfer but have transportation problems	N	57	36	530	24	12	6	78	3
	%	8.81	5.56	81.92	3.71	12.12	6.06	78.79	3.03
10. I am going to enter a vocational training program when I leave here	N	17	70	535	25	0	8	87	4
	%	2.63	10.82	82.69	3.86	0.00	8.08	87.88	4.04

advantage of compensatory education?

3. Have earlier weeding processes sieved out disadvantaged students who need compensatory education?
4. What is the potential of assistance given to the low groups?

Evaluative reflections of the students about college experiences.  
Students were asked to react to ten evaluative statements with respect to their college experiences and future plans. Reactions were recorded in three categories--positive, neutral and negative.

A comparison of the answers tabulated by income levels in Table 5.A24, leads to the following observations:

1. The low income group as a whole seems to be more goal oriented than the high income group. As a result, they resort less frequently than the high group to neutral responses.

2. The low income group has a larger percentage of students who have come to college with a predetermined goal. Slightly over 28 percent responded positively to the statement, "I didn't know what I wanted for a job or a career", as opposed to 40 percent of the high income group. Consequently, more of the low income group students responded negatively to the statement, "I should have entered an area vocational school". The low income group also has a higher ratio of negative reactions to the statement, "I should not have come here" than the high income group, 88 percent and 81 percent respectively.

3. In terms of projections, the low income group is more positive with respect to the future outcomes of its college experiences. Approximately 56 percent believe that college work will result in a satisfactory job. Only 48 percent of the high income group students concur with this statement. Seventy-seven percent of the low income group respond negatively to the statement "The work I will get has no relation to my course work here," as opposed to almost 64 percent of the high income group respectively.

4. The low income group is more positive than the high income group with respect to achievement in college. Approximately 80 percent react negatively to the statement "I want to transfer but my grades are not good enough" as opposed to almost 70 percent of the high income group.

5. As may be expected, the low income group is more apprehensive<sup>9</sup> about the future for material reasons. Thirty-five percent anticipate transfer difficulties because of money. Only 28 percent of the high income group express a concern about this matter.

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<sup>9</sup>The economic plight of junior college transfer students in four year colleges is one of the major findings of a national study, From Junior to Senior College: A National Study of the Student. (Knoell and Merdske, 1965: 9)

TABLE 5.A25

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES REFLECTING OPINIONS OF RESPONDENTS  
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN WAGE EARNER

		8th Grade or Less				Post-High School or More				
		Don't		No		Don't		No		
		Yes	Know	No	Response	Yes	Know	No	Response	
1.	I should have entered an area vocational school	N	1	16	110	8	6	45	240	11
		%	0.74	11.85	81.48	5.93	1.99	14.95	79.73	3.65
2.	I didn't know what I wanted for a job/career	N	46	16	67	6	109	35	146	12
		%	34.07	11.85	49.63	4.44	36.21	11.63	48.50	3.99
3.	I should have started work instead	N	1	9	119	6	3	22	266	10
		%	0.74	6.67	88.15	4.44	1.00	7.31	88.37	3.32
4.	I should not have come here	N	3	8	117	7	11	38	242	10
		%	2.22	5.93	86.67	5.19	3.65	12.62	80.40	3.32
5.	My coursework will result in a satisfactory job	N	72	44	13	6	139	114	41	7
		%	53.33	32.59	9.63	4.44	46.18	37.87	13.62	2.33
6.	The work I will get has no relation to my coursework here	N	9	38	80	8	17	79	193	12
		%	6.67	28.15	59.26	5.93	5.65	26.26	64.12	3.99
7.	I want to transfer but my grades are not good enough	N	10	25	94	6	33	47	212	9
		%	7.41	18.52	69.63	4.44	10.96	15.61	70.43	2.99
8.	I want to transfer but have money problems	N	39	9	82	8	83	35	176	7
		%	26.67	6.67	60.74	5.93	27.57	11.63	58.47	2.33
9.	I want to transfer but have transportation problems	N	2	16	113	4	9	35	245	12
		%	1.48	11.85	83.70	2.96	2.99	11.63	81.40	3.99
10.	I am going to enter a vocational training program when I leave here	N	22	4	103	6	24	23	245	9
		%	16.30	2.96	76.30	4.44	7.97	7.64	81.40	2.99

TABLE 5.A26

WHAT COULD THE COLLEGE DO IN ORDER TO HELP YOU WITH ANY OF YOUR PROBLEMS?  
 (STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN INCOME OF \$4,000 OR MORE)  
 PERCENT OF TOTAL RETURNS

	<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total Returns	95	140	119	153	140	647
Total Responses	51	73	44	67	60	295
Percent	53.7	52.1	37.0	43.8	42.9	45.6
No. Responses (excluding No. 4)	46	63	38	58	60	265
Percent of Critical Response	48.4	45.0	31.0	41.0	45.6	41.0

TABLE 5.A27

WHAT COULD THE COLLEGE DO IN ORDER TO HELP YOU WITH ANY OF YOUR PROBLEMS?  
 (STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN INCOME OF LESS THAN \$4,000)  
 PERCENT OF TOTAL RETURNS

	<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total Returns	15	17	11	38	18	99
Total Responses	12	6	4	21	6	49
Percent	80.0	35.3	36.4	55.2	33.3	49.5
No. Responses (excluding No. 4)	10	5	3	20	6	44
Percent of Critical Response	67.7	29.4	27.3	52.6	33.3	44.4

Some of the recent observations in Table 5.A25 are confirmed by an analysis of the data by educational levels of family heads. Although the discrepancies between high and low groups are not as pronounced in this comparison as before, the low educational group is still more goal oriented than the high group. The low educational group has a higher ratio of students responding negatively to questions 4 and 5. An additional observation brought out by this analysis, is that plans for vocational training are much more predominant in the low than in the high educational group. Approximately 16 percent of the low versus 7 percent of the high educational group express a desire to enter a vocational training program after leaving junior college.

Student expectations from college. Students were requested to comment freely on the question, "What could the college provide in order to help you with any of your problems?" Answers were categorized and tallied by family income. Only the main response was recorded. Thus, the number of responses in the tally equals the number of students as shown in Tables 5.A26 and 5.A27.

Three hundred forty-four students out of 746 answered the questionnaire. (Students apparently preferred to project their needs in terms of proposed institutional improvements than in a more personal form, as had been requested before). Three hundred and nine critical responses were identified of which 34 percent came from the low income group and 41 percent from the high income group. The metropolitan institution has a larger percentage of critical responses<sup>10</sup> in both the high and low income groups than any other college.

Ten major areas of concern are identified on Table 5.A28 and Table 5.A29:

1. Counseling Services: Comments such as having counselors with know-how about transfer systems, counselors paying enough individual attention, counselors with the ability to communicate with a student in a meaningful manner and counselors with enough time and interest to deal with students' problems are included in this category.
2. Flexibility of curricular choices and time schedules: Students desire a greater freedom of choice. Programs are perceived as being inflexible and partly irrelevant to expectations. Many students express concern about the rigor of scheduling; classes interfere with employment and other vital obligations.
3. Financial aid: The need for arrangements to alleviate financial burdens plays a significant role in students' recommendations. A substantial part of the remarks is aimed at high tuition fees, high cost of books, parking fees, etc.
4. Facilitation of transfer: A number of students propose to regulate transfer from junior colleges to other institutions of higher learning. Presently, the policies of transfer are

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<sup>10</sup>A critical response is a response which entails a recommended improvement.

TABLE 5.A28

WHAT COULD THE COLLEGE DO IN ORDER TO HELP YOU WITH ANY OF YOUR PROBLEMS?  
(STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN INCOME OF \$4,000 OR MORE)

<u>Opinions</u>		<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	Improvement of Counseling Services	N 11 % 21.0	13 17.8	5 11.3	15 22.4	21 35.0	65 22.0
2.	Increase Option - more flexible scheduling	N 11 % 21.0	11 15.0	5 11.3	10 14.9	10 16.7	47 15.9
3.	Financial aid (fees, book costs, etc.)	N 8 % 18.7	8 10.9	6 13.6	8 11.9	11 18.3	41 13.9
4.	Nothing or supportive of existing situation	N 5 % 9.8	10 13.7	6 13.6	9 13.4	--	30 10.2
5.	Articulation of transfer.	N 3 % 5.9	3 6.1	5 11.3	4 6.0	8 13.3	23 7.8
6.	Humane and individual consideration	N -- % --	4 5.5	2 4.5	9 13.4	5 8.3	20 6.8
7.	Facilities	N 2 % 3.9	2 2.7	3 6.8	3 4.5	2 3.3	12 4.1
8.	Academic facilitation	N 1 % 2.0	3 4.1	4 9.1	1 1.5	1 --	10 3.6
9.	Vocational guidance	N 4 % 7.8	2 2.7	1 2.3	2 3.0	--	9 3.0
10.	Transportation	N -- % --	1 1.4	1 2.3	2 3.0	--	4 1.4
11.	Need social worker and psychologist	N -- % --	1 1.4	--	1 1.5	1 1.7	3 1.0
12.	Not applicable	N -- % --	15 20.5	5 11.3	3 4.5	--	29 9.8
13.	Miscellaneous	N 6 % 11.8	--	1 2.3	--	1 1.7	8 2.7
TOTAL		N 51 % 17.3	73 24.8	44 14.9	67 22.7	60 20.3	295 100

TABLE 5.A29

WHAT COULD THE COLLEGE DO IN ORDER TO HELP YOU WITH ANY OF YOUR PROBLEMS?  
(STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES HAD AN INCOME OF LESS THAN \$4,000)

<u>Opinions</u>		<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Financial aid (fees, book costs, etc)	N	2	1	1	5	3	12
	%						24.5
2. Improvement of counseling service	N	1	1	--	3	2	7
	%						14.3
3. Increase option - more flexible schedule	N	3	1	--	2	1	7
	%						14.3
4. Nothing or supportive of existing situation	N	2	1	1	1	--	5
	%						10.2
5. Articulation of transfer	N	1	--	1	1	--	3
	%						6.1
6. Facilities	N	1	1	--	1	--	3
	%						6.1
7. Academic Facilitation	N	1	--	--	2	--	3
	%						6.1
8. Humane & individual consideration	N	1	1	--	--	1	3
	%						6.1
9. Miscellaneous	N	--	--	1	1	--	2
	%						4.1
10. Transportation	N	--	--	--	2	--	2
	%						4.1
TOTAL	N	12	6	4	21	6	49
	%	24.5	12.2	8.2	42.9	12.2	100.0

perceived as inconsistent and stifling. This particular demand permeates other parts of students' recommendations and therefore, carries more weight than is shown in the tables.

5. Humane and individual considerations. This category includes suggestions to improve communication patterns within the college. Students suggest that more flexible relationships between the administration, student body, and faculty be established.

Comments on the last seven items were diffused and restricted to a relatively few students. Of interest is the observation that only very few proposed any improvement of physical facilities. A significant number of students in both groups express satisfaction with present conditions.

The similarities between the high and low groups are striking. Most comments in either group are restricted to the same four categories. As can be expected, recommendations with respect to financial aid took precedence in the low income group, but the frequency of suggestions in the other three priority areas follow similar patterns in both groups.

Similarities of students' expectations are also apparent within the groups. Recommendations of the high economic group compared by college follow similar patterns.<sup>11</sup> In other words, a homogeneity of expectations can be detected regardless of the college attended.

The sparsity and diffuseness of the low group recommendations do not allow for statistical comparisons. However, there are no indications that the low group, if it were represented by larger numbers, would have differed from the high group in recommendation patterns. The assumption that metropolitan junior college sophomores regardless of economic status or college of attendance present a homogeneous set of expectations is more than an intelligent guess.

Influence of financial problems on study completion. Financial problems have come to the foreground in many parts of the questionnaire. However, the last item provides some concrete answers about

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<sup>11</sup>The high economic group was compared on the four most frequently mentioned categories (counseling, financial aid, options and supportive comments.) The chi-square was not significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 5.A30

HAVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CAUSED A DELAY IN THE  
COMPLETION OF YOUR PROGRAM OF STUDIES

BY INCOME LEVEL				
<u>Responses</u>	<u>Annual Income of \$4,000 or More</u>		<u>Annual Income of \$4,000 or Less</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	133	20.57	38	38.39
No	503	77.74	55	55.56
No Response	11	1.70	6	6.06
TOTAL	647	100.00	99	100.00

BY FAMILY HEAD EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND				
<u>Responses</u>	<u>8 Years or Less</u>		<u>Some College or More</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	39	28.88	52	17.27
No	90	66.66	241	80.06
No Response	6	4.44	8	2.68
TOTAL	301	100.00	135	100.00

the real significance of the economic aspect.

Table 5.A30 shows that 133 of the high income students (20.57 percent) testify to the effect that their studies have been prolonged for economic reasons. Approximately 38 percent of the low income students say the same. An analysis of a sub-sample divided by educational levels of family head reveals that almost 29 percent of the low educational group versus approximately 17 percent of the high educational group have prolonged their studies for financial reasons. In light of the relative unimaginativeness of students' responses embedded in a tendency to resort to cliches, it seems that the economic factor can be identified as the most powerful single variable to produce educationally undesirable results.

Metropolitan junior college sophomores do not differ in achievement aspirations and in some other attitudinal aspects from what may be expected of the typical college student. From this point of view, it may be suspected that the typical inner-city disadvantaged student does not become a metropolitan junior college sophomore. An analysis of the student body by high school of origin supports this assertion.

Origin of students by high school. To gain additional insight with regard to students' background, the sample was broken down by the feeder high schools. A student's socioeconomic and cultural status is not stigmatized by his school. However, in the Twin Cities, as in other urban environments, disadvantaged students are more concentrated in some schools than in others. A disproportionate representation of certain city school graduates at the junior college sophomore level supports the claim that disadvantaged students are insufficiently served by this type of institution.

A total of 782 students were categorized by high school of graduation as shown on Table 5.A31. This number exceeds, by 36, the total number of students used in earlier analyses. The additional number came from questionnaires which were not used for other purposes. High schools were divided into 13 categories. Category Number 1 consists of inner-city schools which have a relatively high ratio of deprived students. Category 2 consists of other Twin Cities public high schools which are educational institutions serving typical middle and upper class communities. A third category is defined as city private and parochial schools. It was assumed that private and parochial schools would not have a significant number of deprived students. Other categories consist of schools serving Hennepin and Ramsey suburbs, Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Scott and Washington counties. Out of state schools and schools outside the metropolitan area are the last of the 13 categories.

TABLE 5.A31

## ORIGIN OF STUDENTS

		<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>No. Hennipen</u>	<u>Lakewood</u>	<u>Anoka</u>	<u>Normandale</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Inner-City Schools	N	19	11	7	13	4	54
	%	16.81	6.87	4.82	6.56	2.40	6.90
2. Other Twin City Public Schools	N	26	14	20	7	18	85
	%	23.00	8.75	13.79	3.53	10.84	10.86
3. Twin City Private and Parochial Schools	N	15	5	18	16	6	60
	%	13.27	3.12	12.41	8.08	3.61	7.17
4. Anoka County	N	1	3	2	53	0	59
	%	.88	1.87	1.37	26.76	.00	7.54
5. Carver County	N	3	1	0	0	1	5
	%	2.65	.62	.00	.00	.60	.63
6. Dakota County	N	5	1	6	3	21	36
	%	4.42	.62	4.13	1.51	12.65	4.60
7. Ramsey Suburban	N	0	0	54	37	3	94
	%	.00	.00	37.54	18.68	1.80	12.02
8. Hennepin Suburban	N	20	93	2	15	89	219
	%	17.69	58.12	1.37	7.57	53.61	28.00
9. Scott County	N	0	0	0	0	3	3
	%	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.80	.38
10. Washington County	N	0	0	14	4	0	18
	%	.00	.00	9.65	2.02	.00	2.30
11. Outside Metro. Area	N	12	19	9	33	11	84
	%	10.61	11.87	6.20	16.66	6.62	10.74
12. Out of State	N	11	11	10	12	10	54
	%	9.73	6.87	6.09	6.06	6.02	6.90
13. No Response	N	1	2	0	0	0	3
	%	.88	1.25	.00	.00	.00	.38
Total	N	113	160	145	198	166	782
	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Slightly over 6 percent of the metropolitan junior college sophomore came from schools serving large portions of deprived students. The so called inner-cities schools of Minneapolis and St. Paul serve a much broader social class than the typical inner-city school. Considering, then, the disproportionate representation of these schools at the junior college sophomore level, it is likely that most of the 54 identified inner-city high school graduates are not disadvantaged students.

Most of the Twin Cities junior college sophomores have graduated from schools located in typical middle and upper class communities. There are also more city private and parochial high school graduates among the junior college sophomores than there are inner-city high school graduates. Table 5.A31 also supports observations made elsewhere that an institution of higher learning attracts students who live in the same geographic area. Thus, four out of the five junior colleges being located in either the suburbs of Ramsey and Hennepin county, or close by, draw most heavily from suburban high schools.

Combining the feeder schools into five categories by location, sophomores' residence is represented at the metropolitan junior colleges in the following rank order:

1. Suburban schools of Ramsey and Hennepin counties.
2. Schools located in the five counties adjacent to Hennepin and Ramsey.
3. Minneapolis and St. Paul "non-inner-city" schools.<sup>12</sup>
4. Twin Cities private and parochial schools.<sup>12</sup>
- 5.5 Inner-City Schools.
- 5.5 Out-of-state schools.

The sample includes as many out of state as inner-city high school graduates.

#### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

An analysis of the sample revealed that only a very small number of sophomores meet financial and educational background standards which are customarily attributed to disadvantaged student populations. Results also imply that levels of income and education of family head are related to one another.

Junior college sophomores depend on more than one source of income. Most students in the sample used family and gainful employment as their major financial support. Apparently, public financial

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<sup>12</sup>The principle of students preferring an institution located in their residential area applies also to Metropolitan College which apparently draws more heavily upon inner-city high school graduates than any other

sources are more readily available to the low income group which has a smaller ratio of individuals engaged in gainful employment than the high income group.

Families of junior college sophomores are usually supportive of college attendance. It appears, however, that to a degree, the expressiveness of that support is more intense in the high educational and economic groups.

There is a unanimity of opinions among sophomores with regard to problems encountered in junior colleges. Most of these problems pertain to disorientation, lack of study time and relevancy of programs. The low economic and educational groups are more goal oriented than the high groups of the same type. In addition, students express dissatisfaction with transfer practices, counseling service and curricular choices.

The peer group plays a most significant role in helping students to solve their problems. Many students, particularly in the high educational groups, are being helped by faculty members. Counselors are proportionately more readily available to the low economic group--apparently in connection with problems related to economic difficulties. Of interest is the large majority of students who have not indicated whether help is being extended to them.

Favorable attitudes with respect to students' reactions to college experience are implied by the responses to the questionnaire's ten statements. However, differences in favor of the low groups on items related to goal orientation and expectation of academic and professional success are noteworthy.

Students wish to see improvements in counseling, curriculum, financial assistance, articulation of transfer and the realm of humane consideration. A significant likeness, permeating through all financial groups across metropolitan colleges, comes to light in the analysis of students' recommendations.

Many students claim that they have lost time because of financial difficulties. Over one third of the low income students testified

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college. Approximately 17 percent of that college's sample have graduated from inner-city high schools. Slightly over 36 percent have graduated from schools within the Twin Cities area. Further investigation is required in order to draw conclusions on the basis of these observations. However, even an exploratory analysis of this type shows the potential importance of geographic location with respect to the expansion of educational opportunities.

that they have been thus hit by money problems.

The sample included a surprisingly small percentage of inner-city school graduates. From this point of view alone, there is reason to believe that metropolitan junior colleges hardly play a significant role in providing educational opportunities for disadvantaged students. This belief is reinforced by the rather homogeneous student reactions to other parts of the questionnaire. The sophomores included in the sample apparently constitute a group of young people who are quite similar in the way they define their problems and expectations.

## B. THE INSTITUTIONS

This section pertains to the institutional phase of the study. The two primary aspects considered are the status of available programs for the disadvantaged and the availability of space for the expansion of programs. In addition, an attempt was made to determine the status of various programs for the disadvantaged offered by educational agencies other than formalized post-secondary institutions.

### Survey of the Formal Programs

The institutions involved in the survey were primarily the public and private institutions in the seven-county Metropolitan area. State colleges were also included because a sizeable portion of their students come from the Metropolitan area. Two private colleges outside the seven-county area were included as five hundred or more of their students come from Hennepin and Ramsey Counties.

Questionnaires were mailed to thirty-two post-secondary institutions and completed questionnaires or letters were received from each. Fifteen of the thirty-two institutions indicated they had some type of program to serve disadvantaged students. However, it should be noted that five of the questionnaires went to institutions which by nature or definition address themselves to a specific clientele. In the Metropolitan area only nine of the nineteen surveyed had programs for the disadvantaged. A summary of the questionnaires sent and returned, as well as the reasons given by those who did not complete the questionnaire, is presented in Table 5.B1.

