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NOTE: This edited compendium of scholarship and reference material was designed to be an open edition that serves as an archive of information concerning Berea College and related matters including, but not limited to, social equity, innovation in education, interdisciplinary inquiry, labor, etc. This book was made to seed examination, edification, and the generation of further information.

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1.

A Community of Teachers

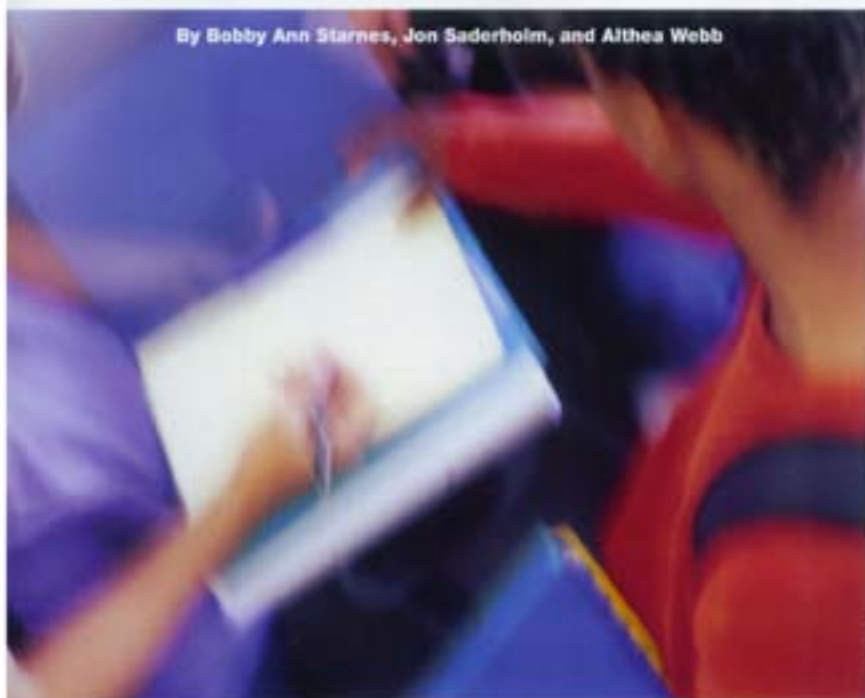
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A Community of Teachers

An era of reform is changing classrooms and creating a disconnect between what teacher education programs teach and what new teachers experience.

By Bobby Ann Starnes, Jon Saderholm, and Althea Webb



It is becoming increasingly difficult to find classrooms where preservice teachers can observe teachers engaged in the practices being taught in developmental constructivist classrooms.

There has always been a split between what students learn in their teacher preparation classrooms and what they experience in the field. That was true 45 years ago when one author was a student, and it was true when another completed his program 25 years ago. We suspect it will always be true.

But the split is growing more extreme because of the latest round of reforms spawned by No Child Left Behind. These reforms have had an enormous effect on all public schools, but especially on elementary schools and, consequently, on teacher education programs preparing elementary teachers. Now, decisions about how children will be educated are made far away from the bus stops where most American children begin their school days. Consequently, such federal initiatives as Reading First, extensive high-stakes testing, and redefining what counts as “research-based” programs have resulted in changes in what happens in elementary schools. These changes have firmly grounded education, especially in so-called low-performing schools, in behaviorism.

In many public school elementary classrooms under NCLB, education is more about “doing programs” than teaching. In these schools, reading coaches travel from classroom to classroom to ensure that all teachers implement scripted programs just as prescribed. Science, social studies, and the arts have given way to extra—and redundant—re-teaching in reading and math. In spite of evidence about the connections between physical activity and learning and the developmental needs of elementary children to move and play, recess and physical education have been sacrificed to make more time for remediation. Reading has been pushed down into kindergarten, and claims are being made that “all our kindergartners are reading” before 1st grade—something that anyone aware of child development knows is a virtual impossibility, unless by “all” we mean “some.” And in some cases, superintendents have decided preschool children should forgo their naps in order to provide more time for instruction.

As teachers move students from reading to math,

they’re pressured to “keep up” and to teach to and prepare for “the test.” Children have little privacy regarding their progress. Behavior management programs steeped in behaviorism emphasize card-flipping and other forms of public punishment and reward. The children’s progress is often posted on publicly displayed charts, clearly identifying the struggling children. Rewards for those who perform well—and accompanying punishments for those who don’t—abound.

We had an assembly, and all the students who scored the highest were called up on stage and given Olympic-style gold medals. Other kids who did well were given silver and bronze medals. Then all the children with medals got to attend a big pizza party. Those who scored low had to go to classrooms and do remedial math.

— Student teacher report, October 2009

There are many good ways to teach, and an argument could be made that NCLB-based practices are among them, though our experience and philosophy say they are not. But the question is what effects the changes in school climate and teaching practice have had on the preparation of teachers. After all, the role of teacher preparation programs isn’t to prepare teachers to meet NCLB standards or to use Success for All. Our task is to prepare teachers *to teach*, which is a wholly different task.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) emphasizes the importance of different approaches to teaching and learning. Although there are some basic requirements of all programs, NCATE doesn’t influence the content of a program’s philosophy. Rather, it requires that programs outline their guiding beliefs in a conceptual framework (CF). The CF “establishes the shared vision for a [teacher preparation program’s] efforts in preparing teachers to work effectively in P-12 schools.” And it must be fully integrated throughout the programs in ways that are “knowledge-based, articulated, shared, coherent, [and] consistent with the . . . institutional mission. . . to ensure that administrators, faculty, K-12 partners and candidates are working toward the same articulated goals” (Rasch and Gollnick 2005).

Clearly, the CF is meant to reflect an institution’s unique beliefs, and programs are held accountable

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for meeting the goals they define. While accreditation standards include basic requirements, the ways in which these standards are met is determined by individual programs based on their CF. Thus, institutions seeking NCATE accreditation are required to align their programs with their institution's mission.

How do we reconcile the changes in school climate and teaching practice with how we prepare students for the profession of teaching?

For Berea College, this means weaving standards, the knowledge base, and student experiences in a way that reflects Berea's unique history and commitment to social justice. The college was founded in 1855 by John G. Fee, the son of a slave owner, to educate students' minds and "also their hearts and consciences not merely in a knowledge of the sciences... but also in the principles of love... liberty, and justice." Before the Civil War, the student body included both black and white men and women of limited means, and the tuition was free. The college is still guided by the founding principles, and a tuition replacement program brings more than 1,500 students of limited means and great promise to campus each fall.

It isn't surprising that our teacher preparation program has a CF designed to prepare teachers to live out Fee's vision in their classrooms, or that we prepare teachers to be activists committed to social justice. Guided by the college's founding principles, our CF describes a developmental approach infused with inquiry, experience, democratic principles, and

constructivist teaching and learning. We prepare teachers who understand how and why to build a curriculum grounded in a commitment to teaching each child. We emphasize multiple starting points for instruction, high levels of choice, and autonomy. Our students understand that cultural context is central to learning and that, regardless of how much children might seem to be alike, they are not. Their unique combinations of culture, class, attention span, learning preferences, resiliency, personality, and prior experiences require teachers to have the diagnostic, assessment, and planning skills to create opportunities for each child to learn in ways that are appropriate for that child. And that requires that teachers have the freedom and responsibility to meet each child's needs in individual ways.

We are clear about what we do and why we do it. We respect other ways of preparing teachers, but those ways are not ours. However, like many other programs, we struggle with field placements. Field experiences should be matched with what is being learned in college classrooms, which isn't a simple matter that can be left to random placements. But there are difficulties. In rural areas, there are few placement options, and in urban areas, programs are often required to submit their placement requests to a central office administrator who places students without regard to matching student and mentor or teaching style and preparation programs. The match is made more difficult for programs such as ours because elementary schools are so strongly influenced by NCLB, which requires programs that are very incongruent with our CF.

Time also has become a central problem. In elementary schools, teachers are pressed to engage in program "fidelity"—that is, to implement programs exactly as designed. Teachers must move rigidly and

quickly through the content, and they spend extensive class time teaching to and preparing for standardized testing. As a result, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find classrooms where preservice teachers can observe teachers engaged in the practices being taught in developmental constructivist classrooms.