Information not readily available. Data pertaining to the number of students receiving financial aid, compensatory aid, or both, were universally deficient. When any data at all were provided, they usually pertained to financial aid. It is understandable that institutions do not ordinarily compile data in the

TABLE 5.B1

SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS TO THE  
INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Type of Institutions Distribution	State Coll.	Univ. of Minn.	Area Voc. Tech. Schls.	Jr. Coll.	Priv. Coll.	Total
Number sent	6	1	3	5	17	32
Number of respondents	6	1	3	4	5	19
Number of respondents with programs for disadvantaged	4	1	3	3	4	13
Reasons for non-respondents						
1. No programs for disadvantaged					3	3
2. Does not apply - professional school					1	1
3. Does not apply - religious institution					4	4
4. No specific reason					3	3
5. Not returned at time of tabulation					1	1
6. Not enough time to complete questionnaire				1		1

form requested because they have not been needed in the past. However, with the increased emphasis upon meeting the needs of the disadvantaged, data of this nature may become more relevant. A brief explanation of the three categories used may be helpful at this point. Basically, there are three types of students who need assistance at the post-secondary level. First, there is the student who is able to do the academic work but lacks the financial means to attend. Second, there is the student who has the financial means but needs educational assistance or compensatory aid to be successful. The third type of student might be considered the hard-core disadvantaged student, who needs both financial and compensatory aid to succeed. In the past we have primarily dealt with the needs of the first and second types of students.

Data were not available pertaining to the number of program completions or graduations of students who had received financial aid, compensatory aid, or both. Part of this lack of data may be attributed to the recency of many programs. If any future assessment or evaluation of the effectiveness of assistance given to students is to be made, all institutions need to record how many actually completed a program or graduated.

Data which would indicate the extent to which students from depressed areas were being served are lacking. Information about the location of family residence of students was desired by the study team in order to determine the extent to which students from disadvantaged urban areas were being served by the various institutions. Since we found residence of students very difficult to obtain, we requested the address or name of the high school as the next best indicator of whether or not a student came from a depressed area. Data were reported on the number of students from the different urban high schools, but nearly all of the institutions were unable to separate the information into the categories who received financial aid, compensatory aid, or both. Without this breakdown the study team was not able to estimate the distribution of students who might be termed "potentially" disadvantaged. Data of this nature would also be useful in assessing the effectiveness of recruitment procedures by post-secondary institutions.

This lack of readily available information strongly indicates the need for some systematic means of collecting pertinent information for over-all and long range planning which is necessary if we want to provide adequate programs for the disadvantaged. In addition, the lack of historical data mitigates against any attempt to determine what trends, if any, may be operating. Without such basic data it is difficult to determine accurately whether or not education for the disadvantaged is effective.

## Results of the Survey

Any generalization of the results of this survey must be tempered with cautious analysis because of the uniqueness of the various institutions and programs. Data were not always directly comparable among institutions; therefore, in the discussion which follows only broad descriptions will be offered.

Types of programs. The programs offered by the institutions were divided by the project staff into three categories: (1) programs which are part of the normal operation of the institution; (2) programs which are specifically designed to meet the needs of disadvantaged students and (3) programs which are designed for the disadvantaged as a community service. The nature of the questionnaire allowed the institutions to determine whether a program should be placed in categories one or two. Upon examination of the responses, it became apparent to the project staff that a number of the programs classified as Special, or category two programs, were actually supplemental in nature and should more appropriately be placed in a separate category. Therefore, programs which were pre-college, pre-vocational, or for adults as a part of extension services were placed in category three.

Thirteen programs offered by 11 institutions were categorized as Normal programs and 12 programs offered by ten institutions were placed in the Special category. When considered jointly, there were 15 institutions providing 25 programs for disadvantaged students. The distribution of services provided by Normal and Special programs are presented in Tables 5.B2 and 5.B3 respectively. The number of services provided ranged from tutoring and counseling only by one institution to 18 services offered by another. The tabulation of services by type of program is presented in Appendix D.

Comparison of Normal and Special programs. Rather than attempting to compare the programs offered by different institutions, it was decided that more meaningful information could be obtained by tabulating each service offered by Normal and Special programs across institutions to determine commonalities among programs. The study team considered those services which were offered by two-thirds or more of the Normal or Special programs as having "high commonality." Services which were offered by 39.0 per cent of the Normal programs and 42.0 per cent of the Special programs were considered to exhibit "low commonality." Different percentages were used for "low commonality" because the total number of programs differed for the two types; thus, different percentage increments were involved. A comparison was then made between Normal and Special programs regarding the commonalities within each type of program.

TABLE 5.B2

DISTRIBUTION OF COMPENSATORY ACTIVITIES PROVIDED  
DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS IN THE NORMAL  
OPERATION OF INSTITUTIONS

Types of Activity	Number	Percent
Regular tutoring	11	84.6
Remedial classes meeting regularly	5	38.5
Programmed instruction	4	30.8
Referral to supplemental courses	9	69.2
Team teaching	5	38.5
Slowed down courses	3	23.1
Diagnosis of learning disabilities	9	69.2
Computer assisted instruction	0	0.0
Learning center	5	38.5
Tracking or special curriculum	6	46.2
Minority studies program	3	23.1
Special orientation program	7	53.8
How to study program	7	53.8
Block plan	0	0.0
Vocationally oriented remedial courses	4	30.8
Adaptation of regular curriculum	7	53.8
Work credit program	4	30.8
Sensitivity training programs	3	23.1
Upward Bound program	0	0.0
Special facilities for minority students	3	23.1
Career selection courses	4	30.8
Flexible evaluation strategy for achievement	5	38.5
Programs focusing on marketable skills	6	46.2
Personal counseling	12	92.3
Other	3	23.1

Thirteen programs offered by eleven institutions.

TABLE 5.B3

DISTRIBUTION OF COMPENSATORY ACTIVITIES PROVIDED DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS IN SPECIAL PROGRAMS IN INSTITUTIONS

Types of Activity	Number	Percent
Regular tutoring	9	75.0
Remedial classes meeting regularly	8	66.7
Programmed instruction	5	41.7
Referral to existing supplemental courses	7	58.3
Team teaching	3	25.0
Slowed down courses	4	33.3
Diagnosis of learning disabilities	7	58.3
Computer assisted instruction	0	0.0
Learning centers	6	50.0
Tracking or special curriculum	5	41.7
Minority studies program	3	25.0
Special orientation program	10	83.3
How to study program	7	58.3
Block plan	1	8.3
Vocationally oriented remedial courses	3	25.0
Adaptation of regular curriculum	6	50.0
Work credit program	2	16.7
Sensitivity training programs	3	25.0
Upward Bound program	1	8.3
Special facilities for minority students	5	41.7
Career selection courses	4	33.3
Flexible evaluation strategies for achievement	2	16.7
Programs focusing on marketable skills	4	33.3
Personal counseling	11	91.7
Other	2	16.7
Twelve programs offered by ten institutions		

There appeared to be little difference in the services provided by the Normal and Special programs. The two major differences were that Special programs placed a greater emphasis upon remedial classes meeting regularly and special orientation courses. The instrument employed to solicit the data for Normal and Special programs contained a list of 25 services which might have been provided plus a provision for additional services not listed. Among the 25 Normal and Special programs there were only six services which were provided by two-thirds or more of the programs. An inspection of Table 5.B4 reveals that the greatest relative differences were 29.5 per cent and 28.2 per cent for special orientation courses and remedial classes respectively.

TABLE 5.B4

COMPARISON OF NORMAL AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS WITH HIGH-COMMONALITY SERVICES (IN PER CENTS)

	Normal	Special	Difference (Normal-Special)
Personal counseling	92.3	91.7	+ .6
Regular tutoring	84.6	75.0	+ 9.6
Referral to existing supplemental courses	69.2	58.3	+ 10.9
Diagnosis of learning disabilities	69.2	58.3	+ 10.9
Special orientation courses	53.8	83.3	- 29.5
Remedial classes meeting regularly	38.5	66.7	- 28.2

When two types of programs were compared on low commonality of services, little difference was found. Normal programs had 12 services which were offered by 39.0 per cent or less of the institutions while 13 services were indicated by 42.0 per cent or less of the Special programs. When the two lists were combined for comparison, the new list was extended only to 15, as presented in Table 5.B5, which indicates a large degree of similarity.

The numbers involved were quite small; therefore, any generalization must be very tentative. When the relative differences are considered, only three exhibit any degree of magnitude. One of these, remedial classes meeting regularly, has a high commonality for Special programs and a low commonality for Normal programs. The other two are flexible evaluation and special facilities for minority students. Flexible evaluation was provided less often by Special programs than by Normal programs, and special facilities for minority students were provided more often by Special programs than by Normal programs. The data in Tables 5.B4 and 5.B5 indicate that not only do Normal and Special programs tend to be similar in the services that are offered, there is also a tendency to be similar in what is not provided.

TABLE 5.B5

COMPARISON OF NORMAL AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS WITH  
LOW COMMONALITY OF SERVICES (IN PER CENTS)

	Normal	Special	Difference (Normal-Special)
Remedial classes meeting regularly	38.5	66.7	- 28.2
Work credit courses	30.8	17.0	+ 13.8
Career selection courses	30.8	33.3	- 2.5
Flexible evaluation	38.5	17.0	+ 21.5
Programmed instruction	30.8	41.7	- 10.9
Slowed down courses	23.1	33.3	- 10.2
Minority studies program	23.1	25.0	- 1.9
Vocationally oriented remedial courses	30.8	25.0	+ 5.8
Special facilities for minority students	23.1	41.7	- 18.6
Sensitivity training programs	23.1	25.0	- 1.9
Tracking or special curriculum	46.2	41.7	+ 4.5
Program focusing on marketable skills	46.2	33.3	+ 12.9
Team teaching	38.5	25.0	+ 13.5
Block plan	0.0	8.3	- 8.3
Learning center	38.5	50.0	- 11.5

Community service programs. There were seven programs operated by four institutions which were categorized as "Community Services." These programs included Upward Bound, Talent Search, extension classes and pre-vocational classes. The distribution of the services among the various programs is presented in Table 5.B6. From this table, we

TABLE 5.B6

DISTRIBUTION OF COMPENSATORY ACTIVITIES PROVIDED FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS AS COMMUNITY SERVICE

Type of Activity	Number	Per Cent
Regular tutoring	3	42.9
Remedial classes meeting regularly	4	57.1
Programmed instruction	3	42.9
Referral to existing supplemental courses	5	71.4
Team teaching	3	42.9
Slowed down courses	1	14.3
Diagnosis of learning disabilities	3	42.9
Computer assisted instruction	1	14.3
Learning centers	2	28.6
Tracking or special curriculum	3	42.9
Minority studies programs	4	57.1
Special orientation program	5	71.4
How to study program	5	71.4
Block plan	0	0.0
Vocationally oriented remedial courses	2	28.6
Adaptation of regular curriculum	3	42.9
Work credit program	2	28.6
Sensitivity training program	1	14.3
Upward Bound program	4	57.1
Special facilities for minority students	2	28.6
Career selection courses	2	28.6
Flexible evaluation strategies for achievement	3	42.9
Programs focusing on marketable skills	2	28.6
Personal counseling	6	85.7
Other	1	14.3
Seven programs offered by four institutions		

find that the services provided by 70.0 per cent or more of the programs were (1) personal counseling, (2) referral to existing supplemental courses, (3) special orientation programs, and (4) how to study programs. The tabulation of the data for "Community Services" is presented in Appendix D.

Past and present enrollment of disadvantaged students. Any interpretation of the data pertaining to the past and present enrollment of disadvantaged students must again be tempered by caution. Sufficient data were not available to determine whether any definite trends were suggested. Differences in philosophies of education must also be considered; for instance, the area vocational schools have an open-door policy which will not usually be found in the private sector. In addition, the nature of the courses offered by institutions may attract more males than females. In the following two sections only enrollment in Normal and Special programs will be considered to provide additional insight into the status of programs for the disadvantaged.

Enrollment in Normal programs. Only three types of institutions provided data pertaining to Normal programs: (1) State Colleges; (2) the University of Minnesota; and (3) Area Vocational-Technical Schools. In the following discussions, the data and percentages used refer to that segment of the student body which was considered disadvantaged by the responding institutions. Past enrollment, or students previously served, refers to the number of students enrolled from the beginning of a program but not those presently enrolled. Since the length of time the different programs have been operating varies, only the relative percentages have been utilized. References to present enrollment apply to those enrolled at the time of the survey. The data in Table 5.B7 indicate that Area Vocational-Technical Schools enrolled approximately 67.0 per cent of the disadvantaged students in the past and presently enroll 56.0 per cent. There is an apparent difference between Area Vocational-Technical Schools and the University when the sex of students is considered. Past enrollment of male students indicates that approximately 88.0 per cent were enrolled in Area Vocational-Technical Schools. Approximately 51.0 per cent of the female enrollments in the past were in programs at the University. When present enrollment is considered, the same pattern is observed, but there is an increase in male enrollment at the University from 6.4 per cent in the past to 20.4 per cent at present. There is also some indication that the University is serving the needs of minority students more, with the increase from 47.3 per cent in the past to 63.5 per cent at present. This increase in per cent of minority students served by the University is a reflection of the increase in enrollment of male minority students from 24.2 per cent in the past to 54.8 per cent at the present. When the data, as reported by the institutions, are summarized without reference to minority status it would appear that the male disadvantaged student finds an outlet in

TABLE 5.B7

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT OF DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS  
IN NORMAL PROGRAMS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	State Colleges	Univ. of Minn.	Area Voc.-Tech. Schools	Total Number
	%	%	%	
Disadvantaged Served Previously:				
Male	6.0	6.4	87.5	1,354
Female	11.8	50.9	37.3	965
Total	8.5	24.9	66.6	2,319
Minority Disadvantaged Served Previously:				
Male	4.9	24.2	70.5	244
Female	4.3	62.5	33.2	371
Total	4.7	47.3	48.0	615
Disadvantaged Presently Enrolled:				
Male	7.3	20.4	72.5	852
Female	6.5	56.6	34.8	689
Total	6.9	37.5	55.5	1,541
Minority Disadvantaged Presently Enrolled:				
Male	8.4	54.8	36.7	226
Female	5.7	70.8	23.5	264
Total	6.9	63.5	29.6	490

the Area Vocational-Technical Schools while the female utilizes the University. Additional data are presented in Appendix D.

Enrollment in Special programs. Private colleges, in addition to the three types of institutions reporting Normal programs, also reported data on students enrolled in Special programs. Data for this section are presented in Table 5.B8. Past and present enrollment in Area Vocational-Technical Schools were reported to be 81.7 per cent and 68.7 per cent of the total number of students respectively. The percentage of the total male and female students enrolled in Area Vocational-Technical Schools was 85.7 per cent and 75.3 per cent respectively for past enrol

ment. Present enrollment of male and female students was 75.1 and 56.4 per cent of the total number of students respectively. The increased interest of private colleges in serving the needs of disadvantaged students, and minority disadvantaged in particular, is also reflected in the data. Past enrollment in the private sector accounted for only 1.8 per cent of the data reported, but present enrollment increased to 21.1 per cent. When the data pertaining to minority

TABLE 5.B8

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT OF DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS  
IN SPECIAL PROGRAMS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	State Colleges	Univ. of Minn.	Area Voc.-Tech. Schools	Private Colleges	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	
Disadvantaged Served Previously:					
Male	2.3	10.9	85.7	1.1	1,348
Female	2.3	19.4	75.3	3.0	826
Total	2.3	14.1	81.7	1.8	2,174
Minority Disadvantaged Served Previously:					
Male	7.0	21.1	68.4	3.4	440
Female	5.3	22.5	44.4	27.8	356
Total	6.3	21.7	57.7	14.3	796
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>					
Disadvantaged Presently Enrolled:					
Male	6.2	3.7	75.1	15.1	437
Female	7.6	3.1	56.4	32.9	225
Total	6.6	3.5	68.7	21.1	662
Minority Disadvantaged Presently Enrolled:					
Male	18.4	5.4	34.0	42.3	147
Female	16.0	5.7	10.4	67.9	106
Total	17.4	5.5	24.1	53.0	253

enrollment is considered, there is an increase from 14.3 per cent in the past to a majority (53.0 per cent) of those presently enrolled. There is also an apparent decrease in the utilization of Area Vocational-Technical Schools with a decrease from 57.7 per cent of the past minority enrollment to 24.1 for the present. The data are not sufficient to determine whether a trend is operating, but do suggest a need for further investigation. The data reported for Special programs do not reflect the pattern of male-female distribution found in the Normal programs. Additional data may be found in Appendix D.

Comparison of past and present enrollments of students in Normal and Special programs. The data presented in Table 5.B9 suggest a change from placing disadvantaged students in Special programs to incorporating them into Normal programs. In the past, 2,319 (51.6%) of the students were in Normal programs and 2,174 (48.4%) were in Special programs. Data on present enrollment indicate 1,541 (72.6%) were enrolled in Normal programs and 582 (27.5%) were in Special programs. The difference in the size of numbers of students between past and present

TABLE 5.B9

COMPARISON OF PAST AND PRESENT ENROLLMENTS  
IN NORMAL AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS

	Past Enrollment			Present Enrollment		
	Normal	Special	Combined	Normal	Special	Combined
Number of disadvantaged	2,319	2,174	4,493	1,541	662	2,203
Percentage of combined total	51.6	48.4		70.0	30.0	
Number of minority disadvantaged	615	796	1,411	490	253	743
Percentage of combined total	13.7	17.7	31.4	22.2	11.5	33.7

enrollment does not necessarily reflect a reduction because past enrollment includes more than one year. It is the relative shift in the distribution as represented by the percentages which warrants the above

observation. This observation is supported by the fact that although the ratio of minority group persons served remained stable, their percentage in Normal programs increased from 13.7 per cent to 22.2 per cent. Whether this shift reflects a change in philosophy of educating the disadvantaged or is merely a reflection of financial and administrative stress is not known.

Personnel used in Special programs. The emphasis upon incorporating disadvantaged students into the normal operations of an institution is reflected also by the number and type of staff employed and the facilities utilized. The data for the distribution of staff are presented in Table 5.B10. Administrative personnel have ranged from 26.3 per cent to 33.9 per cent of the staff who were full-time employees. Full-time counselors increased from 28.9 per cent to 37.3 per cent. Thus, full-time administrators and counselors combined represented 55.2 to 71.2 per cent of the full-time staff. While there may appear to be a large use of instructors, 28.9 per cent in 1967 to 16.9 per cent in 1969, the data are heavily weighted by the inclusion of a Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA) program which employed all but three of the instructors. Although it is not reflected in the percentages used, there is evidence in the raw data that student aides are used almost exclusively by academic institutions while paraprofessional personnel are much more likely to be found in Area Vocational-Technical Schools. In addition, the use of part-time tutors increased from 3.4 per cent to 14.8 per cent in the three-year period. Tutors were just as likely to be found in Area Vocational Schools as in colleges. The data tend to indicate that the utilization of personnel in Special programs has been primarily administrative with supportive aid supplied by counselors.

Special facilities for disadvantaged students. Information about the utilization of facilities in Special programs for the disadvantaged students was, for the most part, rather incomplete. While a few institutions did attempt to provide data, the returns in general were rather poor. Basically, when data were provided, they referred to facilities used by minority groups, such as a room set aside for their use or office space. The lack of information pertaining to needed facilities was most apparent. Only one institution, a private college, provided any information at all. There are several presumptions which might be made from this type of response: (1) the facilities being used are adequate; (2) no special facilities are needed or wanted since the program is incorporated into the regular operations of the instruction; (3) no planning has been done regarding the need for facilities; or (4) the instrument did not adequately solicit the desired information.

Major fields of study. Data on major fields of study were reported for 1,865 students over a three-year period and are presented in Table 5.B11. The total for the three years was used in order to obtain a

TABLE 5.B10

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME STAFF  
FOR SPECIAL PROGRAMS 1967, 1968, 1969  
(IN PERCENTS)

Type of Staff	1967		1968		1969		Combined	
	FT	PT	FT	PT	FT	PT	FT	PT
Counselors*	28.9	18.6	34.0	14.8	37.3	14.8	34.0	15.6
Tutors	0.0	3.4	0.0	11.1	0.0	14.8	0.0	10.9
Recruitment Officers	2.6	3.4	4.3	2.8	3.4	2.8	3.5	2.9
Social Workers#*	7.9	1.7	6.4	0.9	5.1	0.9	6.3	1.1
Instructors#	28.9	23.7*	21.3	10.2	16.9	13.0	21.5	14.2
Advisors	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Program Directors	15.8	6.8	19.1	5.6	18.6	5.6	18.1	5.8
Other Administrative Personnel	10.5	1.7	10.6	0.9	15.3	0.0	12.5	0.7
Student Aides	0.0	18.6	0.0	41.7	0.0	27.8	0.0	31.3
Other Paraprofessional	5.3	22.0	4.3	12.0	3.4	20.4	4.2	17.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>275</b>

\* Includes some counselors who are available to all students, not just disadvantaged.

#\* Includes two officers from Minnesota Manpower Services which assist MDTA.

# Only three of the instructors were not engaged in a MDTA program. One was a study skills instructor in a state college and the other two were employed by a private college.

TABLE 5.B11

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDY FIELDS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

Major Field	Number of Students	Per Cent of Students
Agricultural Related	9	0.5
Arts, Liberal	359	19.2
Arts, Creative	8	0.4
Business and Distributive Education	12	0.6
Engineering Related	16	0.9
General Education	978	52.4
Health Related	8	0.4
Science Related	28	1.5
Social, Behavioral and Educational Related	313	16.8
Trade and Industrial Related	115	6.2
Undecided	6	0.3
Other	13	0.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,865</b>	

sufficient number for fair representation. Approximately 52.0 per cent of the students were engaged in General Education. The other two major fields were Liberal Arts (19.2%) and Social, Behavioral, and Educational Related (16.8%). It should be noted that the General Educational percentage is heavily weighted by the large number of students in three programs at the University which utilize the General College. Furthermore, data were not available from the Area Vocational-Technical Schools for this section.

Special recruitment and disadvantaged students. Eight (42.1%) of the 19 institutions responding to this part of the questionnaire had special programs of recruitment. Four of these eight operated in the inner-city areas of the Twin Cities. Seven (87.5%) of the eight used motivation of the student and recommendations of counselors, or people who knew the student, among their criteria. The third most often used was financial situation of the student (75.0%). Only four of the institutions mentioned racial origin or standardized test results as criteria. While four of the eight institutions indicated they had special recruitment programs in the inner-city area, one Area Vocational-Technical School qualified its program by stating that it served all city high schools. In addition, one other program was from a state college; thus,

only two institutions in the immediate Metropolitan area were conducting special recruitment programs for the disadvantaged. Data for this section are presented in Table 5.B12.

TABLE 5.B12

SPECIAL RECRUITMENT PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

	YES	%	NO	%
1. Have a special recruitment program	8	42.1	11	57.9
2. Areas of recruitment for those who have a program				
a. Core area of the Twin Cities	4	50.0		
b. Seven-county area	2	25.0		
c. All over Minnesota	0	0.0		
d. Outside the State	0	0.0		
e. No specific geographic location	2	25.0		
3. Major criteria used in recruiting disadvantaged students				
a. Grade point average	3	37.5*		
b. Standardized achievement and/or aptitude tests	4	50.0		
c. Motivation of students	7	87.5		
d. Racial origin of student	4	50.0		
e. Financial condition of student	6	75.0		
f. Recommendations of counselors and/or people who know the student	7	87.5		
g. Other: (Rank in class)	1	12.5		

\*Percentage of the eight institutions with programs.

Institutional plans for expansion of programs. Plans for expansion were offered by seven institutions and involved ten programs. A compar-

ison of the services to be made available in expanded plans with those presently available revealed that in many instances services available at present were not included in the expansion plans. It was not known whether or not this was merely an oversight. Therefore, the decision was made to consider only those areas where an increase was found in the over-all total for a particular service.

The data in Table 5.B13 indicate that only nine areas have an increase in the number of programs offering such services. These nine areas, in order of frequency, were (1) recruitment, (2) work credit programs, (3) vocational placement counseling, (4) slowed down courses, (5) minority studies programs, (6) special orientation programs, (7) sensitivity training programs, (8) computer assisted instruction, and (9) Upward Bound.

The estimated number of students to be served by these expanded programs was 1,670 as compared with 2,133 presently enrolled in Special programs. Any generalizations to be drawn from these figures must be very limited. Two schools were not included in the estimated figures because they could not furnish plans for expansion of their programs for lack of financial support for the next year. We must conclude, however, that no plans to increase significantly the number of disadvantaged to be served have been made. Some enlargement in enrollments may occur through the admission of a few new students into already existing programs, but the number will most likely remain small.

Programs only partially implemented. Institutions participating in the survey were also asked for information concerning programs which were only partially implemented. Answers were solicited for the following questions: (1) Type of program, (2) For whom was it designed, (3) For how many was it planned, (4) How many actually participated, (5) Original objectives, (6) Actual objectives, (7) What were the restraints, (8) Why were the restraints imposed.

Seven institutions responded to this part of the questionnaire by supplying information about ten programs which were only partially implemented. Two of the programs described were additional descriptions of Special programs operating and the remaining programs among the institutions varied in the amount of detail that was supplied. In general, the following types of programs were discussed:

1. Work-study program for low-income people;
2. Certificate program for paraprofessionals;
3. Study skills and remedial services;
4. College transition and summer program for pre-college minority students;
5. Project Follow Through--special help for all Educational Opportunity Grant freshmen who had received low grades;

TABLE 5.B13

PLANS FOR EXPANDED SERVICES FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS FOR ALL INSTITUTIONS COMBINED

Type of Service	Total No. of Programs Offering Service		Difference (Expanded minus Existing)
	Existing*	Expanded	
Regular tutoring	9	6	- 3
Remedial reading	4	2	- 2
Programmed instruction	4	2	- 2
Referral to existing supplemental courses	7	5	- 2
Team teaching	3	0	- 3
Slowed down courses	1	3	+ 2
Diagnosis of learning disability	6	3	- 3
Computer assisted instruction	0	1	+ 1
Learning centers	4	3	- 1
Teaching or special curriculum	5	3	- 2
Minority studies program	4	6	+ 2
Special orientation programs	8	7	- 1
How to study programs	5	7	+ 2
Block programs	0	0	0
Vocationally oriented remedial courses	2	2	0
Adaptation of regular curriculum	6	5	- 1
Work credit programs	2	5	+ 3
Sensitivity training programs	2	4	+ 2
Upward Bound	0	1	+ 1
Special facilities for minority students	5	2	- 3
Career selection courses	3	1	- 2
Flexible evaluation program	3	1	- 2
Program focusing on marketable skills	3	3	0
Counseling	9	9	0
Recruitment	0	4	+ 4
Other: Vocational Placement Counseling	0	3	+ 3

\*There were seven institutions offering ten programs

6. Counseling center--group counseling for freshmen who had received a 1.0 G.P.A. and who applied for trial quarter;
7. Counseling workshop to acquaint counselors with programs available to disadvantaged students in Area Vocational-Technical Schools.

Except for the work-study program and the certificate program for paraprofessionals, the remaining programs are quite similar to other existing programs.

There were various reasons why these programs were considered to be only partially implemented. When the reasons were reviewed, it appeared that they might be summarized in three categories: (1) Recent initiation of the program; (2) Inability to recruit students and insufficient staff availability and time; (3) Lack of adequate funding. Additional information pertaining to the various programs may be found in Appendix E.

Programs planned and not implemented. The following information was requested about the programs which had been planned but not implemented: (1) Type of program, (2) For whom was it designed, (3) For how many was it designed, (4) Date of proposal, (5) Objective of program, (6) Why did it not materialize.

Five institutions supplied information about ten programs. The types of programs proposed were:

1. Tutorial;
2. Consortium on Black-White relations;
3. Occupational training programs;
4. Recruitment, research, family services, and group activities for minority students (four separate programs);
5. Academic support for disadvantaged students;
6. Supportive services for students admitted under special conditions.

From this list it appears these programs were basically similar to others in operation.

Primarily, the programs were designed to serve minority students in numbers ranging from 20 to 200. Although most of the proposals were submitted in 1968, one was still being prepared. The primary reason for the non-implementation of these programs was lack of funds. Additional information may be found in Appendix F.

## FACILITIES AVAILABILITY

The Higher Education Coordinating Commission staff and the University of Minnesota have recently conducted surveys pertaining to facilities utilization. Rather than conduct a replication of these studies, it was decided to utilize the existing data whenever applicable.

Before undertaking any analysis of the data pertaining to facilities utilization it is appropriate to delineate the limitations set forth in the original research.

Frequently, there is a tendency to compare utilization rates of various institutions and/or systems. However, such comparisons, shaky at best, frequently lead to misinterpretation. The levels of utilization are influenced by the educational programs being offered, the nature of the activities, the methods of instruction, and the facility itself. Many institutions show a large inventory of medium-sized classrooms and a shortage of large lecture facilities and small seminar rooms. Under these conditions an administration must decide whether to use the rooms for classes which could meet comfortably in smaller areas, resulting in low utilization figures, or to incur the cost of conversion. Similarly, an institution operating an updated instructional program for expanded curriculum on a long-established campus can hardly be expected to show the same utilization rates as an institution operating the same program in a new campus designed to fit today's program. (HECC, 1970B: 4-5)

The expressed caution is further emphasized by the lack of comparable data for the University of Minnesota and the Area Vocational-Technical Schools.

### Analysis of the Data

While there are no national, regional, or state norms established for the utilization of classrooms and laboratories "the most commonly mentioned utilization rates for general classrooms is 30 scheduled hours per week (68 per cent of a 44 hour week) with class enrollments averaging 60 per cent of room capacity. The most quoted utilization rate for teaching laboratories is 20 scheduled hours per week (44 per cent of a 44 hour week) with class enrollments averaging 80 per cent of room capacity." (HECC, 1970B: 70) Until such time as state standards are established, these percentages for utilization will serve as a standard.

In this analysis, only general observations about differences among systems will be offered. From the data in Table 5.B14 it appears at first glance that the availability of space resides principally within the private sector. However, it must be remembered that only four or five of the private colleges have expressed any interest in serving the needs of the disadvantaged. Additionally, there has been some reluctance to alter the philosophy and curriculum of the institution effectively to admit large numbers of disadvantaged students.

When the junior colleges in the Twin Cities are considered, the recency of their establishment must be recognized. They should be considered as developing institutions with the expectation that the utilization of facilities will be increased by expansion of existing programs which are more or less traditional in nature.

Among the state colleges two institutions appear to have space available for additional students other than those who would normally attend. However, the increased expense placed upon disadvantaged students who attend institutions away from their home might prove prohibitive to their attendance.

The data presented in Tables 5.B15 and 5.B16 for the Minneapolis and St. Paul campuses respectively of the University of Minnesota must be considered together. When the total data are reviewed, it appears that, with some exceptions, the Minneapolis campus is being maximally utilized while there are areas for increased utilization on the St. Paul campus. If only this utilization data were considered, it appears that the St. Paul campus should be able to absorb a large number of disadvantaged students. However, information from additional sources indicates that plans have already been initiated for the increased utilization of the St. Paul campus through the reassignment of existing programs.

#### SURVEY OF NON-INSTITUTIONALIZED PROGRAMS

Several educational programs for disadvantaged students which are either sponsored or operated by the government and other agencies function in the Twin Cities area. In many instances these programs are operated separately from existing post-secondary institutions. An attempt was made to obtain information about the operation of as many of these programs as possible.

Information was gathered by a telephone survey. Soon it became apparent that a number of the agencies which sponsored programs were utilizing post-secondary institutions for the operational phase. Although these programs were not within the primary scope of the survey, the data obtained have been included because the information was considered pertinent.

TABLE 5.B14

## UTILIZATION OF CLASSROOM AND LABORATORIES BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION\*

	Percent Hr. Day Utilization Labs.	Percent Hr. Day Utilization Classrooms	Percent Student Station Labs.	Percent Student Station Classrooms
STATE COLLEGES				
Mankato State College	33.0	49.0	52.0	56.9
Moorhead State College	44.8	66.5	58.4	62.3
St. Cloud State College	56.4	76.5	73.9	63.8
Southwest Minn. State College	21.5	69.4	62.9	45.0
Winona State College	29.8	48.3	82.2	62.8
JUNIOR COLLEGES				
Lakewood State Jr. College	28.4	54.5	54.4	42.6
Metropolitan State Jr. College	28.4	51.2	69.1	60.0
North Hennepin State Jr. College	57.7	68.8	46.3	61.9
PRIVATE COLLEGES				
Augsburg College	33.5	49.8	49.3	49.0
Bethel College & Seminary	35.3	42.2	53.1	60.5
Concordia College, St. Paul	26.4	45.2	77.5	57.0
Hamline University	30.7	30.2	47.8	39.9
Golden Valley Lutheran College	-	48.1	-	48.4
Macalester College	22.9	42.5	55.4	52.5
Mpls. College of Arts & Design	38.7	46.2	72.3	29.0
St. Mary's Junior College	25.2	40.6	65.4	45.2
College of St. Catherine	98.7	47.3	51.5	43.5
St. Paul Bible College	15.9	41.6	50.5	49.6
William Mitchell College of Law	-	31.6	-	60.4
St. Thomas College	22.7	63.2	50.5	57.7

\*SOURCE: HECC, Higher Education Facilities Inventory and Utilization.

TABLE 5.B15

HOUR-DAY AND STUDENT STATION UTILIZATION OF GENERAL PURPOSE  
CLASSROOMS, TWIN CITIES CAMPUS - MINNEAPOLIS  
FALL QUARTER 1967\*

PERCENT OF ROOMS IN USE						
Hour	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.
MORNING	0	1.2	1.2	1.2	2.1	
	I	88.4	83.5	87.2	71.9	4.5
	II	94.6	93.4	94.6	86.8	7.0
	III	95.0	93.8	94.6	88.4	6.2
	IV	90.1	85.1	91.3	76.4	6.2
AFTERNOON	V	89.7	86.0	89.7	81.4	
	VI	92.6	85.5	93.4	82.6	
	VII	89.7	85.5	91.7	82.6	
	VIII	66.5	67.4	68.6	64.0	
	IX	31.8	27.3	31.8	26.0	
EVENING	X	15.3	12.0	11.2	11.6	1.2
	XI	47.9	45.5	38.0	40.5	
	XII	48.3	44.6	39.7	39.7	0.4
	XIII	21.9	20.7	21.9	14.9	0.4
	XIV	12.4	12.8	13.6	7.4	0.4

PERCENT OF SCHEDULED STATIONS OCCUPIED							
Hour	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	
MORNING	0	57.4	38.1	57.4	38.1	58.8	
	I	61.6	59.9	61.2	56.2	61.4	50.9
	II	67.6	59.0	68.0	61.3	67.7	40.4
	III	71.4	60.6	71.6	61.6	70.5	39.7
	IV	67.3	62.2	66.9	61.0	67.8	49.0
AFTERNOON	V	60.8	60.2	59.7	59.5	64.1	
	VI	64.6	53.6	65.0	55.9	63.2	
	VII	59.1	53.2	59.1	52.2	58.0	
	VIII	49.7	47.8	50.4	42.3	50.0	
	IX	38.9	40.8	46.9	38.2	47.4	
EVENING	X	33.4	52.5	49.2	55.6	35.1	
	XI	55.8	55.9	54.8	54.7		
	XII	56.8	57.6	55.6	55.2	45.8	
	XIII	52.5	47.6	50.6	43.6	45.8	
	XIV	52.9	42.0	51.6	46.0	45.8	

\*SOURCE: Vernon L. Ausen. Assignment and Utilization of Building Space, University of Minnesota, Report No. 4, December, 1967.

TABLE 5.B16

HOUR-DAY AND STUDENT STATION UTILIZATION OF GENERAL PURPOSE CLASSROOMS, TWIN CITIES CAMPUS - ST. PAUL FALL QUARTER 1967\*

PERCENT OF ROOMS IN USE							
Hour	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	
MORNING	0						
	I	61.5	59.0	66.7	59.0	64.1	5.1
	II	71.8	64.1	71.8	64.1	71.8	7.7
	III	76.9	53.8	76.9	56.4	76.9	5.1
	IV	66.7	46.2	64.1	41.0	59.0	7.7
AFTERNOON	V	38.5	23.1	38.5	20.5	38.5	
	VI	66.7	56.4	59.0	46.2	59.0	
	VII	35.9	38.5	35.9	25.6	28.2	
	VIII	30.8	30.8	33.3	25.6	71.8	
	IX	17.9	17.9	25.6	15.4	10.3	
EVENING	X	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6		
	XI	2.6	5.1	5.1	2.6		
	XII	2.6	5.1	5.1	2.6		
	XIII	2.6	2.6	7.7	2.6		
	XIV	2.6		7.7			
PERCENT OF SCHEDULED STATIONS OCCUPIED							
Hour	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	
MORNING	0						
	I	61.1	35.7	56.9	44.1	56.1	24.5
	II	52.8	43.3	52.8	44.5	52.8	16.4
	III	45.0	33.7	43.3	36.3	43.3	18.8
	IV	45.7	37.8	45.9	36.8	45.7	21.3
AFTERNOON	V	63.2	30.2	59.1	30.1	61.3	
	VI	43.9	37.7	43.9	36.9	40.2	
	VII	45.1	41.8	50.5	41.1	51.4	
	VIII	33.4	33.8	34.1	34.5	34.1	
	IX	28.3	19.6	21.3	23.3	20.5	
EVENING	X	37.1	37.0	34.3	37.0		
	XI	27.5	23.2	35.3	13.9		
	XII	27.5	23.2	35.3	13.9		
	XIII	27.5	21.3	37.6	13.9		
	XIV	27.5		37.6			

\*SOURCE: Vernon L. Ausen. Assignment and Utilization of Building Space, University of Minnesota, Report No. 4, December, 1967.

The procedure of the survey was to solicit data about known programs by telephone. At the end of the interview, all respondents were asked to supply the names of other educational programs for the disadvantaged about which they might be aware. While this procedure is limited, the absence of a directory listing such programs necessitated its use.

The following data were requested from each agency contacted:

1. Name of program?
2. Sponsoring agency?
3. Age limits of students served?
4. Beginning date of program?
5. Total number of students served since beginning?
6. Number presently enrolled?
7. Plans for expansion (number to be served)?
8. Geographic area served?
9. Description of the program (what are they doing)?
10. Status of the program (continuing, short-term, pilot, etc.)?

The data requested were not always readily available at the time of the telephone contact. In some instances, a letter outlining the desired data was supplied by the person contacted. The written replies received have been included in their entirety to avoid any misinterpretation. The data received over the phone are reported in the sequence of the questions asked, with the first question determining the name of the program.

### Results of the Survey

The responses to the questions in the survey are presented in Appendix G. Only a brief summary will be offered here.

Information about the following 11 programs was obtained:

1. Work Incentive Program (WIN) -- Ramsey County
2. Work Incentive Program (WIN) -- Hennepin County
3. Higher Education for Low-income People (HELP)
4. Occupational Training Center, Inc.
5. Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out of School) -- St. Paul
6. St. Paul Opportunities Industrialization Center -- (St. Paul O.I.C.)
7. New Careers
8. Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out of School) -- Minneapolis
9. Concentrated Employment Program
10. Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center -- Minneapolis

### 11. Manpower Development Training Act Program (MDTA)

Only MDTA and the Occupational Training Center, Inc., programs had begun earlier than 1966; thus, the remaining programs are more or less still in the developmental stage. The programs, excluding MDTA, ranged in the size of their present enrollment from 29 to 320 students. MDTA was not included in these figures because the available data were reported for the entire state. However, it is reasonable to assume that a rather large number of the total enrollees would be in the Twin Cities area.

The age of students ranged from teens to upper fifties. While in some instances there were no limitations placed upon the type of training students might receive, the most common forms were:

1. Basic education
2. Pre-vocational orientation
3. Vocational counseling
4. Skills development
5. On-the-job (OJT) training

Many of the institutions planned to expand their services and to enlarge their enrollment, but these plans were contingent upon the receipt of additional funding, which was uncertain at the time of the survey.

#### Other Programs

One other type of program should be included in this discussion. The General Extension Division and the Center for Urban Affairs at the University of Minnesota have been providing classes in the Pilot City and Glendale areas of Minneapolis. The funding is through a special legislative appropriation. All ages are served as indicated by a sample survey. In a sample of 135, there were 50 persons under 25 years of age and 23 persons who were over 50 years of age. High school graduation is not a prerequisite although course credit is given. The primary purpose of the courses is to meet the needs of the students. The courses offered present a surprising assortment. Approximately 355 people in the Pilot City area were taking the following courses:

Creative Writing	Man and His Religions
Selection & Furnishing a House	Afro-American History
Film and Photography	Practical Law
Humanities II	Everyday Correspondence
Deficient Reading	Social Problems
Psychology 1A	

In addition, courses in family study, speech, anthropology, philosophy, American history, humanities, and literature have been offered in the past.

In the Glendale area, 55 people were taking the following courses:

Family Studies	Black Writers - 20th Century
Humanities I	Afro-American History
General Arts	Film and Photography
Creative Writing	Selecting & Furnishing A Home

A complete survey of programs was not possible because of time and budgetary restrictions. Some programs which deserve special attention are:

1. National Alliance of Business - J. O. B. S. Program
2. Labor Education Apprenticeship Program (L. E. A. P.)
3. Adult Basic Education
4. Vocational Rehabilitation
5. Guadalupe Area Project
6. Upward Bound and Indian Upward Bound
7. Guidance and Occupational Center - St. Paul
8. Skills Center - Minneapolis
9. Labor Mobility Demonstration Project
10. American Indian Employment Guidance Center

These programs do not exhaust the list of organized activities for the disadvantaged in the Twin Cities.

#### SUMMARY

The principal observations which merit summarization are as follows:

1. Basic data needed for any over-all study of the status of post-secondary education for the disadvantaged were not readily available. The three principal reasons which resulted in this situation are: (1) the recency of many programs, (2) data not needed prior to this study, and (3) an "open-door" policy which mitigates against the labeling of students. The first two reasons are rather straightforward, but the third deserves some comment. An "open-door" policy is a very worthy philosophy when it implies that all types of students are acceptable at any institution, but in many instances it is merely a "revolving-door" policy. Some institutions used their "open-door" policy as an excuse for not knowing the extent to which disadvantaged students were being served. In this connection the labeling argument was used. Labeling should not be confused with identifying students who need help; nor should an "open-door" policy be considered as the sine qua non for meeting the needs of all students.

2. If there is to be a continued effort to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, some systematic procedure for the collection of pertinent data must be implemented. One of the first steps would be to establish an acceptable and workable definition of which students can be considered to be disadvantaged. Perhaps the classifications used in this research project can become a starting point.

3. From the data reported by participating institutions, there appeared to be little difference between Normal programs and Special programs when the types of services offered are considered.

4. There appears to be an indication of a shift from Special programs to Normal programs. Additional data are needed to determine whether or not a definite trend is operating; furthermore, the desirability of such a shift should be analyzed if it is affirmed.

5. The emphasis in most operating programs appears to be administrative with supportive counseling services. Although a few did provide some instructional service and many provided tutorial service, the majority utilized existing instructional programs. While administrative, counseling, and tutorial services should not be discounted, more emphasis needs to be placed on instruction to meet the needs for special education of the disadvantaged.