It is even more difficult to find space for our students to practice skills. Student teachers used to assume full classroom responsibilities for six weeks; now, they're lucky to have access for two weeks. And when they do have access to teaching responsibility, they all too often are required to implement reading and math programs as prescribed, giving them little practice in planning, assessing, and implementing the teaching practices taught in their college classes.

One faculty member charged with field placements wrote about her concerns:

The prospect of sending students into a real classroom never pains. I agree that candidates can learn something in any situation, the question is what they are learning. No one expects perfection, but it would be nice for students to return to campus excited about the possibilities of teaching, rather than disappointed about the reality... I want my students to see a model teacher at some point in their teacher preparation program. I believe the profession loses

potentially capable teachers because field experiences... deter some candidates.

Equally important is the debriefing after the field experience. It is essential to help students understand what they have seen. We emphasize write-ups, and yet our students have few opportunities to see this in action. Our students need opportunities to practice skills, not knowledge, and come to understand themselves better as teachers. However, when the discussion about field experiences becomes an endless litany of "what not to do," then the "to do" list remains abstract.

Students report that they seldom see what they're learning in class actualized in their field placements. Reflections in their student journals generally include such categories as:

- Lack of focus on individual children — "We learned that content should be modified for students, but what I see was all students doing exactly the same work."
- Rewards and punishments rooted in behaviorism — "Students were given pennies for listening and following directions."
- Students singled out for weaknesses — "The teacher read the names and scores of all the students."

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- Instructional strategies not aligned with Berea's CF — "I saw no examples of students doing inquiry; nothing in the classroom indicated inquiry took place."
- Lack of commitment to teaching for diversity — "I wasn't allowed to teach about Thanksgiving from a different perspective. I had to use the stereotyped Pilgrims-and-Indians-have-a-feast story."

There is pressure on schools of education to "partner" with public schools, but some institutions are hesitant. Such experiences as those identified above are troubling because we know how essential field work is to developing strong teachers. Teacher preparation programs simply can't and shouldn't do this important work in isolation from elementary school classrooms. At the same time, placing students in undesirable situations can do more harm than good.

THE COMMUNITY OF TEACHERS

So how do we create opportunities for students to participate in classrooms that are aligned with our philosophy and where they can practice the skills and strategies taught in their college classrooms? The answer lies in community. Real and sustainable change happens teacher to teacher, and Berea College is using that fact to design a new program that brings like-minded teachers and college faculty together. We call this program the Community of Teachers. We are exploring it in our secondary programs, where classroom teachers have more flexibility and NCLB hasn't

had such restrictive influence. In this community, membership is determined by shared vision and energy, but not a shared location. Individual teachers from many schools work together to mentor our students' developing teaching methods, to nurture our students' evolving professional identities, and to support the development of a holistic and coherent vision of teaching and learning — a vision informed by our conceptual framework.

Community of Teachers members, including both secondary teachers and college faculty, work as partners to develop curricula, to support experiences and assessments, and to constantly revisit program goals, assessments, and coursework. Early each semester, beginning in their fifth semester and continuing through their ninth, mentors and students meet to map their work together. Their plans are designed to scaffold learning and to move students through a series of developmental experiences. Basic teaching skills and content teaching strategies are emphasized in ways that connect with students' evolving professional identity grounded in our philosophy. The semester plan for action includes direct instruction from mentors, observations, practice, performance, reflection, and assessment. Documents, observations, and video serve as evidence. In their eighth semester, students enroll in the capstone assessment course. During this course, they practice creating rich assessment-for-learning experiences and adapting their instruction in light of the results. Afterward, they embark on student teaching. With this design, we can provide harmony between what our students experience in the field and what they learn in college classes, and we can also expand the influence of mentors on new professionals.

We're learning as we go. As always, thinking and working together is hard work, and we have had missteps — and we expect more. But the excitement of all involved leads us to think that once fully implemented and evaluated, the Community of Teachers can expand beyond secondary classrooms and into elementary programs. In the process, we're all learning and growing, and our program is greatly enriched by the "real world" connections between the content in our teacher preparation classes and life in schools. As we continue to build and refine the program, we expect that students will experience the joy of working closely with teachers whose passion and expertise reflect the kind of teachers our students hope to be. **MC**

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"Loud. They're playing with the toy they took away from me."

Accrediting Culture: An Analysis of Tribal and Historically Black College Curricula

Wade M. Cole

Stanford University

Using data gleaned from catalogs and bulletins for a sample of 28 tribal, 33 historically black, and 30 "mainstream" colleges, the author analyzes the number of courses that focus explicitly and exclusively on African American or American Indian cultural perspectives—"ethnocentric" content—in 1992 and 2002. Negative binomial regression analyses of course counts indicate that tribal colleges offer nearly 10 times as many "ethnocentric" courses as mainstream colleges, net of other institutional characteristics (e.g., minority enrollment, public or private control, two- or four-year college, and accreditation). This finding could be attributed to the quasi-sovereign legal status of Indian tribes, which, like other sovereigns, are invested with the authority to define what counts as legitimate knowledge. Compared with mainstream institutions, privately controlled black colleges offer approximately 15 percent more, and publicly controlled black colleges offer 73 percent fewer, Afrocentric courses.

The increasing "isomorphism" or ritualized homogeneity of formal curricula at all levels of schooling—primary, secondary, and tertiary—has been well documented (Benavot et al. 1991; Cha 1991; Frank and Gabler 2006; Frank, Schofer, and Torres 1994; Frank et al. 2000; Kamens and Benavot 1991; Kamens, Meyer, and Benavot 1996; McEneaney 1998; Meyer, Kamens, and Benavot 1992; Rauner 1998; Wong 1991). Sociological institutionalists have posited that curricula in the United States and throughout the world are becoming progressively more standardized because of their shared foundations in world-cultural models of reality (Gabler and Frank 2005; McEneaney and Meyer 2000; Meyer, Boli, and Thomas 1987). As our collective understanding of nature became "disenchanted" and rationalized, for example, science displaced religion as the foundation for knowledge (Drori et al. 2003; Frank and Gabler 2006; Gabler and Frank

2005). So it is, too, with the disenchantment of the nation: Since the Second World War, regional, subnational, and world histories have supplanted the grand historical narratives of nation-states in university curricula (Frank et al. 2000). Curricular changes may therefore be viewed as "signposts of [world] cultural change" (Cumport 1988).

Similarly, the incorporation of racial and ethnic perspectives into curricula signals improvements over the past half century in the moral, social, and legal status of minority groups. This change is evidenced in the proliferation of women's and ethnic studies programs since the 1960s (Champagne and Stauss 2002; Kangas and Olzak 2003; Rojas 2003; Wotipka, Martinez, and Ramirez 2004; Wright 1990), the expanding representation of minority groups and non-Western cultures in history curricula (Frank et al. 1994; Frank et al. 2000), and the current vogue of multicultural curricula (Olneck 1993).

It is crucial, however, to distinguish between multicultural and "ethnocentric" curricula. Multiculturalism celebrates diversity, whereas ethnocentrism privileges one racial, ethnic, or cultural group to the exclusion of others. Multicultural curricula—which emphasize the "democracy of human culture" (Du Bois 2001:178)—are reformist, inclusionary, multivocal, and pluralist; conversely, ethnocentric curricula—which focus on only one minority group—are revolutionary, exclusionary, univocal, and separatist. In the United States, Afrocentrism represents a quintessentially ethnocentric curricular innovation, one that has garnered much attention but little success in recent years (Asante 1991; Binder 2000, 2002). According to Binder (2000:71), Afrocentrism "seeks to center Africa in world history and culture, whereas multiculturalism generally seeks to teach pluralist history and cultural foundations." As such, Afrocentrists advocate the complete overhaul of existing curricula and pedagogy. Support for Afrocentrism is limited, though, because Afrocentrism fails to resonate with wider cultural and political frames that promote integration, equality, and diversity (Binder 2000; Davies 1999; Snow and Benford 1992). Instead, it merely replaces one form of ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, with another.

Although isolated deviations from globally institutionalized curricular frameworks exist, they are typically the product of exceptionally strong civilizational or ideological forces (Ramirez and Meyer 2002). Unlike most other parts of the world, many Islamic nations continue to emphasize religious studies, and the Soviet Union was unique for eschewing moral or religious instruction (Kamens 1992). This article draws attention to a case of ethnocentric curricula on a much smaller and hence more perplexing scale: tribal colleges and universities in the United States. As an impoverished minority group amounting to less than 1 percent of the U.S. population, American Indians are, by most accounts, powerless to effect changes in deeply entrenched curricular models. Moreover, colleges and universities that serve African Americans—a much larger, geographically concentrated, and hence more powerful con-

stituency by conventional standards—incorporate ethnocentric subject matter much less extensively than tribal colleges do. To understand why, we must recognize that American Indians (or, more precisely, Indian tribes) wield much more political clout than their demographic characteristics would imply.

The discussion begins with an overview of tribal colleges and universities (TCUs) and historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Then, using sociological institutionalism to frame the analysis and derive hypotheses (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Scott 2001), I explore the degree to which African American and American Indian cultural perspectives, broadly defined, are integrated into the formal curricula of HBCUs and TCUs.¹

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Minority-serving colleges and universities epitomize hybrid organizations that are "composed of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together" (Albert and Whetten 1985:270). On the one hand, they are firmly rooted in the distinctive historical and cultural legacies of the particular minority groups they serve; on the other hand, they confront the same political, institutional, and social forces that operate to produce isomorphism in the field of higher education at large (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). TCUs and HBCUs strike a balance between these centrifugal tendencies in different proportions, however, largely because of the unique conditions of their historical emergence and development.

HBCUs

HBCUs, the oldest minority-serving colleges in the United States, emerged during the antebellum era.² Figure 1 depicts patterns of growth and decline in the number of HBCUs between 1840 and 2000 (and in TCUs since their emergence in 1962). Beginning with Cheyney University in 1837, HBCUs passed through four distinct stages—prohibition,

as demarcated by three historical watersheds: the end of the Civil War in 1865, the "separate but equal" ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Myers 1989). These watersheds are illustrated in Figure 1 by dashed vertical lines.

Until the Civil War, most states in the American South criminalized the education of black students. Missouri's Act of February 16, 1847, is indicative: "No person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes, in reading or writing, in this State." Thus, the earliest black "colleges" were established in states located north of the Mason-Dixon Line, although most did not offer baccalaureate degrees until the 1930s. According to a governmental review of "Negro education" in 1917, "[t]hrough a large number of the schools for colored people are called 'colleges' and even 'universities,' there are very few institutions that have equipment for college work or pupils prepared to study college subjects" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1917, vol. 2:16).

The postbellum constitutional amendments ended slavery and granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States, irrespective of race. In principle, black Americans

became heirs to the same rights as white citizens, including the right to attend public schools. Nevertheless, rather than permit newly emancipated slaves to enroll in white colleges, most Southern and border states established separate facilities for blacks and enacted laws to enforce collegiate segregation.³ This explains the dramatic expansion in the number of black colleges after 1865 (see Figure 1).

Public funding for black colleges was sporadic until 1890, when the Second Morrill Act compelled states with "dual" higher education systems to support land-grant colleges for black as well as white students. Nineteen HBCUs were established as a result. Although state appropriations remained paltry by comparison with white colleges, Du Bois (2001:65) expressed the prevailing (if hyperbolic) sentiment in a speech to his alma mater, Fisk University, in 1924: "Of all the essentials that make an institution of learning, money is the least." Under conditions of resource scarcity and ambiguity, organizations tend to imitate other, putatively more successful organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), and HBCUs were no exception. Black colleges tended to adopt the structures

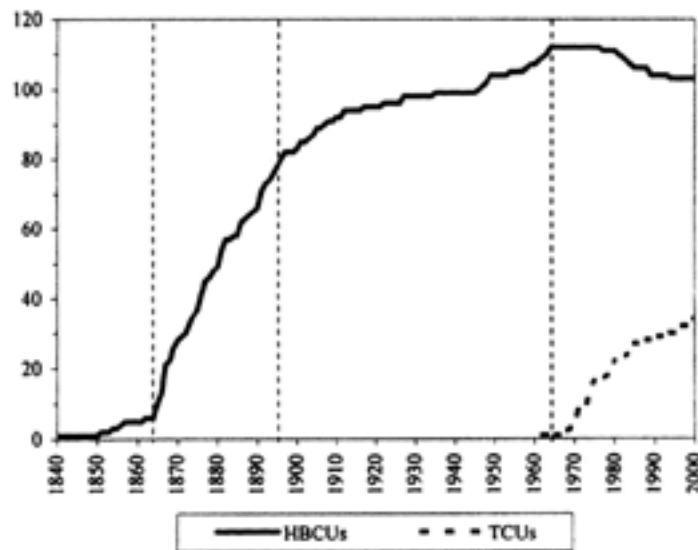


Figure 1. Number of HBCUs and TCUs, 1840–2000

and curricula of their white counterparts. "With rare exceptions," Drewry and Doermann (2001:58) acknowledged, "the courses of study [at HBCUs] were carbon copies of those followed in New England academies and colleges. Latin and Greek held the place of honor, with serious attention also given to mathematics and grammar." The federal government decried such indiscriminant copying as wildly impractical, especially because most black college students, being only one or two generations removed from slavery, were ill prepared for college-level study:

The colleges have been . . . handicapped by the tenacity with which they have clung to the classical form of the curriculum. They have had an almost fatalistic belief not only in the powers of the college, but in the Latin and Greek features of the course. The majority of them seem to have more interest in the traditional forms of education than in . . . the needs of their pupils and their community. Ingenuously some of their leaders have been urging secondary schools to prepare their pupils for college rather than for life. In all this, to be sure, they are following in the footsteps of the schools for white people. (U.S. Department of the Interior 1917, vol. 1:56)

Others, much more blatant in their racism, argued that schools should condition black youths to accept their inferior roles in society. Liberal studies, it was feared, would generate widespread disaffection by causing blacks to question the "naturalness" of white supremacy. As a Georgia governor once remarked, "I do not believe in the higher education of the darkey [sic]. He must be taught the trades. When he is taught the fine arts, he is educated above his caste, and it makes him unhappy" (quoted in Kujovich 1987:67-68).⁴ Whatever the reasons for lamenting curricular replication at the turn of the 20th century, by the century's end, in 1992, the Supreme Court's ruling in *United States v. Fordice* would impugn black colleges for continuing to implement a "separate but equal" curriculum.

The number of HBCUs expanded rapidly during the 1910s and 1920s, with 33 institutions providing college-grade instruction for blacks in 1915 and 77 in 1927. By 1928, vir-

tually all aspiring HBCUs had abandoned primary and secondary curricula in favor of collegiate-level programs. Thereafter, except for two brief spurts following World War II,⁵ the rate of expansion slowed; in 1964, it stopped altogether. Once the Civil Rights Act removed the legal barriers that prevented black students from enrolling in "white" universities, Congress prohibited the establishment of additional "black" institutions. Consequently, as extant HBCUs closed, new ones did not replace them. This situation accounts for the sudden "flat line" and gradual decline in the number of HBCUs after 1964. Today, black colleges have been criticized, at best, for outliving their *raison d'être* and, at worst, for perpetuating segregation. The 103 HBCUs that are currently in operation nevertheless account for 16 percent of black postsecondary enrollments, and approximately one out of four bachelor's degrees that are earned by black students is awarded by 40 public and 49 private historically black universities. There is also a two-year college sector of 10 public and 4 private institutions.