6. The limited data on the distribution of disadvantaged students among the various fields of study indicate a tendency for these students to be concentrated in (1) liberal arts and (2) general education. The field of education was also mentioned to some extent. However, this distribution most likely has been the result of available funding and the spasmodic development of programs.

7. There was little indication of plans for the expansion of existing programs or the addition of new programs.

8. Physical facilities appear to be more available in private colleges when all Metropolitan colleges are considered. This observation is tempered, however, when the following aspects are considered:

1. The primary missions of some private colleges are such that severe limitations are placed upon their ability to serve the disadvantaged.
2. Some private colleges perceive their role in the preparation of minority students for graduate school; thus, limiting the extent to which the total population of disadvantaged students is served.

3. The adaptation of established curricula and philosophies in private colleges to meet the needs of the total population of disadvantaged students is a difficult obstacle to be overcome. Indeed, there is some question as to whether it is desirable.

9. Programs sponsored by federal agencies or those operated by private nonprofit organizations in the Twin Cities area tend to focus upon: (1) basic education, (2) pre-vocational or pre-college counseling and training, and (3) short term job-oriented training. While these programs are meeting the needs of many disadvantaged students and serve particular segments of this population, the extent of their involvement is limited.

### C. COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS

This section deals with the community and its responses to the survey relative to perceptions and expectations of educational opportunity. The questionnaire, or survey form, that appears in Appendix A resulted from the combined efforts of the project staff, the consultant, and the interviewer. The project staff was fortunate to obtain the services of a sociology major from Antioch College to undertake the actual survey.

At the outset, the project staff identified community leaders in Minneapolis and St. Paul who would normally have a finger on the community pulse. The interviewer began by contacting many of those "leaders" and then branching out through referrals from the initial contacts.

#### Interviewer Observations

An explanation of the manner in which the sample of 92 was selected and the general observations of the interviewer are necessary at this point. The reader will have some basis for orientation to the data if he has some idea of the complexities encountered in obtaining the interviews.

There were several basic criteria for the selection of the sample. The first was that initial contacts were to be made with identified community leaders from whom referrals would be gained. The second was that some balance be maintained between the contacts in Minneapolis and those in St. Paul. Thirdly, judgment as to who would be contacted would not be influenced overtly by a person's position. A fourth criterion was based on the number of possible interviews from a particular orientation (Teachers for Change) or a particular office. In these cases the interviewees were selected on the basis of how strongly or frequently a person was mentioned by others.

By following the above guidelines, the interviewer was able to obtain a representative cross-section of the communities. The interviewer's general observations are as follows:

1. Almost everyone presented the feeling that until the pre-college difficulties of poor quality education were resolved, post-secondary education would be harnessed by previous failures of the school system to adequately educate people. For the sake of this study, however, they agreed to isolate their discussion to the post-secondary problems.

2. Another general comment, or in effect a criticism of present research, was the forceful expression of necessity for action. People are about to the point of rejecting any further inquiries as to their ideas. They have answered questions for so long without seeing any measurable results that many of the respondents in this sample would not do it again. Actually, the writers have been quite fortunate as it is, for many of the respondents consented to the interview regardless of their initial rejection. However, they certainly wouldn't do it again until they see some positive action emerging.

3. A number of people expressed distaste for the questionnaire. It was felt that terminology was prejudicial and demeaning. This was particularly evident for those people who would fit into the project definition of "disadvantaged," and some respondents closely associated with poor people. This was a difficult obstacle to overcome because it put the interviewer on the defensive, which is not the ideal climate for a good interview. This was particularly evident with question Number Nine (relationship between poverty and education). The initial response, more often than not, was essentially, "What kind of stupid question is that?" The implication was that "we", the professionals, have been asking that question for too long and the answer has been quite clear. In addition, some people felt a little constricted and limited by the arbitrary boundary of the questions. In both situations, however, the answers are fairly representative of the interviewee's ideas.

4. The income question was not very meaningful since most people responded in the average areas regardless of the contrast between them when examining the total sample. It was interesting to view their responses which were often times humorous. For example, one person would say based on his office, he's average; based on his neighborhood, he's low; and based on the national average, he's high. The question was too relative to offer any real significance.

5. Many people were not at all optimistic about the system's ability to sponsor programs that "served the interests and needs" of the people, thereby not seeing very much reason for the questionnaire, but, as already pointed out, they were willing to cooperate--this time.

#### Background of Interviewees

Interviewees were proportionately distributed between Minneapolis and St. Paul. Within the groups some disproportionate distribution is observable. The bulk of professional educators came from Minneapolis. On the other hand educational volunteers were primarily St. Paulites.

The sample was proportionately distributed by ethnic background but slightly slanted in favor of the black community. A reasonable

distribution by sex was also maintained with the exception of educators. The bulk of professional educators consisted of men, whereas non-professional educators were exclusively women.

Most of the interviewees were between the ages of 25-54. The age mode was 35-44. Most of the interviewees were veteran citizens of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Over 70 per cent have resided in the area for at least five years. The age distribution remains relatively stable within the groups.

The education factor shows a considerable bias. The interviewees are a highly educated group in terms of years of formal education. Only slightly over 10 per cent had less than college education. Over one-third carried graduate degrees. This is better understood in the light of the original intent of the interview to focus on the aspect of community leadership rather than a random population sample. In the Twin Cities, people assuming leadership roles in the sphere of educational interests are a highly educated group.

Most of the interviewees perceive that they have an average or better than average income. This is to be expected in the light of the educational background described earlier. More career educators than any other group declare they have better than average income. This may be a product of the distribution by sex which shows that the bulk of this group consists of males who are main wage earners. The above information is presented in Tables 5.C1a through f.C1f.

The sample is broken down by the position a person held at the time of the interview. Four types of position were identified: Career educational and non-career educational, social-work career and non-career social-work. A detailed description of the four categories is presented in Appendix H.

#### Analysis of the Interviews

Interviewees responded to a list of questions in an open but structured conversation during which the interviewer acted as moderator. To present results accurately, answers were categorized according to subject matter and intent. The number of categories thus obtained is relatively large, with some overlap between them. As a result, the obtained frequencies are rather small and cannot be interpreted entirely at face value. Representative responses to the questions are presented in Appendix I. Some responses are utilized within the discussion and are indented and single-spaced without footnotes.

Community perceptions of relationships between poverty and education. Poor educational experiences of the interviewees themselves were the dominant factor accounting for much of their criticisms.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF INTERVIEWEES

TABLE 5.C1a

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

Locality	Education	Education	Educ.	Social	Social	Social	Other	Total
	Career	Non-Career		Total	Career			
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
St. Paul	30.8	77.8	39.6	57.1	53.8	56.1	1	46.7
Minneapolis	69.2	22.2	60.4	42.9	46.2	43.9	2	53.2
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

TABLE 5.C1b

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

Sex	Ethnic Group	Education	Education	Educ.	Social	Social	Social	Other	Total
		Career	Non-Career		Total	Career			
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
Female	White	12.8	66.7	22.9	35.7	23.1	31.7	-	20.6
	Black	5.1	22.2	8.3	14.3	23.1	17.1	1	13.0
	Other	-	11.1	2.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
Male	White	64.1	-	52.1	32.1	23.1	29.3	-	40.2
	Black	12.8	-	10.4	17.9	23.1	19.5	2	16.3
	Other	5.1	-	4.2	-	7.7	2.4	-	3.2
TOTAL NUMBER		39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

TABLE 5.C1c

## AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age	Education Career	Education Non-Career	Education Total	Social Career	Social Non-Career	Social Total	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	NO.	%
18-24	2.6	11.1	4.2	7.1	30.8	14.6	1	9.7
25-34	28.2	22.2	27.1	32.1	15.4	26.8	-	26.0
35-44	48.7	33.3	45.8	21.4	15.4	19.5	-	32.6
45-54	17.9	33.3	20.8	25.0	30.8	26.8	1	23.9
55-over	2.6	-	2.1	14.3	7.7	12.2	1	7.6
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

TABLE 5.C1d

## DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE COMMUNITY

Years	Education Career	Education Non-Career	Education Total	Social Career	Social Non-Career	Social Total	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	NO.	%
Less than 1	2.6	-	2.1	-	7.7	2.4	2	2.1
1-4	28.2	22.5	27.1	28.6	15.4	24.4	-	25.0
5-9	12.8	-	10.4	7.1	23.1	12.2	-	10.8
10-20	17.9	22.5	18.8	28.6	23.1	26.8	-	21.7
Over 20	38.5	55.0	41.7	35.7	30.8	34.1	3	40.2
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	5	92

TABLE 5.C1e

## DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATION

Education Level	Education Career	Education Non-Career	Educ. Total	Social Career	Social Non-Career	Social Total	Other	Total
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than high school	-	-	-	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	2.2
High school graduate	2.7	11.1	4.1	-	15.4	4.9	-	4.3
Post high school (not college)	-	22.2	4.1	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	4.3
Some college	5.1	33.3	10.4	17.6	3.8	22.0	3	18.5
4-year college degree	28.2	22.2	27.1	42.9	58.5	41.5	-	32.6
Graduate and post-graduate	64.1	11.1	54.2	32.1	-	22.0	-	38.0
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

TABLE 5.C1f

## DISTRIBUTION BY PERCEIVED INCOME LEVEL

Income Level	Education Career	Education Non-Career	Educ. Total	Social Career	Social Non-Career	Social Total	Other	Total
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
Very low	2.6	-	2.1	10.7	7.7	9.8	1	6.5
Low	7.7	44.4	14.6	21.4	23.1	22.0	-	17.3
Average	23.1	22.2	22.9	35.7	23.1	31.7	2	28.2
Better than average	64.1	22.2	56.3	32.1	30.8	31.7	-	43.4
High	2.6	11.1	4.2	-	7.7	2.4	-	3.2
No answer	-	-	-	-	7.7	2.4	-	1.0
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

Many agreed that the existing school system discriminates against the poor because of the low quality of schooling, insufficient qualified teachers and an inadequate curriculum. Table 5.C2 presents an analysis of the responses.

Some (10.3%) say that there is an interest on the part of the system to perpetuate the existing social division. Most interviewees agree that the existing educational system discriminates against disadvantaged students either by intent or insensitivity.

- Educational structure just maintains the level of poverty. It channels people into the same areas of education they've been in all along; middle-class kids get college curriculum and poor kids get vocational curriculum.
- Poverty children are not given education that permits them anything but acceptance of poverty. There is little flexibility in recognizing individual potential.
- The teachers do not understand family situations. The teachers have no rapport with the student and his family. They are not sensitized to the needs of the student and his community.
- Poverty-school kids do not have basics like reading, math, and concepts that enable them to look beyond their neighborhood.
- The people have no control over the inferior teachers. There is less concession from the school to the neighborhood; for example, parent-teacher conferences in the day when parents are at work. There is inadequate counseling; the kids aren't told about even what does exist. There is a lack of practical courses.

Negative home values and attitudes are perceived to be some of the most powerful contributors to educational deprivation (33.6%). Psychological manifestations, such as loss of initiative, lack of awareness and self-image of poor people are also frequently mentioned as links between poverty and educational opportunities.

- People who are poor are made to feel it's their fault just as failing kids are made to believe it's their fault.

TABLE 5.02

DO YOU THINK THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP, IF ANY, BETWEEN POVERTY AND EDUCATION? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>EXPLANATIONS REFLECTING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SYSTEM</u>								
Poor education experience	64.1	55.6	62.5	64.3	38.5	56.1	1	58.6
Poor quality of schooling	35.9	55.6	39.6	50.0	38.5	46.3	1	41.3
Low quality teachers	17.9	22.2	18.8	39.3	7.7	29.3	-	22.8
Curriculum based on middle class values not on the experience of children	28.2	22.2	27.1	21.4	15.4	19.5	-	22.8
Educational system keeps poor kids down	15.4	11.1	14.6	19.5	7.7	19.5	-	16.3
Poor people have less educational opportunity	23.1	11.1	20.8	10.7	7.7	9.8	-	15.2
Schools avoid poor people who have no power	10.3	11.1	10.4	14.3	7.7	12.2	-	6.8
Poor facilities	5.1	11.1	6.3	14.3	7.7	12.2	-	8.6
Race-ethnic discrimination	5.1	-	4.2	7.1	15.4	9.8	-	6.5
Schools instill false realities, unattainable goals	-	-	-	17.9	-	12.2	-	5.4
<u>SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS</u>								
Negative home values and attitudes	28.2	44.4	31.3	32.1	53.8	39.0	-	33.6
Poor people lose initiative, motivation, self-expectation	20.5	-	16.7	3.6	7.7	4.9	3	14.1
Poor people lack awareness of opportunities	15.4	-	12.5	10.7	-	7.3	-	9.7
<u>MATERIAL DEPRIVATION</u>								
The battle for material survival takes precedence over long range planning and delayed gratification	28.2	11.1	25.0	17.9	38.5	24.4	1	25.0
Lack of money	23.1	22.2	22.9	17.9	30.8	22.0	1	22.8
Physical handicaps as a result of material deprivation	5.1	22.2	8.3	14.3	15.4	14.6	1	10.8
<u>ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES</u>								
Community atmosphere, culture restrains, educational influences	30.8	33.3	31.3	35.7	15.4	29.3	-	29.3
Have not seen education solve problems in the community, lack of models--existing models have negative values	35.9	11.1	31.3	10.7	15.4	12.2	-	21.7
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals from Table 5.01 were used for the computation of percentages.

- It's a basic thing deep inside a person; there's a lack of desire just because of lack of food. When you get up and there's no food, who wants to go to school?
- There is no stimulation from home. They haven't got a chance, too busy keeping body and soul together. They have seen that education doesn't get them anywhere.
- Poor people just can't relate classroom studying to their world of work.
- Families had difficulty in school and therefore have negative family attitudes--the school is the enemy.
- The parents believe in education as opposed to the schools. They have faith in education but there's something that happens in the schools in kindergarten and first grade that defeats the kids' incentive.
- There's a feeling of futility about education.

Many interviewees point at the relationship between material deprivation and educational opportunities. Twenty-five per cent mentioned the incompatibility between the battle for survival and delayed educational goals.

- The kids in a poverty culture are present-oriented while the educational system is not present-oriented.
- How can you get an education when you're trying to survive?
- Lack of money prevents poor kids from having things others have. For example, the cost of shop materials, home economics fees, gym clothes, etc.
- Physically the kids aren't well and aren't as alert.
- Living humanly should be a goal of education but poverty gets in the way for some people.

Environmental influences are perceived by the leaders as the fourth causal relationship between educational opportunity and poverty.

Most interviewees agree that within a poor community there exists a behavioral pattern which reinforces undesirable educational experiences.

- Poor people don't have any power in their schools. In communities that have decent schools the parents have interaction with the schools.
- Tests are prejudicial toward the existing structures.
- There is inequality in money allocated to "poor" schools.
- Expectations of the kids are different from those of the school and therefore they behave differently, speak differently and are usually not acceptable to the school system.
- The tensions which poverty poses for the family mitigate against education.

Perceptions about existing educational opportunities for dropouts and low achievers. Relatively few contacts could identify existing opportunities for students who had performed poorly under existing conditions. Table 5.C3 has the breakdown by group responses. Vocational schools are regarded as the main outlet for these students by 25 per cent of the people.

- There are not the jobs and training that can offer some personal fulfillment. The things available don't really offer a chance to alter the basic conditions of their lives.
- Some chance, but limited. It's not adequate.
- At an early age we channel "dropouts" into training areas which are in effect remedial.

To a lesser extent, interviewees are aware of some attempts made by colleges to expand educational opportunities (15.2%)

- More opportunity now because of special courses in vocational schools and some colleges accompanied by tutorial help.

Programs provided by systems outside the regular institutional organization, such as the "Work Opportunity Center" and "Company Programs" were recognized by very few. Only five persons recognized

TABLE 5.03

DO YOU FEEL THAT HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES WITH POOR GRADE AVERAGES  
HAVE A CHANCE TO ENROLL FOR FURTHER EDUCATION? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career	Non-Career	Total	Career	Non-Career	Total		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<u>TYPES OF PROGRAMS MENTIONED</u>								
Vocational	23.1	11.1	20.8	28.6	21.4	26.8	2	25.0
Some college	17.9	11.1	16.7	10.7	7.7	9.8	2	15.2
Dropout retaining (general education and development)	10.3	11.1	10.4	10.7	-	7.3	1	9.7
Work Opportunity Center	7.7	11.1	8.3	14.3	-	9.8	-	8.6
Company programs	2.6	11.1	4.2	10.7	7.7	9.8	-	6.5
Public programs in general	10.3	-	8.3	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	6.5
Junior college	10.3	-	8.3	3.6	-	2.4	-	5.4
<u>NO - PERSONAL REASONS</u>								
Unawareness of opportunities	17.9	22.2	18.8	10.7	15.4	12.2	-	15.2
Lack of desire and motivation	12.8	-	10.4	7.1	7.7	7.3	-	8.6
Lack of money	5.1	-	4.2	10.7	15.4	12.2	-	7.6
Lack of training and preparation	5.1	-	4.2	3.6	15.4	7.3	1	6.5
<u>NO - SYSTEM'S SHORTCOMING</u>								
Selection process excludes disadvantaged students	35.9	55.6	39.6	39.3	84.6	53.7	-	44.5
Institutions are not geared to disadvantaged students	25.6	11.1	22.9	28.6	15.4	24.4	-	22.8
Programs are not meaningful - too limited	12.8	-	10.4	25.0	7.7	19.5	-	14.1
Poor counseling	2.6	22.2	6.3	14.3	15.4	14.6	1	10.8
Inadequate facilities and teachers	2.6	11.1	4.2	17.9	7.7	14.6	-	8.6
<u>THERE IS AN IMPROVEMENT</u>								
Better than before, marked improvement	7.7	-	6.7	7.1	15.4	9.8	1	8.6
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals were used for the computation of percentages.

junior colleges as institutions which provide services for disadvantaged students. A strong majority of persons had negative perceptions about educational opportunities for disadvantaged students in the Metropolitan area.

- Very limited. About the only chance is junior college. If they enroll in something it usually has to be close to them. They don't see the suburb colleges as part of them, and it's difficult for them to get there anyway.
- Their entrance into higher education requires they have something exceptional.
- Very little chance and then only if someone intervened on their behalf.

Most leaders lay the blame at the doorstep of the educational system. Only a few attribute some of the existing educational deficiencies to personal and environmental conditions to which deprived students are exposed. An overriding number criticize existing selection procedures and the ensuing discriminatory results (44.5%). Approximately 28 per cent mention the fact that post-secondary institutions are not geared to serve disadvantaged students. Among other deficiencies, inadequate counseling services are specifically mentioned by 10.8 per cent. Only 8.6 per cent of the contacts perceive some improvement in the system. However, even the few making such observations vary in their evaluational statements.

- Technically, the doors are open, however, because of social and psychological factors, very few of these students go through the doors. They may not know how to take advantage of existing opportunities. Many are convinced that the doors are closed to them; they often encounter poor receptions from people who are supposed to encourage them to get into programs.
- If you set up a program based on the same assumptions of the programs they dropped out from, they won't go.

Causes of educational discrimination and why the poor are seldom in college. Table 5.C4 summarizes the perceived factors causing educational discrimination against disadvantaged students in the Metropolitan area. A preponderance of the contacts identified disaffection of the educational system and its attendant poor pre-college preparation as a major discriminatory factor.

TABLE 5.04

WHAT ARE THE REASONS THAT WOULD EXPLAIN WHY YOUNG PEOPLE OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES  
ARE SELDOM IN COLLEGE? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>SYSTEMS RESPONSIBLE</u>								
Educational systems not speaking to disadvantaged students needs	48.7	33.3	48.8	39.3	61.5	46.3	-	44.5
Poor pre-college preparation	30.8	44.4	33.3	32.1	23.1	29.3	1	31.5
Schools are socially distant -- strange	25.6	11.1	22.9	17.9	23.1	19.5	-	20.6
Lack of pre-college success -- fear of failure	12.8	33.3	16.7	10.1	-	7.3	-	11.9
High schools do not encourage their students	5.1	33.3	10.4	21.4	-	14.6	-	11.9
<u>PERSONAL PROBLEMS</u>								
Parents discourage progress	48.7	66.7	52.1	32.1	38.5	34.1	1	43.4
Lack of initiative partly as a reaction to the system	5.1	22.2	8.3	32.1	53.8	39.0	3	25.0
Low self-concept -- lack of confidence	17.9	33.3	20.8	10.1	15.4	12.2	-	16.3
Lack of information	17.9	11.1	16.7	14.3	7.7	12.2	-	14.5
<u>FINANCES</u>								
Lack of funds	66.7	77.8	68.8	60.7	92.3	70.7	2	61.5
Must support family -- can't leave labor market	17.9	11.1	16.7	21.4	23.1	22.0	1	19.5
Transportation, clothes, etc.	2.6	11.1	4.2	14.3	23.1	17.1	-	9.7
<u>ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS</u>								
Institution is not a part of student's environment and, therefore, not real	38.5	33.3	37.5	35.7	53.8	41.5	-	38.0
Environment is "now" oriented	30.8	22.2	21.2	17.9	15.4	17.1	-	25.0
No peer group support	5.1	22.2	8.3	3.6	-	2.4	-	5.4
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals were used for the computation of percentages.

—How can you go to college if you can't read?