TCUs

Unlike HBCUs, TCUs are a comparatively recent development in American education, and most are established, chartered, and controlled by the communities they serve—Indian tribes.⁶ The first TCUs, beginning with the federally chartered Institute of American Indian Arts in 1962 and the tribally chartered Navajo Community College in 1968, opened during the Red Power movement, and they continue to be "imprinted" (Stinchcombe 1965) with the spirit of activism permeating that era. In fact, the emergence of TCUs was closely tied to the shift in federal Indian policy from termination to self-determination (Nagel 1996:213-33). In 1953, Congress formulated a plan (House Concurrent Resolution 108) to end or "terminate" the special trust relationship between tribes and the federal government. Fifteen years later, in 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson signaled the federal government's renewed support of tribal self-determination (Prucha 2000: 249-50). Indian control of higher education, as a product of this policy shift, both indicates and

facilitates tribal sovereignty. The quasi-sovereign status of Indian tribes entails the authority to establish and control separate institutions (Rosenfelt 1973); in turn, TCUs provide Indians with the tools that are necessary for shaping their independent political, cultural, and economic destinies. A series of congressional acts in the 1970s—the Indian Education Act of 1972; the Indian Education Assistance and Self-Determination Act of 1975; and, most important for tribal colleges, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978—expanded tribal participation in and control over education.

Six tribal colleges were established during the "first wave" of expansion between 1968 and 1972 (Stein 1992). The number of TCUs increased to 15 by 1978, 21 by 1984, and 27 by 1995. Currently, 35 TCUs enroll approximately 10 percent of the 127,000 American Indian and Alaska Native students who attend institutions of higher education. To be eligible for federal assistance, as authorized by the Tribally Controlled College or University Assistance Act, TCUs must (1) be chartered by American Indian tribes; (2) be governed by a board of trustees or directors, a majority of whom are Indians; and (3) maintain at least 50 percent Indian enrollment.

Consistent with their mission to serve the needs of local Indian reservations, most TCUs originated as community colleges, although a growing number of them offer bachelor's and master's degrees. In their various capacities, tribal colleges promote academic mobility by awarding credentials that are transferable to "mainstream" colleges and universities; invigorate reservation economies by offering vocational and technical programs; enhance self-determination by training a new generation of tribal leaders; and revitalize tribal languages, cultures, and traditions. Indeed, tribal colleges "view culture as central to their curricula" (Cunningham and Parker 1998:49) and offer a balance of culturally distinctive and conventional programs. Navajo Community College (1994-95:8), for example, offers "curriculum and services [that] integrate the traditional values of the Dine [i.e., Navajo] language and culture with contemporary educational mandates."

Comparing TCUs and HBCUs

Although TCUs and HBCUs both serve underrepresented minorities who may not otherwise attend college, the foregoing discussion illuminates their many differences. One difference is purely demographic. As illustrated in Figure 1, HBCUs have outnumbered TCUs in recent years by a factor of 3 to 1. A different approach standardizes the number of colleges by population. Since the early 1900s, the number of HBCUs has declined steadily relative to the African American population, from a peak of nearly 10 HBCUs per million African Americans in 1890 to only 3 in 2000. By contrast, after only a decade as a separate institutional form, 19 TCUs had been established for every 1 million American Indians.⁷ Nevertheless, the most relevant differences, especially with respect to curricular composition, are not demographic but historical and political. HBCUs emerged entirely before 1964 to accommodate racial segregation. The first tribally chartered college was established only in 1968—four years after the Civil Rights Act and 14 years after the Brown v. Board of Education (1954) decision—on the heels of increased Indian self-determination. What explains this fundamental difference? Minority education policies and, *a fortiori*, policies that target minority-serving colleges are shaped by the political and legal status of minority groups. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the decisive turning point. Prior to 1964, American Indians were coercively assimilated into, and African Americans were legally or customarily segregated from, mainstream society.⁸ These contradictory policies have also characterized the relationship of African Americans and American Indians, as groups, to mainstream school systems (Gross 1973). Congressional legislation, such as the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, "mainstreamed" Indian students by integrating them into public schools, even while state laws continued to segregate black and white students. The civil rights era engendered a dramatic policy inversion: African Americans are now entitled, even obligated, to attend racially integrated schools; conversely, federal Indian policies support the rights of tribes to establish and control independent schools on reservations.

These contradictory patterns of minority-

group incorporation shape the organizational identities, institutional missions, and curricular composition of minority-serving colleges. Black colleges, as parallel institutions, emerged and developed in reaction to the historical realities of institutionalized racism; they do not now, nor did they ever, reflect a collective desire among African Americans for continued separation. Du Bois (2001:130) once explained that "[a] Negro university . . . does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction." Kymlicka (2001:192), writing nearly 70 years later, put it this way: "African-American defenders of Afrocentric schools . . . are not in fact seeking to recreate or extend institutional separatism. They are instead seeking long-term integration, and see Black-focused schools as a transitional step, needed to reduce drop-out rates, and thereby enable more African-Americans to acquire the skills and credentials needed to succeed in mainstream institutions." Integration, not segregation, has always been a goal of HBCUs.

To prepare African American students for integration into mainstream society and to put them on an equal footing with white students, HBCUs replicated curricula that were offered at white colleges. TCUs, alternatively, owe their existence to policies that affirm the right of Indian tribes to administer their own political, social, and economic affairs, including their own schools. As hybrid institutions that combine "Indian" and "mainstream" organizational mandates, a central objective of tribal colleges is the preservation of indigenous languages and cultures. This objective naturally influences the kinds of curricula that TCUs offer.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The ensuing analysis, grounded in an open-systems organizational perspective, draws attention to the institutional, political, and legal forces that shape the composition of formal curricula at TCUs and HBCUs. Open-systems approaches pay "increasing attention to the external context as a basis for explaining

internal features of organizations" (Scott and Meyer 1994:137). As with other colleges and universities, minority-serving institutions depend on external sources for support. They are beholden to governments, tuition-paying students, alumni, foundations, and private donors for financial resources and to accrediting agencies for certification. Minority-serving colleges are also sensitive to policy changes with respect to minority groups.

Schools align themselves with exogenously promulgated social norms, legal regulations, and institutional models to accrue "legitimacy" and thereby to acquire the resources necessary for survival (e.g., Meyer and Rowan 1977; Meyer, Scott, and Deal 1981; Rowan and Miskel 1999; Scott 2001). Typically, schools that deviate too far or without proper justification from accepted cognitive, normative, or legal imperatives compromise their very existence.

Tribal sovereignty plays a central role in the efforts of Indian tribes to "bend the bars of the iron cage," so to speak, by developing and implementing culturally distinctive curricula at independently controlled colleges. By virtue of their historical sovereignty (Barsh 1986, 1994; Clinebell and Thomson 1978; Cohen 1942a, 1942b; Cornell 1988; Deloria and Lytle 1984; Kingsbury 2001; Macklem 1993; Vitoria [1557] 1917; Werther 1992; *Worcester v. Georgia* 1832), Indian tribes advance powerful claims to self-determination. As individual members of racial categories, American Indians also reference liberal claims, including the right to enjoy one's cultural heritage, that are available to all Americans. Nevertheless, federal Indian law treats "Indians not as a discrete racial group, but, rather, as members of quasi-sovereign tribal entities" (*Morton v. Mancari* 1974:554). The unique political status of Indian tribes exempts tribal colleges (and other tribally controlled schools) from provisions, such as Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, that prohibit racial discrimination in federally assisted programs.

By contrast, demands by African Americans for collective self-determination are much weaker. Their claims, grounded in the principles of equality and civil rights, provide a less compelling justification for minori-

ty control of colleges and universities or for the development of "ethnocentric" curricula that such control entails (Binder 2002; Davies 1999; Olneck 1993). Absent claims to sovereignty, the peremptory logic of racial integration tends to compromise the legitimacy of racially identifiable colleges. Federal courts have ruled, for example, that states have an "affirmative duty" under the Equal Protection Clause and the Civil Rights Act to eliminate all remaining distinctions between black and white colleges by converting them into "just" colleges.⁹

Collective self-determination supports what Feinberg (1998:19) called educational "separatism," the notion that "groups should form their own separate educational institutions and use them to maintain their own distinctive identity." (Note the affinities between "separatism" and what I refer to as "ethnocentrism.") Liberal claims, conversely, find expression in multiculturalism (Olneck 1993), the idea that a variety of cultures should be equally represented in and valorized by school curricula. "From the multiculturalist standpoint, separatism achieves one important goal of education—the development of cultural affiliation and pride—but it does so at the neglect of another goal—the understanding and recognition of different cultures" (Feinberg 1998:19). Multiculturalism, then, supports the incorporation of minority students and their cultural perspectives into the mainstream academy, rather than the more "radical" or illiberal aim of establishing separate schools that cater exclusively to one cultural group. Put differently, multiculturalism promotes cultural diversity within but not necessarily across schools. The decline of HBCUs after 1964, in tandem with the rapid diffusion of African American studies programs at mainstream institutions (Rojas 2003), illustrates this difference.¹⁰ Tribal colleges and American Indian studies programs emerged and expanded concomitantly, highlighting the availability of both separatist claims that authorize the establishment of independent tribally controlled institutions, and multicultural claims that advocate the inclusion of American Indian cultures into mainstream academic curricula.