—A system that says a certain group of students is a failure and you give them 12 years of failure and then you wonder why they failed. You need to change the system so that every child succeeds.

Other major factors identified were alienation of the parents and students, along with inadequate finances and the alienation of the environment.

—Basically no support from home, no unspoken drive, aspiration, motivation, financial support, no one to fall back on. There is a terrific sense of failure. They're scared off, with no counter support. Colleges just don't have the support programs. The kids are not willing to wait and suffer through the present programs. Their level of deferred gratifications is low. They don't want to wait four years.

Do area colleges and vocational schools meet the needs of the disadvantaged? According to the data in Table 5.C5, they do not. Only 4.3 per cent of the contacts thought that adequate services are provided by Metropolitan institutions to meet the needs of the disadvantaged. Even so, the comments were based on intuitive impressions rather than specific facts.

—They can get in, yes, but they're not getting assistance once in so that they can stay and compete. The programs aren't being related to the system's failure in the first place.

—The colleges are bending over backwards. There's open end scholarships and work grants. I don't know how successful it is, but they're trying. Sometimes there's too much help. Since King's assassination there has been an about face. Vocational schools are trying and the junior colleges are doing an excellent job.

Approximately 78 per cent of the interviewees responded negatively. They mentioned the narrow range of existing programs, particularly those of the Area Vocational-Technical Schools (10.8%), the limited scope of compensatory activities (34.7%), admission restrictions (31.5%), the inflexibility of programs (33.6%), and program irrelevancy (37.5%).

TABLE 5.05

DO AREA COLLEGES AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS MEET THE NEED OF DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>YES</u>	-	-	-	10.7	-	7.3	1	4.3
<u>NO</u>	90.0	88.9	91.7	64.3	69.2	65.9	1	78.2
<u>VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS</u>								
Only offer a narrow range of courses	20.5	-	16.7	3.6	7.7	4.3	-	10.8
Do a very limited job	15.4	-	12.5	-	7.7	-	-	7.6
<u>SOME IMPROVEMENT</u>								
Junior colleges do better job than others	12.8	-	10.4	3.6	-	2.4	-	6.5
Vocational school trying to improve	10.3	11.1	10.4	3.6	-	2.4	-	6.5
Partial improvement	7.7	-	6.3	10.7	-	7.3	-	6.5
<u>RESTRICTED ATTENDANCE</u>								
Not enough poor students attend	28.2	22.2	27.1	39.3	30.8	36.6	1	31.5
<u>LIMITED PROGRAMS AND PERSONNEL</u>								
Limited compensatory activities	48.7	44.4	47.9	21.4	23.1	22.0	-	34.7
Programs are too restricted	12.8	-	10.4	17.9	7.7	14.6	-	11.9
Lack of facilities and budget	17.9	-	14.6	-	7.7	2.4	1	9.7
Schools lack know how	7.7	-	6.3	7.1	-	4.9	-	5.4
Programs not related to needs (inflexible)	51.3	22.2	41.7	14.3	38.5	22.0	-	33.6
<u>MONEY</u>								
Kids are on too low a budget	20.5	11.1	16.7	10.7	7.7	4.9	-	14.1
<u>LOCATION</u>								
Schools are too far from poor students	15.4	11.1	12.5	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	9.7
<u>DIFFERENCE IN VALUES AND COMMITMENTS</u>								
Middle class oriented system	43.6	-	35.4	28.6	30.8	29.3	-	31.5
Students are alienated	35.9	11.1	29.2	17.9	30.8	22.0	-	26.0
Middle class oriented insensitive teachers	35.9	11.1	29.2	-	7.7	24.0	-	17.3
Schools are not serious	7.7	-	6.3	3.6	-	24.0	-	4.3
<u>NOT SURE, NO ANSWER</u>								
	-	11.1	2.6	14.3	30.8	19.5	1	10.8
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* Totals from Table 5.01 were used for the computation of percentages.

- If the schools lost their federal aid they would cease nearly all programs for the disadvantaged kids. The schools just aren't interested--except where someone else is paying.
- College people haven't wanted them, they haven't wanted the problems. The middle-class college kids just aren't comfortable with poor kids, they have different life styles.
- The junior colleges sift out the potentially good kids and ship them off to other schools or jobs while the rest are just further convinced of their stupidity and failure.

The cultural orientation of existing programs has been severely criticized. In addition to the 31 per cent who take offense with the "middle-class nature" of the curriculum, 26 per cent commented that such an orientation alienates students, particularly when programs are administered by an insensitive group of teachers (17.3%). On the other hand, only 4.3 per cent doubt the intent of schools to address themselves to the problems of disadvantaged students.

- Nobody is succeeding in any large scale. They're not reaching the heart of the problem, they're not attempting to help the majority and to alter the conditions of life affecting the poor. All too often the schools educate the kids out of their culture rather than within it.
- Institutions have a stigma to "remedial" courses which implies failure. They don't make clear the relevancy of a course to the general problem of survival beyond the necessity of the course for a degree.

Perceptions as to whether or not a college in a low income area would better serve the needs of disadvantaged youth. According to the data in Table 5.C6, approximately 60 per cent of the interviewees believe that an institution serving the needs of the disadvantaged should be close to or within an inner-city area. The reasons given relate to accessibility as it reduces expenses, identification of the community with the school and the school with the community.

- It would be better by being accessible, more familiar with a relationship to the community as a learning laboratory. There's a potential of being an immediate kind of service center for

TABLE 5.06

DO YOU THINK A COLLEGE IN A LOW INCOME AREA WOULD BETTER SERVE THE NEEDS OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>YES</u>	43.6	55.6	45.8	32.1	34.1	34.1	1	40.2
<u>ACCESSIBILITY</u>								
More accessible at lower expense	23.1	33.3	25.0	17.9	30.8	22.0	-	22.8
<u>EFFECT ON THE INDIVIDUAL</u>								
People could identify with it	12.8	22.2	14.6	7.1	7.7	7.3	-	10.8
Would help motivation	2.6	22.2	6.3	-	23.1	7.3	-	6.5
Less threatening to individual	2.6	-	2.1	3.6	-	2.4	-	2.1
<u>RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY</u>								
Would be committed to the area	17.9	22.2	18.8	17.9	15.4	17.1	-	17.3
Would improve the image of education	10.3	22.2	12.5	-	15.4	4.9	-	8.6
<u>PROGRAM AND PERSONNEL FEATURES</u>								
Teachers who can relate	15.4	11.1	14.6	7.1	-	4.9	1	10.8
Relevant educational programs	15.4	11.1	14.6	7.1	-	4.9	1	10.8
<u>NO</u>	33.3	22.2	31.3	46.4	23.1	39.0	1	34.7
<u>REASONS</u>								
Location would make no difference	12.8	11.1	12.5	21.4	23.1	22.0	-	16.3
Would reinforce a ghetto	10.3	11.1	10.4	-	7.7	2.4	-	6.5
<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	2.6	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
<u>NOT NECESSARILY</u>								
But will be easier for travel/ more accessible	20.5	22.2	20.8	21.4	38.5	26.8	1	23.9
Location not necessarily significant	15.4	11.1	14.6	7.1	15.4	9.8	1	13.0
Could relate to career's needs	5.1	11.1	6.3	17.9	-	12.2	-	8.6
All depends on the quality of program	7.7	11.1	8.3	10.7	15.4	12.2	-	9.7
All depends on clarity of goals	20.5	22.2	20.8	7.1	30.8	14.6	1	18.4
	2.6	-	2.1	10.7	15.4	12.2	-	9.7
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals were used for the computation of percentages.

the community. It could increase the education as identified with the community, not divorcing the kids from their community rather than leaving for some other place without coming back.

Almost 35 per cent reject the idea of an institution being located in a depressed area. About half of the negative responses are based on the premise that location makes no difference. A few of the respondents explicitly reject the idea of a ghetto school which, according to their perceptions, would inevitably result from a restrictive location.

—If they're not properly motivated it doesn't matter, they won't go.

—If it's going to be the same as those not in the area, what difference does it make? It would be like all the other low-income schools.

About 24 per cent expressed a flexible view about location. Location, according to this group, depends upon some contingencies which could be given primary consideration.

—It might help, but location is not the most important issue, mere numbers of students would not force the school to respond to change. It depends on the willingness of institutions to work with the problems of the community with staff and programs. The image is important, will the kids come? It must project the image that the school was different from the other schools with alien life styles and ideas.

Perceptions of a good educational program for disadvantaged students. Most respondents consider an amalgamation of vocational and general education as an ideal program (65.2%). The outstanding features of such a program would consist of maximal exploratory opportunities (36.9%), maximal community involvement and continuation of work and study, thus introducing a life situation (35.8%).

As can be seen in Table 5.C7, there is a general consensus among the interviewees that the major effort of a good educational program for disadvantaged students should focus on the individual and his needs. Efforts in the field of general education ought to concentrate on developing a self-aware, open-minded and socially skilled individual. By implication it may be assumed that subject matter instruction in general education fields is a means rather than an objective to be generated through the development of communication skills and the instruction of liberal arts (34.7%).

TABLE 5.07

WHAT IS YOUR IDEA OF A GOOD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM? \* (#26-27)

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>BOTH FOR GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS</u>								
An amalgamation of vocational and general education-- flexibility between them	71.8	33.3	64.6	71.4	69.2	70.7	1	65.2
Maximum exposure to alternatives--exploration	41.0	44.4	41.7	35.7	23.1	31.7	1	36.9
Maximum community involvement	38.5	22.2	35.4	35.7	30.8	34.1	-	33.6
Combination of work-study--relating education to life situation	43.6	33.3	41.7	42.9	7.7	31.7	-	35.8
<u>ASPECTS OF GENERAL EDUCATION</u>								
Respondent to needs and interest of students	56.4	44.4	54.2	39.3	38.5	39.0	1	46.7
Develop humanitarianism, awareness of the world, open-mindedness and social skills	48.7	55.6	50.0	28.6	38.5	31.7	1	41.3
Develop self-realization	43.6	33.3	41.7	35.7	38.5	36.6	1	39.1
<u>ASPECTS OF TRAINING</u>								
General communication skills and liberal arts	17.9	33.3	17.9	46.4	53.8	48.8	2	34.7
Cultural exposure, drama, history, etc.	7.7	22.2	10.4	10.7	15.4	12.2	1	11.9
Basics	10.3	-	8.3	-	7.7	2.4	-	5.4
<u>STAFF</u>								
Anyone who has something to offer	15.4	-	12.5	14.3	-	9.8	-	10.8
Teachers who understand and relate	15.4	22.2	16.7	7.1	-	4.9	-	10.8
Good counselors	7.7	-	6.3	7.1	23.1	12.2	-	8.6
<u>ASPECTS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION</u>								
Must be oriented to retraining, emphasize general skills, use of leisure time	56.4	11.1	56.4	50.0	46.2	48.8	1	47.8
<u>A TOTAL REORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM-- KINDERGARTEN-COLLEGE</u>								
	2.6	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals from Table 5.01 were used for the computation of percentages.

- To insure the democratic process people must be able to read and communicate. People also need specialized skills that are marketable. They can't be accomplished separately.
- There would be two kinds of vocational programs:  
(1) job consciousness, general skills, ability to work with others, flexibility of situations, attendance, appearance, responsibility, and  
(2) specific skills.
- Allow students to pursue areas of their own interest and choosing . . .
- . . . opportunity for students to experiment.
- Need a more vocational direction at the same time giving broad general education . . .
- . . . people could move into more professional fields . . .

Instruction in vocational training must be reduced to general aspects. Rather than concentrate on a specific skill students should be prepared for maximum flexibility preparing them for retraining and usage of leisure time (47.8%).

Opinions about programs and their operation are diversified, but many agree that a special type of teacher is required for such a task. By implication, most interviewees agree that such programs can be created under the existing conditions. Only one respondent advocates a total reorganization of the entire educational system.

Perceptions as to the major emphasis needed of an institution in a low income area.

- It would be multi-faceted as to the level of their preparation, flexible according to individual needs and aspirations. Must have fluid movement to areas of study. Backbone of success would be counseling and staff guidance.
- Emphasis on basic skills . . .
- Serve the needs of the community rather than the general needs of the educational system. Do not set up the college in advance.
- 'Whatever's needed to survive.

If an educational institution were to be based in a low income area, Table 5.C8 shows that the interviewees would like to see it concentrate on (1) relating to community needs as they are defined by the people (39.1%); (2) relating to student goals and needs as defined by the people (39.1%); (3) having an open-door policy and a flexible program serving all segments of the community, particularly adults and families (22.8%); (4) the local culture; (5) programs that are people oriented and address themselves to the specific ecological and psychological setting of individuals; (6) programs that are created to satisfy specific needs, as such, they must be flexible in terms of time consumption and content; and (7) basic communication skills as one of the important aspects to be emphasized by programs for the disadvantaged.

The question of minority studies. The subject of minority studies was brought out to more specifically explore public opinion with respect to the expansion of educational opportunities. Table 5.C9 lists the responses to this question.

Most of the respondents agree that there is a need for minority studies as part of the regular curriculum (70.8%). However, such studies should be integrated in the general instructional program. Only a few (7.6%) respondents proposed to have special programs to teach "current problems and struggles." Fourteen per cent resort to a pragmatic position delegating minority studies to the dictates of the students.

- Part of total social sciences--not distinct and separate; we're finding that separate courses aren't really as popular as they thought.
- Can't see the lasting benefits unless it gives a sense of worth; if it does, then it's worth it; otherwise it's not.
- Should be to develop pride in self, develop self-concept of being good person, offering something to history, society.

What admission standards should this college have? The results in Table 5.C10 indicate that the majority of respondents (79.5%) would like to see an institution that has no admission standards except the desire of the students to seek education. Sixteen per cent agree to some standards which would be flexible. Only a few prescribe admission standards of a conventional type, such as a high school diploma or mastery of basic skills.

- Based on performance in initial courses and then

TABLE 5.08

IF THERE WERE A COLLEGE IN A LOW INCOME AREA, WHAT SHOULD ITS MAJOR EMPHASIS BE? \* (#25)

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>RELATIONS TO COMMUNITY AND STUDENTS</u>								
Relate to needs as defined by the people	41.0	44.4	41.7	42.9	30.8	39.0	-	39.1
Be responsive to students' goals and aspirations	48.7	33.3	45.8	35.7	23.1	23.1	1	39.1
Open for all, differentiated programs, communication with total community, serve adults and family	28.2	22.2	27.1	25.0	7.7	19.5	-	22.8
Relate to background & values of the area	17.9	22.2	18.8	21.4	23.1	22.0	1	20.6
Community input and involvement in development	17.9	11.1	16.7	7.1	-	4.9	1	11.9
Work with students' families	5.1	-	4.2	3.6	-	2.4	-	3.2
<u>PROGRAMS AND STAFF</u>								
Staff must know area people and be sensitive	12.8	22.2	14.6	10.7	7.7	9.8	1	13.0
Staff must utilize community	12.8	11.1	12.5	16.3	-	9.8	1	11.9
Quality education and programs	5.1	11.1	6.3	21.4	-	14.6	1	10.8
Programs must foster self-awareness and pride	33.3	11.1	29.2	3.6	15.4	7.3	-	18.4
Programs should be change oriented, provide people with skills and perception to deal with their problems and environment	23.1	11.1	20.8	32.1	23.1	29.3	-	23.9
Flexible program, exploration opportunities, create courses as needed	28.2	22.2	27.1	10.7	15.4	12.2	1	20.6
Combined short term-long term vocational courses	20.5	-	16.7	10.7	-	7.3	-	11.9
Para-professional preparation	7.7	-	6.3	10.7	7.7	9.8	-	7.6
Basic communication skills	17.9	22.2	18.8	17.9	15.4	17.1	-	17.3
Liberal arts not technical	2.6	11.1	4.2	-	7.7	2.4	-	3.2
Nothing different from elsewhere	2.6	-	2.1	-	7.7	2.4	1	3.2
Preparation for transfer	10.3	22.2	12.5	3.6	7.7	4.9	1	9.7
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals from Table 5.01 were used for the computation of percentages.

TABLE 5.09  
MINORITY STUDIES? \*

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>AGAINST</u>	10.3	-	8.3	17.9	7.7	14.6	1	11.9
<u>EXPANSION OF GENERAL CURRICULUM--PARTICULARLY</u>								
<u>HISTORY</u>	61.5	66.7	62.5	67.9	38.5	58.5	2	60.8
History Content	7.7	22.2	10.4	28.6	15.4	24.4	-	10.3
Cultural content	7.7	11.1	8.3	17.9	15.4	17.1	-	11.9
Encourage research	2.6	-	2.1	-	7.7	2.6	-	2.1
Teach contribution of all people	20.5	-	16.7	7.1	30.8	14.6	-	15.2
Teach the rights of all people	-	11.1	2.1	17.9	7.7	14.6	-	7.6
Help self-awareness	12.8	11.1	12.5	14.3	30.8	17.5	-	15.2
Teach current problems and struggles	5.1	-	4.2	14.3	7.7	12.2	-	7.6
Depends on what students want	17.9	33.3	14.6	7.1	-	4.9	1	14.1
<u>OFFERED TO</u>								
All including teachers	7.7	11.1	8.3	17.9	23.1	19.5	-	13.0
Not be compulsory	2.6	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
<u>NO ANSWER</u>	10.3	-	8.3	-	7.7	2.4	-	5.4
<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>92</b>

\* The group totals from Table 5.01 were used for the computation of percentages.

TABLE 5.C10

WHAT KINDS OF ADMISSION STANDARDS SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED? \* (#29)

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career	Non-Career	Total	Career	Non-Career	Total		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Open - anyone who desires to come	76.9	77.8	77.1	67.9	53.8	67.9	1	69.5
Some restrictions but flexible	15.4	11.1	14.6	14.3	30.8	19.5	-	16.3
High school degree	2.6	-	2.1	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	3.2
Usual standards	-	-	-	7.1	7.7	7.3	2	4.3
Read and write	5.1	-	4.2	3.6	-	2.4	-	3.2
Other	-	11.1	2.1	3.6	-	2.4	-	2.1
Not sure	2.6	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals from Table 5.C1 were used for the computation of percentages.

see how to proceed. Everybody should have the chance, then seek own level.

- Start where they are--anybody who is willing to work from where they are.
- Minimal. Every kid who can be taught should be admitted. Everyone get an initial chance-- individual attention should be given--help those.

Perceptions as to how the college should be organized (Table 5.C11).

- Combine junior college with vocational. Take in people who are not clear about their direction and offer general courses so students can find his awareness of further specialization, and when he's ready he could move into four year programs or into specific skill areas. This calls for adequate and superior counseling built in along with the faculty.
- The programs would be multi-level with people working on similar things for many different reasons.
- The learning would go on as an outgrowth of individual planning.

Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents say that a post-secondary school serving disadvantaged students cannot be traditionally organized. Time sequence must allow for individual differences enabling students to step into and out of the programs at various points in time. Progress of individuals should be largely determined by their ability levels. Ability levels should be met by a broad range of curricular choices (65.2%).

The organization should be staffed by a special faculty and an administration in possession of knowledge and dispositions that make them functional in such a particular situation (34.7%). Students and faculty should play significant roles at various levels of the decision-making process which also implies that substantial power and control usually reserved to an administration must be farmed out (36.7%--22.8% and 21.7%).

Other features of the organization would be a flexible evaluation system (no grades - 21.7%); individual rather than subject matter orientation (21.7%); and a complete integration with the community (54.3%), using the community both as a learning resource and an object for rendition of services.

TABLE 5.C11

SHOULD THIS COLLEGE BE TRADITIONALLY ORGANIZED (VOCATIONAL, JUNIOR COLLEGE, SENIOR COLLEGE),  
IF NOT, ON WHAT BASIS SHOULD IT BE ORGANIZED? \* (#30)

Answers	Education			Social			Other NO.	Total %
	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %	Career %	Non-Career %	Total %		
<u>NO</u>	90.0	88.9	91.7	87.3	84.6	87.8	1	88.0
<u>STAFF</u>								
Faculty and administration knowledgeable, qualified and sensitive	38.5	44.4	39.6	28.6	30.8	29.3	1	34.7
Utilization of students and community	43.6	11.1	37.5	35.7	30.8	34.1	-	34.7
Large number of counselor and auxiliary staff	17.9	11.1	16.1	14.3	23.1	17.0	-	16.3
<u>RELATION TO COMMUNITY</u>								
Community participation, particularly in planning	20.5	11.1	18.8	28.6	23.1	26.8	1	22.8
Control by community and students	20.5	-	16.7	28.6	23.1	26.8	1	21.7
<u>FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATION</u>								
No determined time sequence, work at one's own ability, leave when work done, short term and long term programs, differentiation of curriculum, a variance of degrees	74.4	55.6	70.8	64.3	61.5	63.4	-	65.2
Comprehensive community college	17.9	66.7	27.1	3.6	7.7	4.9	-	16.3
Loosely organized, no strict structure	15.4	-	12.5	10.7	-	14.6	-	9.7
No grades flexible evaluation	35.9	22.2	33.3	3.6	23.1	9.8	-	21.7
Individually oriented	33.3	22.2	31.3	7.1	23.1	12.2	-	21.7
<u>WORK-STUDY</u>								
Living and learning in the community, work-study (jobs related to individual interests) using community as a classroom, also service center for community	61.5	33.3	56.3	60.7	38.5	53.7	1	54.3
<u>YES</u>	2.6	11.1	4.2	10.7	7.7	9.8	2	8.6
<u>NO ANSWERS</u>	5.1	-	4.2	-	7.7	2.4	-	3.2
TOTAL NUMBER	39	9	48	28	13	41	3	92

\* The group totals from Table 5.C1 were used for the computation of percentages.