The legal status of HBCUs has become

especially tenuous in recent decades as federal courts have repeatedly challenged their constitutionality. In 1969, "the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare notified 10 states that they were guilty of maintaining dual systems of higher education—one for blacks and one for whites—in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Samuels 2004:79). Four years later, in *Adams v. Richardson* (1973), a U.S. district court ordered the offending states to formulate and implement collegiate desegregation plans. More recently, in *United States v. Fordice* (1992), the Supreme Court condemned publicly controlled HBCUs in Mississippi—and, by implication, elsewhere—as remnants of the de jure segregated regime (see Blake 1991; Stefkovich and Leas 1994; Strasser 2000). *Fordice* singled out curricula as part of the problem. According to the Court, the duplication of "nonessential" academic programs between historically black and predominantly white colleges was not only "wasteful and irrational," but part and parcel of the antiquated separate-but-equal higher education system.

DATA AND HYPOTHESES

To consider the extent to which TCUs, HBCUs, and mainstream colleges incorporate ethnocentric content into the formal curriculum, I analyzed data obtained from two sources. First, I coded curricular data using catalogs or bulletins issued by 28 TCUs and 33 HBCUs at five-year intervals between 1977 and 2002. I also compiled data for an additional 30 mainstream colleges and universities at two time points, 1992 and 2002, to serve as a comparative baseline.¹¹ Appendix A presents a list of the institutions in my sample. The second data source, the Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System (IPEDS), describes key organizational features of colleges and universities in the United States (U.S. Department of Education 1992, 2002). The resulting data set comprises 177 institution-year observations: 86 for 1992 and 91 for 2002.

Sample Selection

The analysis included all TCUs for which catalogs were available. I selected a sample of 33 HBCUs, approximately one-third of the total "population," to maximize comparability with TCUs—most of which are publicly controlled community colleges—and to ensure sufficient variability with respect to the size of enrollment, composition of minority enrollment, and other institutional characteristics. The selection of 30 mainstream colleges and universities was governed by a similar rationale: Two-year colleges, publicly controlled institutions, and institutions with above-average African American and American Indian enrollments were oversampled, as were colleges in the same states as TCUs and HBCUs (primarily in the West, Southwest, Midwest, and South). Geographic proximity controls for any unmeasured effects arising from shared institutional, social, and legal environments.

The resulting sample was designed to "contrast cases in which the phenomenon to be explained [ethnocentric curricula] and the hypothesized causes [minority-serving institutional charters] are present to other ('negative') cases in which the phenomenon and the causes are both absent, although they are as similar as possible to the 'positive' cases in other respects" (Skocpol and Somers 1980:183). This analytic approach, known as the method of difference, isolates the effect of different minority-serving charters on the composition of postsecondary curricula while holding other relevant control variables, such as institutional characteristics and minority enrollments, constant (see Appendix B for more details).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable, *number of ethnocentric courses*, is a tally of the number of undergraduate-level courses that made explicit and exclusive reference to American Indian or African American issues, perspectives, or worldviews. I examined catalogs for course titles and descriptions, recording (1) the total number of courses offered during a given academic year and, of those courses, (2) the

number that referred specifically to American Indian, tribal, black, or African American—that is, to ethnocentric—content.¹² These variables describe the *intended*, rather than the *enacted*, curriculum. It is impossible to gauge whether classroom activities were faithful to the course descriptions, nor do the data address how curricula were designed, approved, or implemented. Measuring and analyzing curricula in this manner nevertheless has several precedents in the research literature (e.g., Frank et al. 1994; Frank et al. 2000; Gumpert and Snyderman 2002).

Independent and Control Variables

The core independent variables, *tribal and historically black charters*, identify colleges and universities in the sample as TCUs (1 = yes, 0 = mainstream or HBCUs) or HBCUs (1 = yes, 0 = mainstream or TCUs). Tribal college charters, conferred by Indian tribes, invariably include mandates to preserve tribal languages and cultures. Conversely, debates raged over the particular kind of mission, and hence curricula, that HBCUs should adopt. In a famous debate, Booker T. Washington envisioned a predominantly vocational, technical, and agricultural course of study, whereas W. E. B. Du Bois advocated a liberal arts curriculum. The fundamental point, however, is that both models are in some sense "conventional"—neither Washington nor Du Bois assigned HBCUs the role of preserving "black" culture per se. Although approached in different ways, their aims were singular: to prepare African Americans, as members of either the working or the middle class, for integration into mainstream society. Black studies played a marginal role in this endeavor,¹³ which motivates the first hypothesis: *All else being equal, the number of courses that integrate American Indian content at TCUs is greater than the number of courses that incorporate African American content at HBCUs.*

My analysis pits the effect of minority-serving charters against consumer-driven processes. Kraatz and Zajac (1996) found that aggregate student preferences contributed to the development of professional and vocational curricula at liberal arts colleges. The

3.

Berea College

Black, Isabella "Berea College" *The Phylon Quarterly*. Vol 18. No 3
(3rd Qtr. 1957)

Berea College

IN 1904 THE wave of delayed reaction then sweeping the South hit Kentucky in the form of the Day law forbidding the "coeducation of the races" as it was called at Berea College, the only institution of higher education in the State still attended by both white and Negro students. On the surface compliance with the law seemed to mark the passing of the old Berea with its pre-war abolitionist traditions. In reality it only reflected — as it justified — a change in outlook and program that had been developing over a period of years. The real turning point was the death, in 1889, of E. H. Fairchild, who had become Berea's first president after its reorganization as a full-fledged college in 1868. John G. Fee, founder and, in a real sense, father of the School and the community around it, had lived on into the new administration, but his influence — which had been mainly moral rather than administrative — became less and less. A sketch of the early history of Berea in the *Berea Quarterly* does not even mention Fee. In his own lifetime he had become a figure of the past.

It would not be formally correct to say that Berea put up no fight at all. The College engaged the State in a "friendly suit" by, in the words of President Frost, "causing only as much violation as was necessary to test" the constitutionality of the Day law, making no attempt to carry on as an interracial school in the meantime. A note was inserted in the *Quarterly* of August 1904 to the effect that no new Negro students could be accepted until after the fate of the Day law had been decided and that the College would support already enrolled Negro students by sending them, at the School's expense, to Negro colleges. This, in the editorial view of the *Nation*, was the very least the College could do in view of the provisions of its charter. Some of the trustees felt more sharply that the School should close until it could be continued on its own terms. Others said that if one race or the other had to go, Berea should become a Negro college. But it was clear, at least to the *New York Independent* (April 14, 1904) that the heart of President Frost was not in winning the decision; his heart was in the highlands, and under his direction Berea had already become a folkschool and was turning more and more to the mountaineers, 'of purest American stock,' 'our contemporary ancestors' for students while, as the *Independent* charged, not particularly encouraging Negro applicants.

Before the State Senate Committee Frost conceded the main point at

issue. "Berea," he said, "favors a separation of the races in the public schools of Kentucky." He did not question the right of the State government to order the affairs of the public schools as it should see fit, but only its right to interfere in the management of a privately supported institution.