Approximately 16 per cent of the interviewees use the concept of Comprehensive Community College. Only 8.6 per cent of the interviewees wish to see an institution organized along traditional lines.

### Summary of Findings

The interviewed leaders are a sample balanced by age, sex and residence. The interviewees are of a relatively high educational and income caliber which, in the Twin Cities, is probably commensurate with positions of leadership in the area of education and social interests.

Most interviewees link deficiencies of the existing educational system with educational opportunities for the poor. To a lesser degree, they also recognize that the environment and its ensuing psychological factors are causes of educational deprivation.

Only a small number of the leaders recognize recent attempts by institutions to equalize educational opportunities. Area vocational schools and some colleges have made the greatest impression in this respect.

An overwhelming number of respondents regard the existing post-secondary educational system inadequate in providing equal educational opportunities.

According to the leaders, the disaffection of the educational system is the main contributor to educational inequalities. To a large extent, environmental and psychological resistance to education is a reaction to a discriminatory system.

Specifically, post-secondary educational institutions are accused of insensitivity to the needs of the poor, inflexibility in admission restrictions and inadequacy of programs.

Most interviewees agree that an institution serving the needs of disadvantaged students should be close to or within the stricken areas. A substantial number of those not sharing this point of view still maintain a flexible position on the location problem.

An institution serving a low income area should, according to the thinking of most respondents, reflect community needs, individual goals, and local orientation in the school's emphasis.

Following these specifications, the educational program should consist of vocational and general educational features which necessitate the involvement of the community and the provision of work and exploratory opportunities, as well as psychological and social rein-

forcement. Education and vocational training should emphasize basic information, skills, knowledge and attitudes which are instrumental in the direction and redirection of the student to a socially and economically constructive way of life. Such a program must be administered by a staff with special orientation and preparation. These goals can be achieved within the existing educational system.

Minority studies should be an integral part of the curriculum. Only a few believe that minority studies should be treated in separation. By inference, most respondents believe that with an adequate individualization process, minority studies are one of many ways to provide educational reinforcement.

Most leaders believe that an institution serving disadvantaged students should have no admission standards except the desire of a student to seek an education. The organization of such an institution should differ from established standards. No rigid time sequences would be enacted and progress would be planned and measured according to individual ability levels and aptitudes. Administration, community and students would exercise joint control over the institution.

By their criticisms and perceptions most leaders adhere to the concept of a "community college" although only 16 per cent used this term.

Ignore their differences as disadvantaged children and concentrate on the differences in what they had been taught and what they must be taught.

---Siegried Engelmann

## CHAPTER VI

### MANPOWER NEEDS

A special study of the poorest one-fifth of the neighborhoods in the Nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas shows that unemployment is one of the most severe problems faced by the 11.6 million people living in poverty neighborhoods. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1969) In 1967, nearly half a million persons, 15.3 percent of the Nation's unemployed, were unemployed in the poverty neighborhoods. The unemployment rate in these poverty areas was twice as high as the rate in other urban neighborhoods and almost double the rate for the Nation as a whole. Of all the residents in poverty areas, the unemployment rate among nonwhites remained at about 2.3 times the white rate.

A proliferation of studies over past years has proven beyond a doubt that the level of education is inversely related to poverty and unemployment. This section on manpower needs<sup>1</sup> relates directly to the study from the standpoint that if increased post-secondary opportunities are to be made available, planners must have an idea of the training programs necessary to meet the needs of the labor market and of the people seeking the jobs. Also, the fluidity of the labor force and employment trends must be kept in perspective.

#### Changes in the Characteristics of the Labor Force: Youth and Women

Changes in the characteristics of the labor force will be influenced by at least two factors: the large numbers of young persons who are becoming of working age and the increasing numbers of women who are seeking employment. Minnesota will see a twofold increase by 1975 over the number of young persons reaching age 18 in 1956. The percentage distribution among age groups of the labor forces in Minnesota and the five-county Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan area (including Anoka,

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<sup>1</sup>This material draws heavily upon Minnesota's Manpower 1960 to 1975, Report of the Minnesota Department of Employment Security (St. Paul, 1966), as quoted in Proposal for Progress, Planning Report of the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission (St. Paul, 1969). Information contained in the two reports is cited throughout without further reference. Readers interested in extensive data information tables are referred to the original reports. New information from additional sources has been interwoven into the discussion, and is appropriately referenced.

Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, and Washington Counties)<sup>2</sup> has been changed and is expected to continue changing. The main impetus for change is the addition of large numbers of youths to the labor force.

The most drastic change in the Minnesota labor force will occur in the 20 to 24 age group. After a decrease of 7,200 persons between 1950 and 1960, the number of workers in the 20 to 24 age group will increase by 120,600 persons from 1960 to 1975. The rate of growth of this age group will be 94.7 percent, four times the rate of growth of the total Minnesota labor force during the 15 year period. From 1960 to 1975, workers in the 25 to 44 age group will increase at about one-half the rate of the total labor force.

The labor force of the Metropolitan area will increase 38.6 percent between 1960 and 1970 as compared with 21.9 percent for the labor force of Minnesota. During the same period, the 20 to 24 age group will grow 168.6 percent, increasing by 114,000 persons. The 14 to 19 age group of the Metropolitan labor force will increase 159.7 percent, adding 82,400 workers. Not unlike the pattern that will typify the Minnesota labor force, the 25 to 44 age group of the Metropolitan labor force will increase moderately by 12.9 percent, the 45 to 64 age group will increase only slightly by 2.4 percent, and the 65 years and over age group will decline.

The second factor to affect the characteristics of the labor force will be the trend toward working women. In 1975, women will comprise over one-third of the labor force in Minnesota. The rate of increase for women workers in Minnesota from 1960 to 1975 will be twice as large as that for men, 36.3 percent compared with 15.2 percent.

Although the number of women employed in the five-county Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan area is also expected to exceed one-third of the labor force by 1975, the number of women to be added to the Metropolitan labor force between 1960 and 1975, 97,700, will not exceed the increase in men, which is estimated to be 133,600. Over the 25 year period, the increases in male and female workers in the Metropolitan area are expected to be 190,900 and 148,900 respectively. However, the 45.7 percent increase in women in the Metropolitan labor force during the fifteen year period will be larger than the percentage increase for men during the same period, 34.7 percent, and also larger than the percentage increase for all women in the Minnesota labor force during

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<sup>2</sup>Note: The Metropolitan area referred to elsewhere in this study includes Carver and Scott Counties for the total of seven counties which comprise Planning Region 11.

the same period, 36.3 percent.

Economist Joseph D. Mooney underscores the increasing number of women workers in the central cities by pointing out that the central city labor markets are becoming more likely sources of employment for females than for males. (Mooney, 1970: 135-138) Mooney also found that the geographic separation of inner-city Negro females from growing job centers in the suburbs had an almost negligible effect on their employment opportunities, reducing to some extent the opportunity of the males at the same time. Mooney's model concludes that if the Negro population remains heavily concentrated in the central city, it is likely that the Negro female will become even more important as a wage earner in the typical urban Negro family. The changing job market in the cities tends to favor a female, Negro or white.

Changes in the characteristics of the labor force over the years will have several implications. The 25 to 44 year age group is generally considered to contain people of ideal working age and has traditionally supplied the economy with many high-level workers. However, from 1960 to 1975, this age group of the Minnesota work force is expected to grow at a rate one-half as fast as the total labor force. Only 79,200 workers will be added to the 25 to 44 age group over a 25 year period, 1950 to 1975, as compared with an addition of 232,300 persons aged 14 to 25 years during the same period. Even the total number of workers over 45 years of age who are added to the Minnesota labor force from 1950 to 1975 will exceed the increase in the 25 to 44 age group by 10,500. Clearly, there will be increased opportunities for younger and older workers to assume the responsible positions sometimes reserved for the middle-age group in the past. For qualified young persons, opportunities for advancement may come much more quickly than formerly.

For unqualified young persons, the prospects may not be so bright. Unemployment in the United States has fluctuated since 1948 when it was 3.8 percent. It did not rise above the 6.8 recorded in 1958, however, and decreased again to 3.8 percent in 1966 and 1967. In 1948, unemployed young persons aged 16-19 years constituted 9.2 percent of the civilian labor force of that age. This percentage also has fluctuated over the years to a high of 16.8 percent in 1961, but in 1966 and 1967, when the unemployment rate of the total civilian force had returned to the level recorded in 1948, the unemployment rate of young persons 16-19 years old was 12.7 and 12.9 percent, respectively, over 3.5 percentage points higher than the 1948 rate.

The competition for employment with which young persons must contend may be delineated even more by examining the age characteristics of unemployed persons. In 1948, there were 2,276,000 unemployed persons in the United States, of which 407,000 were 16-19 years old. By 1967, total unemployment grew to 2,975,000 persons and the number of unemployed young persons (16-19) more than doubled to 838,000. Whereas young persons aged

16-19 constituted about 17.9 percent of the unemployed population of the United States in 1948, by 1967 the percentage grew to 28.2.

#### Industry Employment Trends

The increase in employment in Minnesota is expected to be more than three times greater during the period 1960 to 1975 than it was from 1950 to 1960. The rate of increase will grow from 7.9 percent to 24.5 percent so that by 1975 approximately 1,536,000 persons will be employed. The numerical increase in the number to be employed from 1960 to 1975 will be 302,600 persons.

Over 64 percent of the nonagricultural employment growth in Minnesota between 1960 and 1975 will occur in the five-county Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan area. Employment growth in the area will represent 80.2 percent of the increase in the manufacturing industry and 66.0 percent of the increase in the trade industry. Table 6.1 presents the percentages of the total increases in Minnesota nonagricultural industries that are expected to occur in the Metropolitan area.

During the period 1960-1975, the largest numerical increase in employment in the Metropolitan area is expected to be reported by the wholesale and retail trade industry with 64,200 persons. Following with major increases of 44,600 and 41,800 respectively, will be manufacturing and government. As in the state as a whole, the construction and government industries are expected to show the greatest percentage increases in the Metropolitan area, 72.5 and 63.5 percent respectively. Wholesale and retail trade will follow with 50.3 percent growth.

Mooney included an analysis of employment changes within central cities and fringe areas for the period, 1948-63. The highlights are as follows:

- (i) Generally, there has been a decline in central city employment in every sector except selected services.
- (ii) More specifically, the sharpest declines in central city employment were registered in the manufacturing sector (-338,952) and retail trade (-249,798).
- (iii) Conversely, the sectors in the fringe areas which exhibited the most dramatic increases were manufacturing (+958,458) and retail trade (+539,487).

(iv) In 1948 the percentage of all jobs in the twenty-five SMSA's<sup>3</sup> which were located in the central city was 67.8.

By 1963 this percentage had fallen to 59.2. (Mooney, 1970: 135)

TABLE 6.1

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN MINNESOTA NONAGRICULTURAL  
INDUSTRIES TO OCCUR IN THE MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL  
METROPOLITAN AREA, 1960-75

<u>Industry Group</u>	<u>Percent of Increase</u>
Total Nonagricultural	64.1
Construction	59.5
Manufacturing	80.2
Transportation	39.2
Wholesale and Retail Trade	66.0
Finance	64.9
Service	63.3
Government	53.8

An interesting note for the conclusion of this discussion is that Juan De Torres ranked the Minneapolis-St. Paul SMSA as number eleven of the twelve leading areas in the entire nation. (De Torres, 1968: 22) The ranking was on the basis of the importance of wholesale and retail trade in the employment sector.

Occupational Employment Trends

By 1975 when 1,536,000 persons will be employed in Minnesota, the

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<sup>3</sup>Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

occupational mix of the labor force will be considerably different than it was in 1950 when approximately 1,143,400 persons were employed. Almost 15.4 percent of the Minnesota labor force will be engaged in positions as professional, technical, or kindred workers in 1975 and an additional 13.6 percent will be occupied as service workers. The percentages of the total Minnesota labor force engaged in these occupations will increase by 5.7 and 5.5 percentage points from 1950 to 1975.

In the Metropolitan area, almost 40 percent of the labor force in 1975 will be classified in either of two occupational groups. It is estimated that 21.7 percent of the labor force will be engaged as clerical workers and an additional 17.4 percent as professional or technical workers. Other occupational groups that will each employ at least 10 percent of the Metropolitan labor force are: (1) operatives and kindred workers, (2) craftsmen and kindred workers, and (3) service workers. Table 6.2 presents a more thorough analysis of the categories.

Personnel increases in the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan area are expected to account for almost 76 percent of the increase in the Minnesota labor force from 1960 to 1975. Of the 302,600 persons to be employed, 229,400 persons will find positions in the Metropolitan area. Over 76 percent of the increase in clerical workers in Minnesota during the 15 year period will be in the Metropolitan area. Similarly, persons in the Metropolitan area will constitute 68.3 percent of the increase in operatives, 67.5 percent of the increase in sales personnel, 63.1 percent of the increase in professional and technical personnel, and 61.9 percent of the increase in craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers.

During the period 1960-1975, the number of professional and technical workers in the Metropolitan area will increase by 56,700, the number of clerical workers will increase by 56,400, and the number of service workers will increase by 35,400. The rate of growth for each of these occupational groups during the 15 year period will be 67.9, 47.6, and 54.2 percent respectively.

#### Work and Education

So much has been proven about the relationship of education and income that this section will simply list summary information from the original reports:

- (1) Education determines the employment potential of the labor force.
- (2) Education determines the type of employment.
- (3) Education determines, to a large extent, the level of income.

(4) The median years of school completed is increasing in all occupational groups.

TABLE 6.2

PERCENTAGES OF MINNESOTA AND METROPOLITAN LABOR FORCES IN EACH OCCUPATION, 1950, 1960, 1975

Occupational Group	Percent Distribution					
	Minnesota			Metropolitan		
	1950	1960	1975	1950	1960	1975
TOTAL EMPLOYED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	8.7	11.9	15.4	11.2	14.5	17.4
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	8.9	8.7	9.0	9.8	9.2	8.8
Clerical and Kindred Workers	12.0	14.4	16.4	19.3	20.5	21.7
Sales Workers	7.2	7.7	8.0	9.0	9.2	9.0
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	12.6	12.6	12.8	15.1	14.1	13.3
Operatives and Kindred Workers	14.0	14.7	13.6	17.6	15.9	13.7
Service Workers	9.1	11.5	13.6	10.7	11.3	12.5
Laborers	4.9	4.0	3.1	4.8	4.1	3.0
Farmers, Farm Managers, Laborers and Foremen	22.7	14.6	8.0	2.4	1.3	0.6

Some Implications for Education

The implications for education of labor force and employment trends are numerous. Careful consideration must be given to the manpower needs of Minnesota before comprehensive planning to meet the educational needs

of the citizens of Minnesota can proceed effectively.

Among the trends which must be considered as plans for higher education develop are the following:

- Young persons are rapidly becoming an increasingly larger proportion of the total population and of the labor force as well.
- Qualified young persons will continue to be challenged with employment and advancement opportunities.
- Unqualified young persons will likely face unemployment or interrupted employment because of their lack of preparation.
- The industries that are expected to add the largest numbers of persons between 1960 and 1975 -- trade, government, service, manufacturing, and construction -- for the most part, require persons with post-secondary training or education.
- The occupational groups which will provide the most opportunities for employment between 1960 and 1975 -- professional and technical workers, clerical workers, and service workers -- also, by and large, require persons with college or vocational education.
- Economic advantage to the individual in terms of annual and lifetime income appears to be directly related to educational attainment.

In order that comprehensive planning for the future needs of Minnesota higher education shall reflect the manpower trends of the State, the following policies are suggested:

- Young persons should be discouraged from terminating their education and entering the labor force until such time as they are prepared to receive meaningful employment, both in terms of economic and personal satisfaction.
- Women should be encouraged to receive education and training that will qualify them for entry and re-entry into the labor force in accordance with the pattern that has characterized their employment.
- State and local government must be committed to providing the best instructional opportunities for all persons seeking to increase or improve their working skills.

Additional implications may be appropriate as elements of planning

when considering the findings of Mooney and De Torres. The re-location of industrial-retail sites and subsequent changes in patterns of employment imply that:

- The central cities' males need to be re-trained for other employment as the manufacturing and retail trades move to suburban areas.
- Manufacturing concerns in clean industries should be enticed back to the central cities.
- Transit authorities should consider fringe areas of major employment relative to movement of people.
- Transit authorities should consider educational systems and their attendance areas as planning elements.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

The principle has generally been accepted that education must prepare the individual with the means by which he can make a contribution to the economic or cultural life of the community. The individual will then receive a resultant reward that will enable him to live in dignity and in comfort.

A corollary to the principle may be that the optimum contributions are made by those who are employed within the range of their highest skill and interest levels. Under normal circumstances the development of those skills can only be accomplished through participation in "post-secondary"<sup>1</sup> training programs: furthermore, if a society consists of a disproportionate number of persons who do not have advanced training its rate of progress will decrease to the point that participation in the society is no longer an outgrowth of contribution. Society should direct probing questions to the goals and organizational patterns of our educational system when (1) 25 to 35 percent of the students completing elementary school have communication skill problems, (2) at least 30 percent of the high school graduates do not go on to advanced training, (3) 25 to 30 percent of the youth do not complete high school, (4) there is 5 to 6 percent unemployment with a multitude of jobs unfilled, and (5) 50 percent (minimal) of the students entering college never complete their programs.

An 85 percent on-going rate has been suggested by the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission as a goal for the State of Minnesota. This study has been undertaken for the purpose of expediting the attainment of that goal by emphasizing human needs while, at the same time, recognizing the cumulative effect of socioeconomic pressures on the second and third generation of disadvantaged populations.

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<sup>1</sup>"Post-secondary" is used rather than "higher education" as many educators and laymen automatically print out "academic degree" when given the inputs "college" and "higher education." The same persons usually equate (erroneously) the slow learners and the lower half of school classes with the inputs "vocational" and "job training."

## SUMMARY

An extensive review of literature dealing with programs for the disadvantaged in the United States suggests that few programs continue after the expenditure of initial funding. There has been a proliferation of programs to capitalize on available monies without a real regard for the quality or lasting effects of the services.

Blacks are called "disadvantaged" and included in program totals simply because they are black minority members. Institutions count all blacks in their programs regardless of their socioeconomic background. (Willingham, 1970) There has been no evident breakthrough in thinking to the point where persons of all races, creeds, and colors will be thought of when speaking of the "educationally disadvantaged."

Educational opportunities for the disadvantaged are limited. Opportunity for all is a vital ingredient in the philosophies of educational organizations throughout the nation, but when priorities are established for available resources, the disadvantaged never seem to realize their minimum educational needs.

Data are not generally available on most programs for evaluative and comparative purposes. Comparisons are difficult to make between programs because of the variety of their foundations and special emphases. Demographic data on the Twin Cities were difficult to compare. Analysis of the data did point out that the disadvantaged population is spread out more evenly in St. Paul than in Minneapolis. The scope of the problem in the Twin Cities is evident by the fact that from 5,000 to 6,500 young, disadvantaged adults are funneled into the job market yearly without adequately developed skills. As more of these students are encouraged to go on in the future, an increasing proportion will be from families whose father did not complete high school and whose income level is low. A minimum of 10,000 post-secondary students ages 18-21 would need extensive financial aid in any one year between 1975 and 1980. If each were to receive \$500 to \$1,000 in aid, the range of the yearly total would be \$5 to \$10 million in necessary financial aids for Twin Cities students alone. There will be additional costs for the active recruitment of these youths from homes which do not normally encourage advancement through education.

In addition to the foregoing comments, the following statements can adequately summarize present conditions:

1. More students are delaying their entrance into post-secondary schools because (1) the shortage of stations in vocational schools forces higher entrance requirements, (2) they need time to improve their finan-

cial status (if ever), and (3) they must build up their basic skills. There still remains a body of young adults, from 15 to 20 percent of the juniors, who are unsure of their next step.

2. Existing student personnel services are not now able to cope with the problem of relating alternatives and programs to the disadvantaged students.

3. Existing institutions are not now dealing directly with the problems of young adults who (1) have low family incomes, (2) have not fully developed their basic skills, (3) are unsure of their plans, and (4) are in the lower half of all students relative to presently measured scholastic aptitudes.

4. Vocational schools currently have the strongest programs for the disadvantaged, but being limited in size and finances they must restrict admissions (although their means of determining who does or does not enter could be questioned). Junior colleges have open, but revolving doors, and they are isolated in the suburbs from the disadvantaged populations. The University's programs are mainly degree oriented and limited because of orientation as to what they can accomplish. The private colleges who purport to have special programs are dealing primarily with academically talented minorities.

5. The number of students in the Twin Cities desiring post-secondary opportunities show a substantial increase over previous years, and the principal increase in demand is for opportunities close to home and vocational in nature.

6. Students enrolled in vocational programs are penalized if they later change their goals to academic or paraprofessional programs. Students who initially enroll in degree programs cannot switch to technical training without a difficult transition, and certainly not without stigma as a college failure.

7. Additional vocational schools and junior colleges are being planned; however, they are also being placed in the suburban ring beyond the reach of the inner-cities' disadvantaged students.

8. A sense of urgency dictates that the over-all manpower needs of the local, state, and national communities must be considered in the interaction of students and institutional programs. Institutions have traditionally enjoyed the luxury of a seller's market. The initiation of crash programs and the increasing number of graduates threaten to glut certain market areas.