His predecessor had thought otherwise. In a baccalaureate sermon delivered in 1878, President Fairchild complained that because of a dual school system

a portion of our people must be destitute of schools; and where pupils are sufficient, we must be burdened with the support of two sets of schools in thousands of country districts where there are barely enough children for one. This is a burden which no state is able to bear. Our country schools, therefore, must be very short, or very poor, or both and all for the sake of teaching the children the necessity and duty of being antagonistic to each other; for the children, left to their natural instincts, would harmonize without difficulty, and thus the foundation would be laid for civil and political equality and harmony for all generations.

The final end of Berea as an interracial college was the founding of Lincoln Institute as a vocational, industrial school 'more suited to the needs' of Negroes, leaving Berea free to exploit the 'quaint' handicrafts and 'peculiar' speech and folkways of the mountain whites in a way that was hardly less insulting. Much of the *Quarterly* was, by this time, written in what purported to be mountain dialect.

It was not easy to provide the rationale for an openly stated course so much at variance with Berean tradition; President Frost had to labor mightily at his self-appointed task of proving to the world at large that Berea would continue to do her duty by Negro education. What, he asked, did Berea owe the Negro? "We possess not a dollar that came with the understanding that we would maintain a mixed school, but all gifts came with the understanding of the practice of impartial love." When, in the fall of 1904, the fate of the Day law was still in doubt, Berea sent enrolled Negro students to Fisk and other colleges at her own expense; the following term twenty Negro students who had never registered at Berea were selected for sending at Berea's expense to Negro colleges; the College had become 'impoverished' in raising money to set up the new all-Negro Lincoln Institute. Was not this enough to cover duty — with something left over for pure charity? Dr. Frost found an answer to the problem that conformed to the dominant educational trends while it met his personal need to head a large and accepted institution. In so doing he found supporters and sources of income in high places to replace the crusading funds that had seen Berea through its "day of small things."

History suggests a more probable answer to this question, "What did Berea owe the Negro?" and raises some additional questions concerning

other related debts. Berea's first big debt, for the very land on which it stood, was to the original trustees, who — before the War — had purchased the site as a basis for abolitionist propaganda. Another early financial obligation was that to the Freedmen's Bureau and its Director, Oliver Otis Howard, who wrote in his autobiography of his determination to help Berea because of its "sturdy and fearless recognition of the manhood of the Negro." The help given by the Bureau was far from negligible. First was a contribution of seventeen thousand dollars toward the construction of Chase Hall, to which sum "upon the earnest solicitation of President Fairchild and Mr. Fee" an additional two thousand was given to complete the work. In 1870 Mr. Howard authorized seven thousand dollars to complete a new women's dormitory, "Ladies Hall," which "placed Berea upon a substantial basis." "The government aid," commented Howard, "was for the Freedmen and such as would properly be called 'refugees' and their descendants." Mr. Frost's reference in his autobiography to the "shrewdness" of Fee and Fairchild in thus obtaining aid gives them credit for a worldly wisdom that would have made the very existence of Berea impossible.

Of greater importance in assessing the debt of Berea to Negro education is the nature of its own promotional literature. Very few appeals for funds neglected to mention that this was the one school in Kentucky where Negro students were welcomed on an equal basis with their white fellows; not seldom did they point with justified pride to Berea as the last remaining monument to the abolitionist movement in the South. And how can one put a monetary valuation on the endorsements of William L. Garrison, Theodore D. Weld, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher?

Probably the greatest obligation was that owed to the Negro community in the village of Berea; these were the people who had moved their families to Berea in order that their children could take advantage of its unique opportunity for an equal classical education.

There is another debt — to the nation — that is much harder to assess. The common people of the South have since paid and are still paying — a debt to the education in democracy of the white southern young people who walked sometimes fifty miles to sit in the same classroom with Negro students, afraid at first, but soon finding that nothing happened to them. This was the education dearest to the heart of Berea's founder, whose chief aim was always to save the souls of southern whites from the sin of complicity in slaveholding and prejudice.

Still, the wonder is not that Berea changed, but that elements of its original program had lived so long. Berea was a miracle, even in Reconstruction days. Even Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, had stated flatly that southern whites would not go to school

with Negroes. By 1904 Reconstruction and its institutions had passed away. That even a shade of the work of its founders should still exist in a world that knew them not can only be explained in terms of the kind of men and women they were.

Berea had its beginning in a young divinity student's solemn covenant with God to preach against slavery in his native Kentucky. John Gregg Fee tells, in his autobiography, how as a student at Lane Theological Seminary, he, being sorely exercised on the subject of slavery, prayed in a vacant lot near the College, "God, if need be, even make me an abolitionist." The story may be apochryphal but it is in keeping with the deeply religious spirit that moved all the early Bereans. John A. R. Rogers, the first principal of the pre-war Berea Academy, in his account of the founding of the College, refers to the foresight of the Creator, who had evidently made the ridge as a connecting link between the mountaineers and the slaves — later freedmen — in the bluegrass country, with the future establishment of Berea in mind. The name itself has scriptural significance, the namesake being that city mentioned by the Apostle Paul whose virtuous citizens searched the scriptures and gladly heard the word of God.

Fee's theology, though he began his preaching career as an ordained Presbyterian, came nearer to what would have been called "hard-shell Baptist" fifty years ago. He opposed, besides slave-holding, liquor, tobacco and secret societies. Even after he separated from the Presbyterians and organized his own church with as small a creed as possible — that no anti-slavery Christian should be turned away — the one other cardinal dogma must needs be baptism by total immersion. He married the noble Matilda Hamilton, daughter of slave-holders as he was a son, who was to follow him and raise his children wherever his determination to preach abolition in Kentucky might lead, only after her public conversion and profession of faith. The immersion came somewhat later; he had had little time, what with the problem of universal Christian love, to think on immersion. But, being convinced, he and Matilda were baptized by an abolitionist preacher in Cabin Creek. Even as late as 1895 Berea's new, modern President, Dr. Frost, was called home from a European vacation to deal with "Brother Fee," who was raising the problem of total immersion in the backslidden Berea Community Church.

Fee was a pacifist, as was J. A. R. Rogers, the first principal of Berea Academy, and was seemingly unaware that many of his meetings in country churches scattered over the State were possible only because they were guarded by local friends who took their guidance from other passages of the scriptures. His attitude toward self defense was a curious contrast to that of Cassius Clay, who openly carried guns and believed in the support of any existing law, while Fee, the pacifist, could not obey laws upholding slavery — the higher law of God taking precedence.

The story is told of Professor Rogers who, while being sheltered in the home of a Kentucky mountaineer, chided his host for keeping a loaded gun at hand and was told, "people like you couldn't stay down here a day without the protection of men like me with our guns and knives."

Fee's most common response to a lynch mob was to kneel before them in prayer for his safety and their souls; whether or not it was divine intervention that saved him from death so many times, the practice must have been somewhat disconcerting. Certain it is that this very other-worldliness, the willingness to walk alone, if need be, in the way of God as he saw it (never doubting that he saw it straight, clear and whole) not only enabled him to walk more or less safely through the dangers of the ante-bellum South, but preserved him and the college he founded from another sort of danger after the War; preserved him from, among other dangers, the receipt of Peabody money — money that was used throughout the Reconstruction period as pressure in favor of segregation in education; preserved him in naive faith from any inkling of the "special educational needs of a childlike people recently out of savagery" that had become the dominant attitude among the "friends of Negro education."

Fee's attitude toward the question of slavery, abolition and reconstruction after the War was as simple and straightforward as his theology. The matter of the essential equality of the Negro people he could not even give the status of a 'question'; all men are equal in the sight of God and are therefore equal in the sight of all 'Godly' men. He associated himself throughout the pre-war years with the 'radical Republican' element in Kentucky politics. He early characterized the various colonization schemes as 'folly' and later headed a petition for the admission of Texas as a free state. He won for a Negro teacher at Camp Nelson during the War the right to eat at the table with her white fellow-workers and in his old age fought a losing battle with President Frost for a professorship for J. S. Hathaway, a Negro tutor at Berea. Despite his personal pacifism his support for the most vigorous possible prosecution of the War never wavered and he supported and advocated what was later to become known as "Congressional Reconstruction" while the War was still in progress. In 1864 he wrote to Wendell Phillips from his home in the interior of Kentucky to protest against the amnesty proclamation as a "great error."