9. The major existing controls over labor supply and demand are

with the national unions who actively recognize the basic economic law. Functional and comprehensive vocational-occupational training programs cannot exist without the active and full cooperation of the trade unions. It would be premature to suggest specific union-card oriented programs before such cooperation is established.

10. After several years of being studied, dissected and analyzed with no visible progress, the confidence of the community in the system's services for the disadvantaged is approaching a negative factor. The community will believe in a functional, programmatic system when they can see it.

11. An additional institution built, organized, and administered along traditional lines will not suffice for the Twin Cities population. The disadvantaged want and need short-range goals realized through programs which have an immediate rewards system.

## CONCLUSIONS

### Parallel Subsystems

The present educational system actually represents a consortium of parallel subsystems: (1) K through 12; (2) the associate degree; (3) B.A. through the doctorate; (4) job skills; and (5) adult and continuing education. These subsystems are representative of highly tracked and very categorical curriculums. The parallel subsystems are easily maintained administratively, but offer little or no encouragement for articulation with each other (the mobility is vertical, but not horizontal). When speaking of the subsystems, the aspect of "interface" must also be considered. Interface is the point at which the output of one subsystem becomes the input of another.

Interface is considered optimal in the business world when the output of one system can be used directly as the input of another with minimal change or adaptation; however, educational systems deal with people rather than things. A student as a product of one system can have a partial interface with another system, but does not have to immerse himself completely in the processor to derive benefits from it. The commercial output is largely material and with very tightly defined parameters; whereas a vitally important educational ingredient is the program interface with the individual and how he can incorporate all or part of the program into his self-concept. Thus, the educational system can never match the business system for efficiency, but it can be improved upon.

### Output Problems

With the present subsystems the only points of articulation are between true transfer programs and from high school to job skills; however, once a student enrolls in either the transfer program or job training, he is categorized with little or no opportunity to cross program lines. This is true even in the comprehensive community college in spite of its many diverse programs.

The student who finds the degree program difficult or no longer relevant to his self-concept is not generally encouraged to look at other programs and stay within the system environment. He fades away through the open but "revolving" doors as counseling services traditionally deal more with social concerns and the walk-in, rather than with academic and career problems through out-reach.

The K-12 program generates one-third of its students with inadequate communication skills. One cannot easily relate successfully to his environment without adequate communication skills; thus, when these students do appear in training programs, "T" amount of time and "X" amount of dollars must be expended on improving the level of basic skills. The expenditure of resources on this level is more costly than at lower levels as additional programs must be developed and staffed. This cost includes the earlier K-12 expenditures which had no resultant improvement in basic skill levels for those individuals later participating in remedial programs. Problems of basic skills are not going to be solved by "remedial" programs at the upper levels. The upper level remedial (compensatory) programs are not to be seen as substitutes for increasing educational awareness at the elementary and pre-school levels -- rather they are to be seen and recognized as costly "stop-gap" measures to operate only until programs at lower levels start producing results throughout the continuum.

The foregoing statements give rise to many questions. A most vital question deals directly with student personnel services since programs or institutions cannot exist without students. We not only have to give students more information, but most importantly, we have to help them discover the personal meaning of the information through student personnel services. How many students do not complete programs through not really knowing what they want or can cope with? How many students wander aimlessly from program to program? How many individuals do not even enter the system when programs are available to suit their potential? These same young adults could benefit from a variety of programs successfully if (1) they were aware of the program alternatives, (2) they knew which alternative programs could suit them best as individuals, and (3) if necessary, the system was able to expend the effort and resources to assist in the discovery of goals more appropriate to the students' needs

and abilities than those the students originally envisioned.

Improved student personnel services not only would result in a saving of time (dollars to some people) and tax dollars, but also education thereafter would be more efficient and meaningful for the student. Efficiency here implies educational profit for the student. It would really be fruitless to have complete articulation without the attendant increase in the students' understanding of themselves as individuals.

Additional questions to be posed are listed below, although such a list should not be construed as being all-inclusive or in any particular order:

1. Do we have the means and desire to change the public image of a vocational or occupational program such that the image (status) is commensurate with that accorded to a degree program?
2. Do we have the necessary technology for extensive individualized instruction? If so, what are its costs and what can we use?
3. Do administrators understand and support the belief that grouping students for educational purposes along the same lines as they are grouped for administrative purposes is an inhibiting factor to individualized instruction?
4. Do we have the faculty and staff available and trained in the use of the new technology? If so, are they willing to work with a student by beginning where the student is rather than where someone thinks he should be?
5. Are we able to assess the explicit costs and the benefits of present educational programs as compared to proposed programs?
6. Are we ready and able to define programs in terms of specific, measurable goals?
7. Are we willing to forego program time intervals such as quarters and semesters if we find that shorter program times are sufficient and necessary to facilitate horizontal and vertical articulation?

#### Access is the Catalyst

What could be attempted, then, is to open up all tracks of the curriculum for complete student articulation and to dissolve the lines of artificial categories. A student should be able to enter the educa-

tional system at his own level and leave at an increased level -- whatever that may be considering the abilities, motivations, attitudes, and beliefs (self-concept) of the individual. The student would have free access to basic skill programs, technical programs, and the programs involving higher levels of conceptualization. The access would be dependent upon horizontal interface as well as vertical.

Educators must be geared emotionally and professionally to accept this latitude and flexibility in their thinking and actions. There should be

. . . no incongruity in a boy studying drafting, the heat treatment of metals, Renaissance history, and Elizabethan art, all at the same time. Nor should there be incongruity in a girl studying English Composition, biology, photography, German, and printing, all at the same time. Such combinations could supply the ingredients for very satisfying future careers -- in one case ornamental ironworker, in the other, medical writer/illustrator. (Robertson, 1968: 63)

Such flexibility should not be seen as a threat to the integrity of the academic degree, rather it should be seen as making more students aware of their limitations, potentialities, and interests with respect to the kind of training they are committed to.

#### Basic Considerations for Change

The proposed changes certainly could not be instituted on a mass basis in existing institutions or subsystems within a short period of time. It seems that resistance to change is often proportional to the amount of change desired, regardless of the expected benefits.

Certain changes can, however, be brought about in existing subsystems without causing chaos. The major one is as stated previously -- student personnel services. The budget for these services must be expanded substantially, and the increase must be funneled into academic advisement, personal counseling, career guidance, and out-reach programs. Post-secondary schools accept a student on the basis that he has a nominal opportunity to succeed. Open-door schools imply that they have programs for all. Thus, the school is taking on a responsibility for that student; and if the student does not succeed, the student personnel services should help re-direct his efforts to more appropriate goals. We have gone beyond the "sink or swim" era in post-secondary education.

Second, the schools have a responsibility to admit only those who have a chance of succeeding. On the other hand, if they admit applicants who have little chance of success in the existing programs, then more

appropriate programs should be instituted and the goals of the existing ones should be reviewed.

A third concern is the level of financial aids. As we expect increasing numbers of students in post-secondary systems, the fact that a proportionately greater number of these students will need aid must be recognized and acted upon.

A fourth concern, possibly outside the sphere of influence of most institutions, is the problem of certification for schools, programs, and individuals. Certainly there is reason to take another look at the objectives of certification in these areas as the objectives relate to actual, expected outputs and performance.

The complexity of a comprehensive plan promoting educational equality at the post-secondary school levels advances the need for a new educational system. The ideal location for such a new system would be in core cities with high density populations of potential students who would not normally partake of existing post-secondary opportunities. There would be no resistance to change when change is built into the system. Staff would be utilized on the basis of their commitment to cope with the students and the program flexibility. Other services available in the city would supplement the new school's program.

Flexible programming would then call for increased cooperation among all public bodies concerned with education, and in particular, those groups currently involved with post-secondary education opportunities. Ideally this would increase the resources available to deal with problem areas and magnify the degree of access from program to program. Thus, each organization and subsystem would be forced to take a macroscopic view of education rather than their traditional microscopic view of the educational process.

#### ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

##### Five Antecedent Principles

At least five antecedent principles should be taken into account prior to the consideration of proposed program alternatives.

Principle One: If the disadvantaged are to utilize programs which are oriented to them, some means of financial support must be forthcoming. Three distinct approaches to financial aid seem to be most appropriate:

1. Free tuition and individual financial support.

2. Educational expenses and study-for-pay rewards. It has been suggested in the State of Wisconsin that monetary and pay-in-kind forms equivalent to \$1,800 be provided. (Lins, 1969: 143)
3. Part-time employment in an intern position connected with the student's declared professional education goal or academic major should be provided throughout his term of post-secondary education. (Birenbaum, 1969: 179)

Principle Two: If the needs of the disadvantaged are to be met, strong public support from the community to be served is necessary. A means of soliciting this support is through the use of Community Advisory Boards. These boards should participate in the planning, development, and execution of programs. They should also be consulted about any facilities to be constructed. The relationship of any new institution to its community is very important. Birenbaum concurs with this point by stating:

The various units of the new college should be built in relation to the variety of relevant resources the urban community possesses and on a scale that corresponds to the way the community is or hopes to be. The monumentality of the academic buildings should derive from their relevance to the tasks of education in a living community, not merely from their looks or size. They should encourage an enlarged flow of more qualitative neighborhood life. They should not choke off streets, preempt vital territory, distort the flow of human traffic, and artificially and arbitrarily reorder community activity. The academic buildings should represent a process, not a conclusion; streams of motion, not a dead sea; change, not status. (Birenbaum, 1969: 176)

Utilization of a Community Advisory Board may help to avoid many of the pitfalls associated with the establishment of new institutions.

Principle Three: If the disadvantaged are to be helped, there is a need for increased flexibility in admissions, administration, instruction and organization. The difficulties evolving from inflexibility of the four-year college, for example are succinctly discussed by Thresher:

. . . The four-year college course, a legacy of the nineteenth century, even with all its recent revisions, retains a rigidity of concept, content, and method. Even its calendar is rigid. The pressure of increasing numbers has created such a massive problem that it diverts energy and attention from innovation and reform. Indeed, the temp-

tation has been to accept the pressure for admission to college as evidence that the product is already so appealing to the customers that it stands in little need of improvement. The public habit of brand loyalty, and the mindless reliance on degrees as status symbols, have retarded the needed development of flexible forms of post-high school education. The possibilities of inter-fusing liberal studies with programs of vocational utility have been incompletely explored. (Thresher, 1966: 86)

To separate from the inflexibility of the past, new approaches are needed. Harclerod points the way when he states that:

In a broad sense, the need today is for early identification of talent, relevant and enabling compensatory educational programs, more flexible admissions approaches, institutional alternatives and experimental programs, innovative curricula, opportunities for student participation in decision-making, large-scale financial support for students and institutions, careful advisory and counseling services, new student recruitment efforts and new directions in the extracurriculum. (Harclerod, 1970: 48)

Although Harclerod is discussing higher education in general, his comments are even more appropriate when applied to the post-secondary needs of the disadvantaged.

Principle Four: If any significant increase in the number of disadvantaged students attending post-secondary institutions is to be made, increased emphasis will have to be placed upon recruiting such students. The urgency and need for increased recruitment is most effectively discussed by Dyer as follows:

1. The recruitment and selection of Negroes and other disadvantaged students for college is an indispensable part of the total educational process by which American society attempts to make the most of all its people by helping all of them make the most of themselves.
2. The effectiveness of this recruitment process is currently being hindered by a form of intercollegiate competition for candidates that is too much motivated by purely institutional considerations and not enough by consideration of the needs of the students themselves.
3. To make the recruitment process effective in closing the educational gap between Negroes and whites, we must shift our primary focus away from Dubois'

Talented Tenth and direct a much greater part of our effort toward the Disadvantaged Four-Tenths.

4. To move in this direction with the swiftness required by the urgency of the situation, we cannot depend only on the random recruiting efforts of dedicated individuals (although these are extremely important); we must mobilize our resources in well-organized programs of cooperative recruiting-in-depth.

5. Such programs as Upward Bound show that cooperative recruiting-in-depth is both possible and effective, but they also demonstrate that the effort must be enormously increased if it is to be adequate to the need and that we still have much to learn if we are to become maximally effective in helping Negro boys and girls find their way out of the ghetto. (Dyer, 1968: 113)

Although Dyer is discussing that segment of the disadvantaged which has been termed the "minority disadvantaged" in this study, his remarks certainly are pertinent to the larger population.

Principle Five: If any degree of success is to be obtained in new programs for the disadvantaged, a concerted effort to maintain a high degree of retention must be initiated. A means of attaining high retention is through the increase in supportive services; e.g., social workers, social and emotional counseling, which would allow for more personalized assistance than has been true in the past. However, any increase in supportive services will not solve the problem unless administrators meet the challenge of:

1. Offering programs geared toward means and ways of alleviating many of the emotional, social and academic problems of the student,
  2. Becoming more receptive to the changes of modern society, with the realization that the student that they are to serve, be he disadvantaged or ethnically different, is a legitimate part of this society,
  3. Showing through tangible actions the ability to meet the needs of the entire student body, and
  4. Sensitizing attitudes of the university administration as well as the class room instructors to the needs of the culturally disadvantaged students.
- (Lins, 1969: 143)

Furthermore, a new philosophy of retention will have to be adopted which places more of the responsibility for student's success upon the institution than has been accepted in the past.

### Five Alternative Proposals

The alternative proposals which follow are presented in an order of increasing organizational complexity. The types of facilities which will be needed are implied by the organizational pattern and will not be specifically defined. Strengths and weaknesses associated with each proposal will also be discussed.

#### Alternative One: Continue the already existing programs and extend their coverage.

The expansion of coverage should include: direct recruitment of the disadvantaged, increased support services, changes in existing curriculum, increased financing for these programs, and greater flexibility in institutional policies regarding admission, retention, and transfer between and within programs. Figure 7.1 illustrates the existing organizational framework for this alternative.

Strengths. Since the groundwork has already been prepared, this alternative would be the most easily implemented from the point of view of the legislature. The legislature would primarily authorize the expansion of programs for the disadvantaged and provide the financial assistance to encourage the continuation and expansion of existing programs since no additional facilities or institutions would be needed.

Weaknesses. (1) With the exception of four or five private colleges, who apparently see their role as serving primarily minority students, there is not enough space available in existing facilities to accommodate the additional student body.

(2) The difficulties encountered when changes have to be made in existing philosophies, curriculum and policies to insure greater flexibilities may be too great to overcome in the near future; thus expansion might not occur rapidly enough.

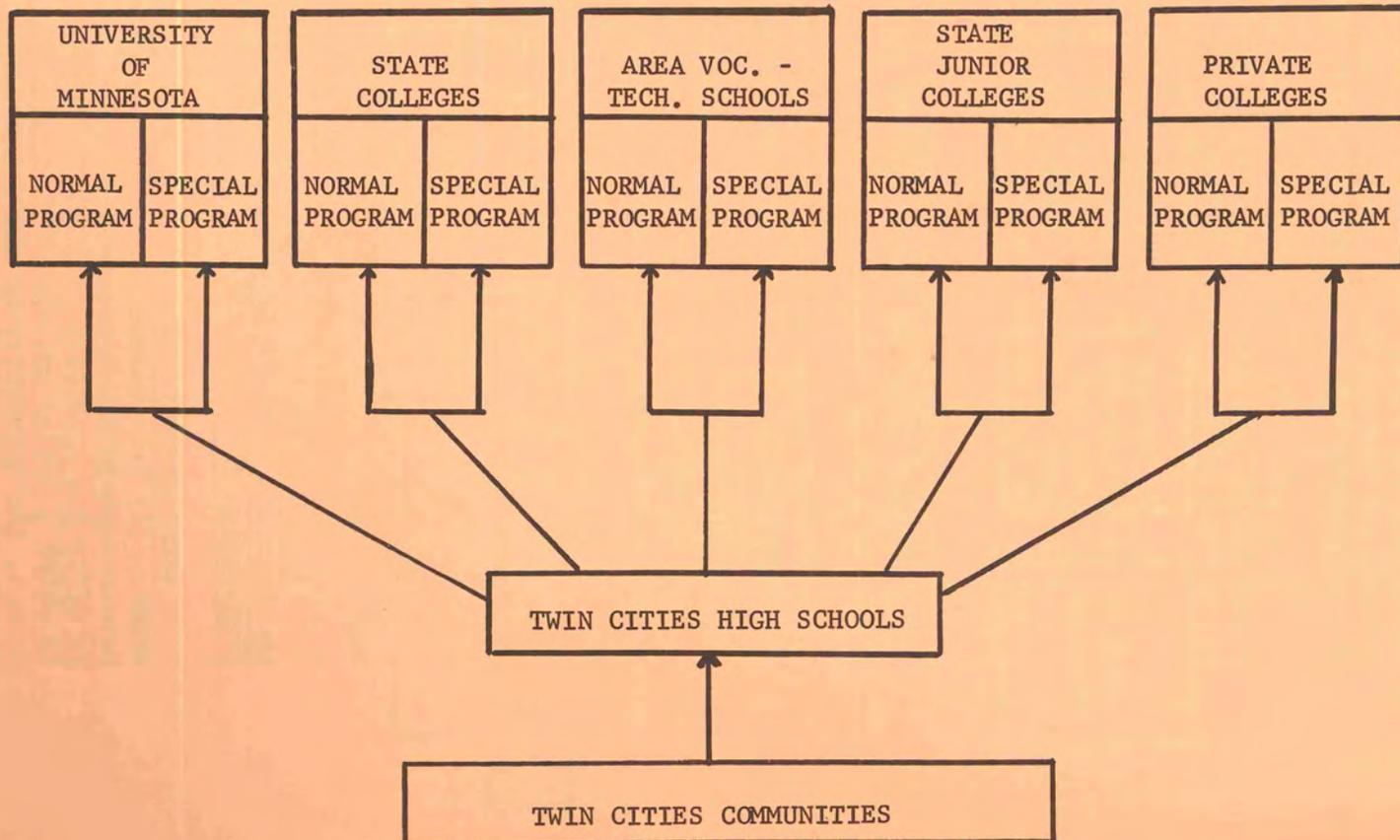
(3) Efforts to meet the needs of the disadvantaged would continue to be diffused with a resulting duplication of efforts.

(4) Competition for the more academically talented student would continue at the expense of the larger number who need help.

#### Alternative Two: Establish "Dissemination Centers" in each of the Twin Cities to facilitate the entry of disadvantaged students into existing programs.

These dissemination centers would be located in the inner-city areas with branches in the Model City and Pilot City areas of Minneapolis and

FIGURE 7.1



the centers would be three-fold: (1) Recruitment of students, (2) assessment and advisement of students regarding their strengths and weaknesses, (3) assisting the students in enrolling in programs which would be most beneficial for them. There would be two major assessment and advisory centers and perhaps five or more "intake" centers. Figure 7.2 illustrates the organizational format for this alternative.

Strengths. (1) By placing these centers in the areas where the disadvantaged students reside, there should be an increase in the recruitment of such needy students.

(2) By placing the emphasis on the individual student, the sense of being lost in the "maze" of a large system could be offset.

(3) Individual assessment of the student would allow the student to enter the type of institution which most likely would best serve his interest.

(4) By an adequate assessment of the student's "potential" the length of time spent obtaining the student's goal and the likelihood of failure should be greatly reduced.

(5) The expenditure for new facilities would be at a minimum since existing facilities within the communities could be purchased or rented.

Weaknesses. (1) The major weakness would be that the student would have to enter an existing program in an institution not willing to adapt its curriculum to meet individual needs.

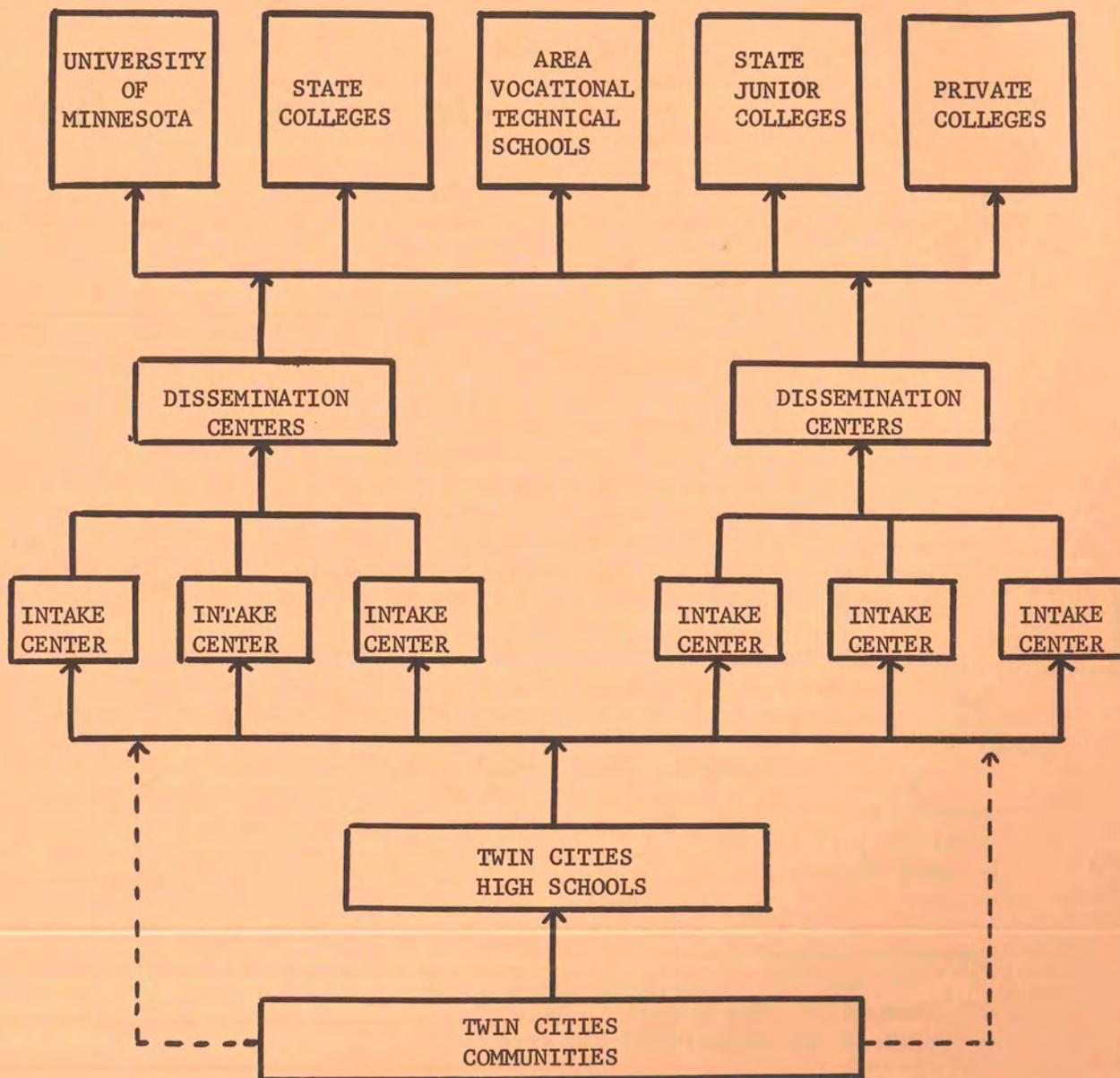
(2) The assumption that the ability to assess a student's potential is within the realm of existing methods may not be warranted at this time.