There are men here today who went off with the Rebel army, but did not find it a success as they expected. They have come back, taken the oath, and are now again in possession of their lands and slaves; yet notorious in their enmity and opposition to the government, spitting their venom at Union men, abolitionists and Negroes. I wish no man any real injury; but I believe that the highest good to such men and to society at large is to deprive them of that power which land monopoly always gives.

After a plea for the enlistment of "the colored men in all the states, everywhere," he reminded the reader that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Add that he was a classical scholar, able to deal with the higher criticism in both Greek and Hebrew, a true democrat, as unable to abide class as racial distinction among the children of a common father and Berea became not only inevitable but, during the days of his early associates, indestructible.

The Berea educational program followed inevitably from the character of its founders. First of all, literacy, which makes all further education possible; not only children, but adults of any age were accepted into the Foundation School, which comprised the elementary grades. The next step, open to all who completed the work of the Foundation School, was the academy or high school; the Normal School, providing much-needed teachers for the new public schools in the State and in the South, came next; finally the College itself, which turned out a few highly trained graduates each year. Manual labor seems to have been used to provide a less expensive setup where tuition could even be entirely "worked out" by those too poor to pay anything, rather than as an educational feature — except, of course, for the ennobling element then generally supposed to be present in any combination of manual with intellectual labor.

Many students walked long distances from their homes with nothing but the clothes on their backs; none were ever turned away for lack of funds. "Many whose highest ambition when they went to Berea was to be able to teach a district school, caught the spirit of learning and toiled for years to complete some course of study," according to Professor Rogers. A Negro soldier commented, on his first glimpse of Berea's poor buildings, "some school," but soon learned that if he wanted knowledge, "this was the place."

John Gregg Fee was born in Bracken County, Kentucky in 1816. His father was a slaveholder, "unfortunately," as John put it in his autobiography, inheriting from his father's estate one bondsman; he purchased two and raised thirteen slaves. "This was a great sin in him individually and to the family a great detriment as all moral wrongs are," was his son's judgment, for "slavery, like every evil institution, bore evil fruits, blunted the finest sensibilities and hardened the tenderest hearts." As an example of this hardness Fee tells the story of Juliet, his friend and his father's slave, who, after John had purchased her and set her free, was captured as a runaway by his father and imprisoned for life.

After his "conversion" at the age of fourteen by a schoolmaster living with the family, John's sole ambition was to become a minister of the gospel. For this purpose he was sent to Lane Theological Seminary after

graduating from Augusta College in Kentucky. Here he became convinced, much against his will, that the abolitionists had the only "Christian" answer to the slavery problem, and tried by letters to prevail upon his father to give up his sinful ways by freeing his slaves. In answer he was ordered to "... bundle up your books and come home. I have spent all the money I intend to spend on you in a free state." The elder Fee offered, instead, to send his son to Princeton; John refused and was disowned and disinherited. In his father's will he was cut off with the proverbial dollar.

He was licensed to preach by anti-slavery Presbyterians of Cincinnati and returned to Kentucky, under covenant with God, as he saw it, to preach against slavery, not in Ohio as so many brave Southerners he had met in the Seminary were doing, but in Kentucky, to his own friends and neighbors. He was immediately offered two churches in his own county if he would stick to the Gospel and leave slavery alone. His reply was characteristic: "The Gospel is the good news of salvation from sin, the sin of slave-holding as well as all other sins." A church in Louisville invited him to come to them on condition that he sever relations with the anti-slavery Presbytery in Cincinnati. This offer, too, had to be refused. Then came the invitation in 1845 to preach a sermon on slavery at a newly completed church in Lewis County. More people than could be seated heard the brand new minister preach from the text, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and were invited to come back the following Sunday for discussion of various schemes for the removal of the evil of slavery. Here he settled and his first home was built by men who swore that they would complete it if they "had to work with a saw in one hand and a pistol in the other." Fee, always consistent, commented that they were "un-Godly" men. The congregation got for their pastor a small stipend from the American Missionary Association to help him in his anti-slavery labors.

The action of the Lewis County church in declaring slave-holding a sin and refusing fellowship to slave-holders drew the attention of the Kentucky Synod. Their action was declared unwarranted and Fee was censured in 1845 for "disturbing the peace of Zion." A Committee was sent to check on, or rather, to "labor with" the church in Lewis County.

At this point Fee — and the little church — withdrew from the Presbyterians and set up their own communion. Two pamphlets that Fee wrote on the question were abridged by the American Missionary Association and distributed throughout the State. A more colorful statement on the necessity for the break was written much later by the Virginian, James S. Davis, then laboring in Cabin Creek, Kentucky. In a letter to the *New York Independent* in 1856 he said:

We would say to the slave-holder applicant (for church membership) 'God cannot so accept you; and it would be foolish and wicked

to receive you only to increase your surprise at the Judgment at hearing your doom in these terrible words "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, you have done it also unto me." "

"Brother" Fee's activities took him over some eight counties, speaking in school buildings, churches, courthouses and open fields. James S. Davis listed five permanent churches Fee had organized still operating in 1853. But the number one man can reach with his voice is only an infinitesimal part of the job to be done; he wrote pamphlets and worked as colporteur circulating his tracts and others from town to town. He rode horseback, sometimes alone, sometimes with his wife and even, on occasion, with one of their growing number of children — though, as he remarked later, they never lacked for friends to mind the babies. Among his friends were the Hudsons and the Hays of Dripping Springs, whose grown children after the War moved their own children to Berea to enter them in school.

Among the churches he organized was the one in his and his wife's native county of Bracken in 1848. Here his wife's family was "converted," which included papers of manumission to their few slaves. This little church, first organized in a schoolhouse, grew until a new building was needed. Brick, the congregation thought, for safety. In the course of its construction Fee raised with his flock the usual question, if "when this house shall be erected, a colored man, slave or free, shall come in and seat himself as any other man." Some said yes. Some said that while it was obviously the Christian thing to do, and something that they did in the privacy of their own homes, in a public place such a policy might not be safe. Fee's answer that, "It will always be wise to do what is professedly right" won the day, and over the door of the new building was placed a marble slab inscribed Free Church of Christ, which was interpreted by its pastor to mean, Church of Christ, undenominational, free to all men.

In 1854 the Fees moved to Madison County, to a piece of land given them by Cassius Clay — later United States Ambassador to Russia — for a home. A likeminded community grew up around them, forming an island of peace from which Fee, the Reverend George Candee and the Oberlin people who were to come later could make forays into less hospitable parts of the state, preaching, organizing schools and distributing tracts. The first school was organized to teach the children of the colonists and was taught by Otis B. Waters and (?) Lincoln, both Oberlin students.

While Fee was chopping wood with George Candee the idea of a higher school came up, as a place where young people would be educated, not only in the sciences, but especially "in the principles of love in religion and liberty and justice in government; and thus permeate the

minds of the youth with these subjects." It was at this juncture that Fee met John A. R. Rogers, who was to become the first principal of Berea's next higher school, the Academy. In 1858 Rogers had just come to Kentucky from Oberlin in the employ of the American Missionary Association and was looking for some good work to which to set his hand. He was a fervent abolitionist and not less a lover of learning. Under his direction the venture thrived; students poured in from Madison and adjoining counties. In 1859, having formally organized themselves, with a board of trustees, the famous constitution was adopted stating that "this college shall be under an influence strictly Christian and as such opposed to sectarianism, slave-holding, caste and every other wrong institution or practice." Enrollment was brought up to ninety-six, some of whom left over the results of a still theoretical discussion of the admission of Negro students, should such apply.

For all that its anti-slavery sentiments were widely held among the mountaineers who were Berea's neighbors — or maybe because of this — the little community led a precarious existence. Fee's daughter is reputed to have said that she had grown up thinking that all people had mobs — like thunderstorms. The storm that could not be weathered came as the aftermath of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. On December 23, 1859, while Fee was in the east raising funds, the Rogers home was visited by a 'committee' of the State's most 'respectable' citizens bearing a 'request' that Rogers and his staff leave the State within ten days. An appeal to the governor for protection being refused, they decided to leave the State for a time. H. E. Fairchild thus describes the exodus:

The whole community gathered as the exiles left, and, under the broad sky, with bared heads, they were committed to the care of Almighty God by Reverend George Candee, who had come from his home in Jackson County to cheer with his undaunted faith those who were about to leave.