(3) There would be a lack of follow-through after the student entered an institution. The work of the Dissemination Center would terminate with the student's placement. Thus, the student would most likely have to face some of the problems which existed before but under somewhat more favorable conditions.

Alternative Three: "Urban Centers" would be established in St. Paul and Minneapolis to recruit disadvantaged students who need additional preparation to enter existing programs.

These Urban Centers would offer two and perhaps three types of programs: (1) Pre-college, (2) Pre-vocational and (3) General Educational Development (G.E.D.) programs. The purpose of these centers would be to offer the necessary training to enable the student, upon completion, to enter a junior college, a four-year college, an Area Vocational School, the University or the labor market. Training would be given for

FIGURE 7.2



periods of variable duration; however, upon completion, the student would be assured of placement. The centers would provide training in addition to the services provided by the Dissemination Center described in Alternative Two. Figure 7.3 presents the organizational format.

Strengths. (1) The major strength of this type of center would be that the student would be adequately prepared to compete with other students on a more equal basis upon entering an institution.

(2) The strengths of the Dissemination Centers would also apply here.

Weaknesses. (1) The major weakness of this type of program would be the addition of one or two years of preparation.

(2) The weaknesses ascribed to the Dissemination Centers would also apply to the Urban Centers.

Alternative Four: Establish a Junior College in St. Paul to serve the needs of the community. Redefine the role of the Metropolitan State Junior College in Minneapolis and extend the General College at the University to a four-year college.

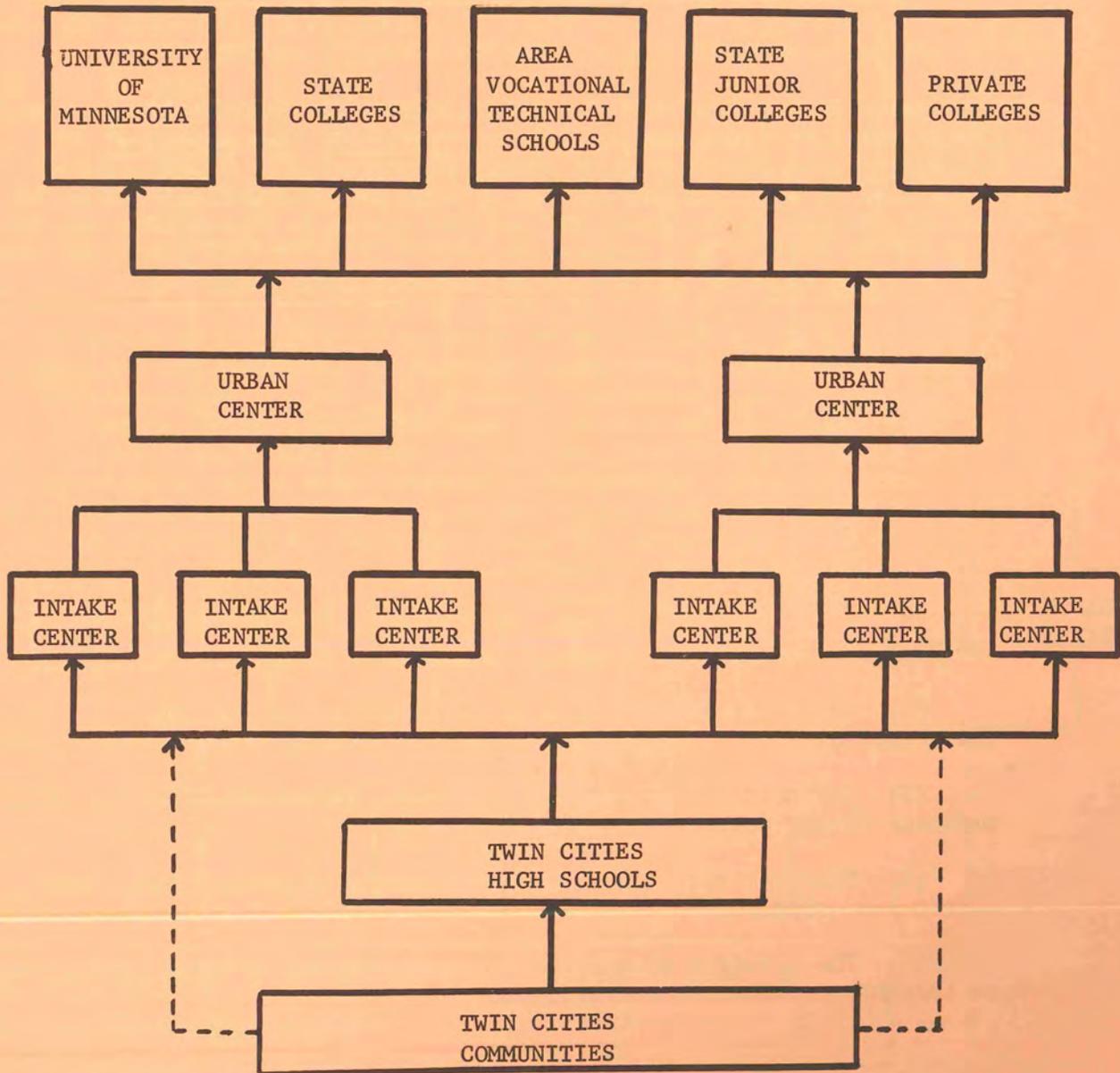
In essence, the new junior college in St. Paul and Metropolitan State Junior College in Minneapolis would become "Community Colleges." The concept "Community College" employed by the project staff does not imply the combination of the junior colleges and the respective area vocational schools; however, there would need to be close cooperation between both systems. The role of these institutions would be to serve the needs of their immediate communities.

In St. Paul there appear to be three somewhat different communities to be served. The communities are represented in the Model Cities planning as target areas "A", "B" and "C". Target Area "A" is mostly the Summit-University area. Areas "B" and "C" are the West Seventh-Humboldt areas and the north-northeast sections of St. Paul respectively.

One approach to meet the needs of the disadvantaged is to provide appropriate programs at a readily accessible central location. A location in the vicinity of the Area Vocational-Technical School might be most appropriate since it would be more or less centrally located.

Another approach to the St. Paul situation is to establish a centrally located administrative center and branches in target areas "A", "B" and "C". This procedure would place the institution closer to the community. The branches would be responsible for basic instruction, but most of the technically related training would have to be undertaken

FIGURE 7.3



in cooperation with the technical schools.

The adaptation of the Metropolitan State Junior College should not be too difficult. Apparently there is already some thought given to this problem. The present physical location of the institution places it in the proximity of the two depressed areas of Minneapolis. In addition, it is reasonably close to the northeast part of the city, which is experiencing considerable change. However, "General College" at the University also provides services of a junior college and draws from the same areas as Metropolitan State Junior College. In addition, both the University and Metropolitan are providing similar community services, particularly in the Pilot City area. This situation may lead to unwarranted competition and "jurisdictional" conflict.

Extension of the General College into a four-year institution and the relocation of the new institution to the St. Paul campus of the University may help to resolve some jurisdictional problems. There would need to be close cooperation between the programs offered by the new institution in St. Paul, the junior college in Minneapolis and the programs offered in the expanded General College to facilitate the transfer of those students who desire to continue their education.

The purpose of the junior colleges in St. Paul and Minneapolis would not necessarily focus upon the needs of disadvantaged students at the expense of other students. However, the needs of disadvantaged students should receive a much stronger emphasis than is presently exhibited in existing junior colleges. Close cooperation with the Area Vocational-Technical Schools that presently exist would be necessary. In point of fact, closer cooperation among all institutions involved would by necessity be imperative. Figure 7.4 presents a conceptualization of how this alternative would function.

Strengths: (1) Disadvantaged students would be the prime concern of the recommended institutions.

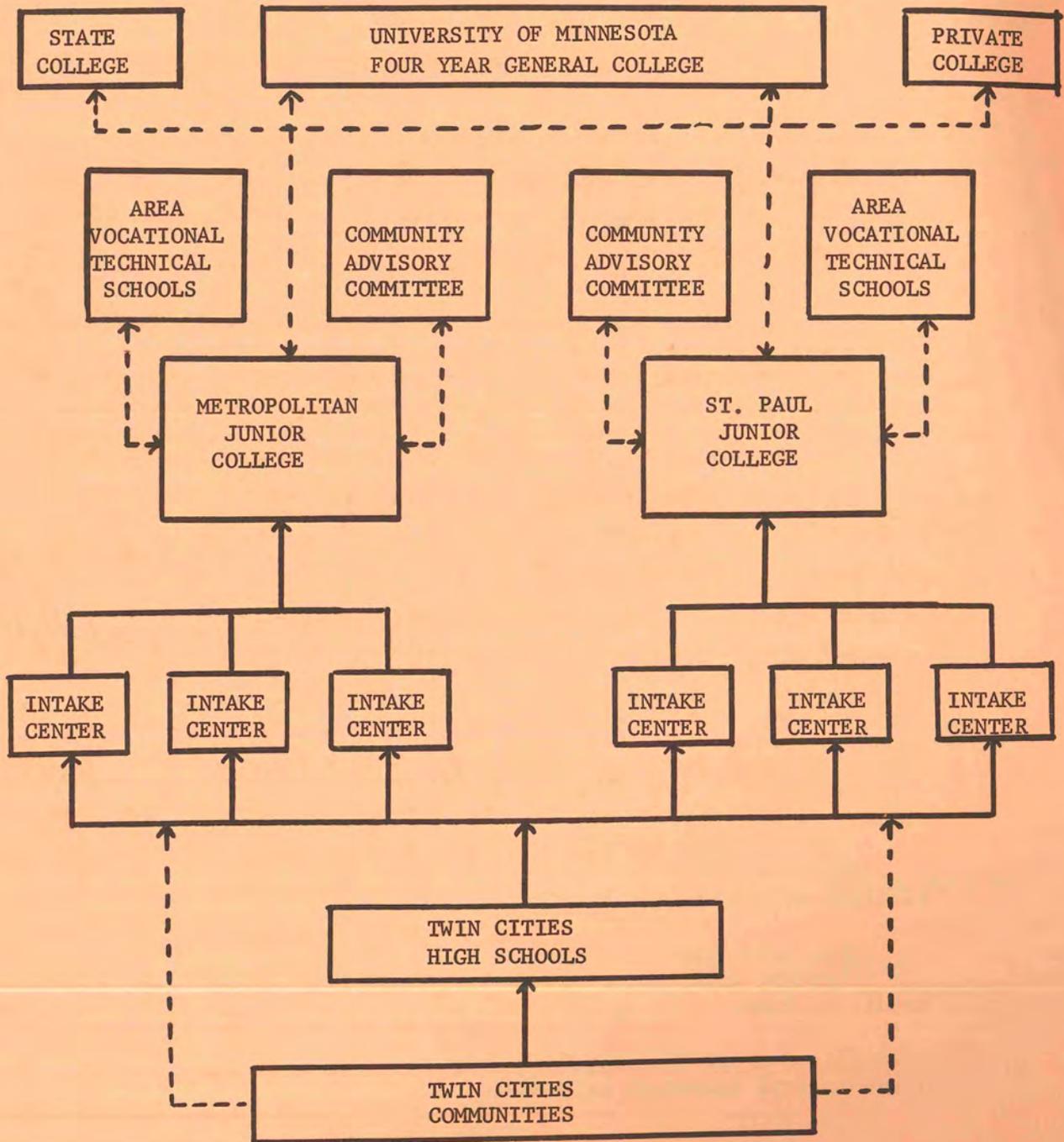
(2) The establishment of a new institution in St. Paul presents the opportunity to develop a true community college from the beginning.

(3) The needs of the communities to be served would be the major emphasis of the junior colleges.

(4) The institution could become student oriented rather than curriculum oriented.

(5) The services of the Dissemination Center or Urban Center could be incorporated without difficulty.

FIGURE 7.4



(6) Sufficient flexibility could be maintained to allow a student to obtain as much education as he desires or is capable of handling.

(7) The utilization of existing facilities is incorporated in this alternative.

Weaknesses. (1) The major weaknesses would be the difficulty involved in the establishment of a new concept in the operation of junior colleges.

(2) Cooperation will be difficult to obtain between the institutions and communities involved.

(3) The possibility exists that the transfer program will obtain priority for resources over the terminal and intermediate programs.

Alternative Five: Establish a Four-Year "Community College."

This institution will operate through a central administration providing programs to meet the individual needs of students. The programs offered will be distributed between Minneapolis and St. Paul in those areas where the programs were needed. The institution will not be primarily a degree granting institution. A degree program would be only one alternative. Some functions of the institution might be:

(1) Provide basic skills training for those who have not completed elementary or high school.

(2) Supply adequate compensatory education through tutoring, counseling, and remedial classes.

(3) Provide supportive services through individual assessment, personal advisement, personal counseling and maintenance of social workers.

(4) Maintain a flexibility in the curriculum which would allow the student to move from one field to another without penalty.

(5) Place the emphasis on the success of the student as a responsibility of the institution rather than leaving it to the student.

(6) Establish policies which would allow the student to coordinate his schooling with his need to work so that there would be no loss of credit or time.

(7) Provide the vehicle whereby the student is able to attain the highest level for which he has the ability and the desire.

(8) Utilize the resources of the community through the employment of professional and paraprofessional personnel.

(9) Actively recruit disadvantaged students, but not to the exclusion of other students who desire to attend.

(10) Establish an interation between the institution, the student, and the community.

(11) While the initial location of this institution would be quite disseminated, it might move toward a more centralized organization in the future. Figure 7.5 presents a conceptualization of the organization for this alternative.

Strengths. (1) The student knows he can go as far as he wants to go.

(2) No stigma would be attached to the institution since it would offer a degree program as an alternative.

(3) The primary emphasis would be on the student and his success.

(4) Involvement of the students and community should establish the concept that the offerings of the institution are "relevant" to their needs.

(5) The open door policy of the institution would make it available to all regardless of their financial status.

(6) Individual advisement of the students should facilitate the best utilization of individual abilities.

(7) The implementation of the programs would be gradual and experimental; therefore, no large initial outlay for facilities would be needed.

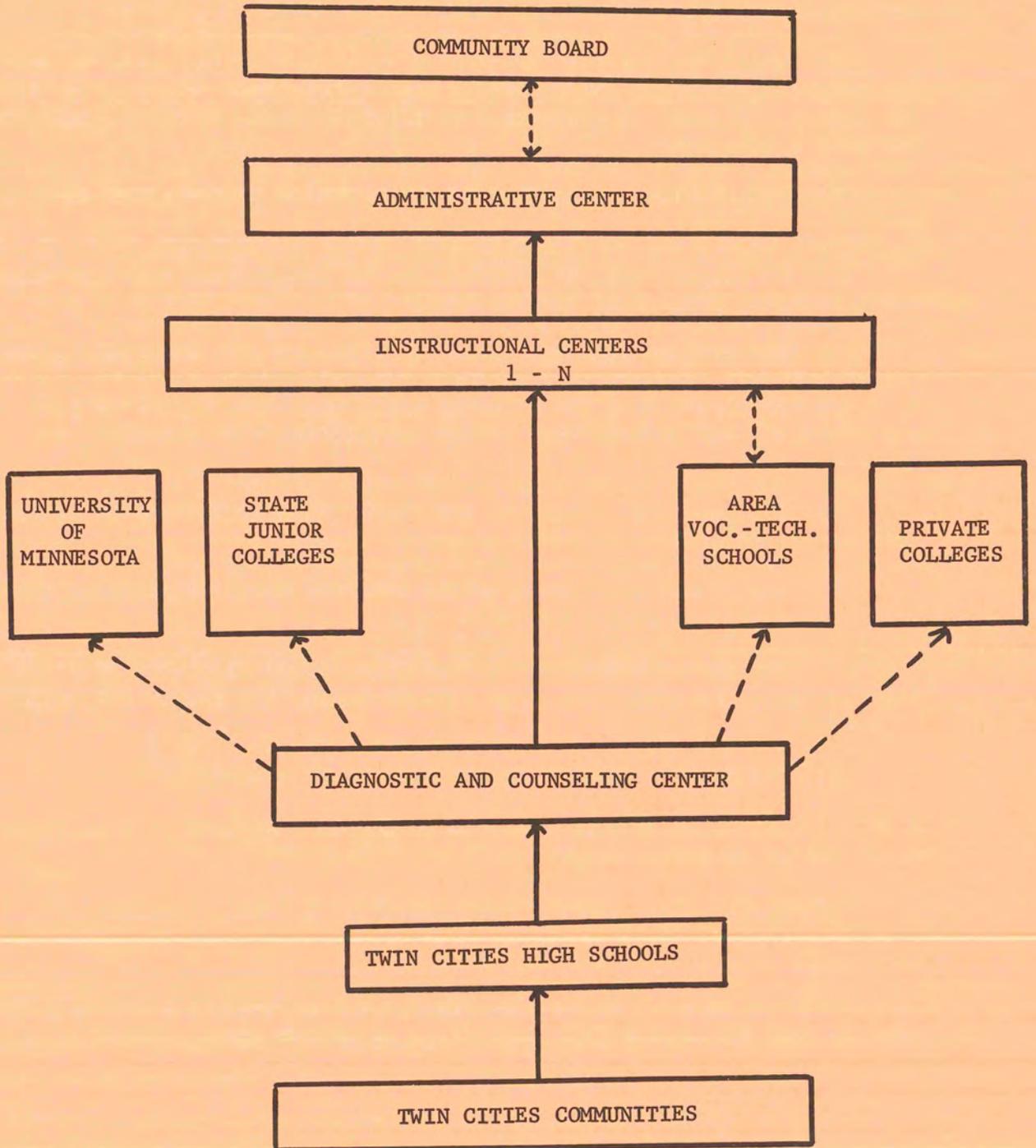
(8) Transfer problems would be reduced to a minimum.

(9) Such institutions would be in complete harmony with desires expressed by community leaders.

Weaknesses. (1) The diffused nature of the organizational structure is very complicated and much opposition can be anticipated, especially from the professional educator.

(2) The need for close cooperation with existing institutions is greater than is necessitated by a "free standing" college.

FIGURE 7.5



(3) The competition for financial resources may prove to be formidable, because this type of institution with its large supportive program will be, in the long run, more expensive to operate than regular college programs.

(4) It will be difficult to find administrative and teaching personnel who can identify with the problems involved. The emphasis to be placed on teaching rather than research and publishing implies that teachers and professors would have to be rewarded on a different basis than what presently exists. The "low visibility" of teaching does not bring to institutions as much prominence as the "high visibility" of research or publishing.

(5) The requirement of a new philosophy whereby the institution must accept more responsibility for the success or failure of its students may be very difficult to accept.

(6) A great commitment on the part of all concerned, especially the legislature, may be difficult to obtain. However, without this firm commitment, there will be little chance for the program to succeed.

(7) The determination of the agency responsible for the organization and administration of the institution may necessitate the establishment of a new administrative board.

The needs for certain organizational settings have been established on the basis of community, institutional, demographic and student analyses. The principle involved is that in the light of the existing confusion which envelops basic approaches to the problem of the disadvantaged, a primary policy statement vouching for an organizational framework dedicated specifically to the solution of the problems constitutes the first positive and actual step. This framework primarily focuses on individual needs. The need for special facilities at this point is restricted to basic administrative units depending, of course, on the alternative which is being considered.

Until such a decision is made, any further attempt to pursue planning procedures beyond the presented lay-out from the vantage point of programming and facilities would be too speculative in nature to serve practical purposes. Detailed programs and facilities can only be planned and proposed once the over-all commitment to the solution of the educational problems of the disadvantaged becomes a known factor.

He drew a circle that shut me out-  
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.  
But Love and I had the wit to win:  
We drew a circle that took him in!  
---Edwin Markham

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