Fee, having previous appointments, returned to keep them and to preach again in Bethesda church house before settling in Cincinnati to wait out the worst of the storm.

In 1864 the Fee family slipped through the battle lines and gathered into classes the children of sympathetic families in the immediate neighborhood, Fee, his wife and eldest daughter dividing the labor of teaching among them. But while thus engaged the voice of the Lord seemed to speak to him, saying "until the work of the battlefield shall be first settled there will be no permanency or marked progress in your work here, either in school or in church; go do your part." So Fee, who had been refused admission into the Union army for "a physical debility" — probably age — walked with his eldest son, Burrill, the some thirty miles to Camp Nelson. Here he set up a school for Negro soldiers and their fami-

lies. In later years he was to refer to Camp Nelson, the point at which so many Negroes first knew freedom, as the "cradle of liberty to central Kentucky."

When the War was ended he went again to Berea; one after another the other exiled families returned. The Hansons came back and rebuilt their sawmill to provide lumber for buildings and work for impoverished students. Former teachers returned and new ones were added, and the history of Berea as an institution of higher education was begun. And finally came the test of the seriousness of their stated intention to accept as students all "made in God's image"; Negro soldiers, still wearing their uniforms, began to apply in large numbers. The school stood firm, in spite of the fact that white students began to leave. But the latter were back for the following term in even larger numbers, for — as Rogers put it — the 'poor whites' from the hill country felt more at home in the company of ex-slaves than they could have with white aristocrats in other schools — even if they could have afforded to attend.

For the ten years ending in 1878 the average attendance was two hundred and eighty, of which one-half to three-fifths were colored and the rest predominantly rural southern whites. It was claimed in 1878 that at least half the Negro teachers in the state of Kentucky had received all or part of their training at Berea. The annual commencement exercises drew thousands of people every year to listen to the speeches of Negro and white students, men and women. As William Lloyd Garrison said in an appeal for funds, Berea was "no longer an experiment, but a *fait* fact."



4.

**Berea College's First
125 Years: 1855 - 1980**

Peck, Elisabeth S. *Berea College's First 125 Years: 1855 - 1980*.
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BEREA'S
FIRST 125 YEARS

1855-1980

Elisabeth S. Peck

With a final chapter by
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BEREA COLLEGE is located on a narrow ridge that seems to rise like a rocky island seventy feet above the surrounding plain. This ridge, which is about two miles long, lies in eastern Kentucky 130 miles south of Cincinnati, Ohio, and 40 miles southeast of Lexington. The foothills of the Cumberland Plateau are not more than three miles distant on the east and south. They are sometimes hazy blue in the distance, sometimes lost in fog-hanging clouds, and sometimes above a snow-fall they are covered with a mass of live trunks that stand black and stark against the white slope. West and southwest of the Berea Ridge there is not a hill in sight, only Missouri farmland for wandering miles. At the foot of the Ridge on the north lies an unconformity flat stretch of land called the Glack.

Clinton M. Clay, an industrial hardware man, lived in the Berea area section of Madison County, Kentucky, owned the best seed corn of land in the southern end of the county, and raised the Berea Ridge. In the early 1850's, he sold off much of this land at an exceptionally low price because he wished to develop there a thriving community that would demonstrate the advantages of life without slavery and might even increase his political strength in the state.

CHAPTER I: Early Founders

Berea's First 125 Years

He encountered a young rural pastor, the Reverend John G. Fee, to move from northern Kentucky to southern Madison County and give him a horse-drawn man and an ardent believer in the value of freedom of speech as a means of social progress. In 1855 Fee and some other men built a room district school on the Ridge. In 1858 when John A. B. Rogers came to Berea, as the community on the Ridge had been named by Fee, to join him in his country preaching, Fee advised Rogers to set up a subscription tent in the one-room school, for Rogers was an untested teacher as well as a minister.

Already Clay and Fee had recognized the need for a "higher school" in this non-slaveholding community, and Rogers also brought with him the desire for such a school. In the summer of 1859, after seeing the popularity of "the good Rogers school," Fee, Rogers and a few other men wrote the constitution for a college and arranged to buy a boundary of Ridge land that seemed suitable for a college campus. After the John Brown raid in Virginia in the fall of that year, fear sprang in the minds of Berea men that the men of Berea might be preparing for a similar uprising. This led to the forced exile of the Berea leaders and their families in winter, 1859-1860, when Clay for political reasons did not rally his friends to their support.

By the close of the Civil War, Fee had raised almost enough money among northern friends to pay for the Ridge land on which the college trustees held an option, and with the return of peace the exiles came back to their Berea work. Although this young college lacked buildings, endowment, and money for current expenses, it had no shortage of students, a considerable number of whom were newly emancipated Negroes. For whom was Berea College founded? For those who needed its service. The 1859 Constitution said nothing about a student's race or place of residence.

Early Founders

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JOHN G. FEE was still a young man when he settled in Berea, having been born in 1816. He had been reared in Franklin County on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River. His father found it profitable to cultivate his farm with slave labor, but he was not a cruel master, as masters went, and he was not a great planter, for he usually farmed with about thirteen slaves. Young Fee took his diploma in the classical course at Augusta College in his home county, and entered Lane Seminary on the outskirts of Cincinnati in 1842, finishing his course there two years later. He had thought nothing about the institution of slavery until he entered the seminary, where zealous students pleaded with him to take a strong stand for human freedom. At last he cried out in his solitary place of daily prayer: "Lord, if needs be, make me an abolitionist." Then and there he entered into a covenant with God that charped the rest of his life.

After returning home, he tried to persuade his father, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, to give up slaveholding, but his father replied by offering to send him to Princeton Seminary, New Jersey, to be taught sounder ideas. Young Fee refused his father's offer, and in the following year he was ordained by the Berea Presbytery of Kentucky, and was then commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to work with country churches along the Ohio River. When he made a plea from the pulpit that he was opposed to slavery, he met threats of violence and his audience diminished in number. Some people said that he was a dangerous man to have in the region, for Kentuckians along the river were unusually sensitive on the matter of speaking against slavery, lest slaves try to escape across the Ohio River to freedom. In 1848 he took a letter of dismissal from the Synod because he would not cease his preaching against slavery, and withdrew from the American Home Missionary Society because its funds were used to support proslavery ministers.

CHAPTER 2: Founders during Reconstruction

IN FINANCIAL matters the best tiered of the worlded Berea College after the Civil War was the American Missionary Association (A.M.A.). The second probably example of the new school (1867) made acknowledgment of the school's debt of gratitude to this Association, "without whose fostering care it never could have existed."⁵ Sometimes members of the Association spoke of the A.M.A. as the founder of Berea College, as in a resolution of 1869 which referred to Berea as the "first of the institutions founded by the Association in the South to enter a regular college class."⁶

The A.M.A. did not make the plan to found a higher school on the Ridge, nor take a conscious part in shaping its Constitution, nor in selecting its teachers, the Associations did not give Berea College money for buildings, land, or scholarships, but it did render certain services, especially in the first decade of the College's corporate life, that entitle it to recognition as one of the founders of the College. J. A. R. Rogers wrote in 1882: "The friends of the American Missionary Association have made the College largely what it is, and it certainly would not be right to pay so attention to their wisdom and

work."⁷

In ten days, come back." They rode away in the snow to deliver the same message to Mrs. Fee, to Harman, and to eight others on their list, and then rode off."⁸

That evening the Brethren under him of sets met in the district schoolhouse, which was also the church, to consult together. Harman read aloud the thirty-seventh Psalm, which seemed like the voice of God speaking words of courage to them: "Yet not dismayed because of evildoers." Some wished to stay, desiring rest; others advised that they leave, to avoid bloodshed in the peaceful community. Next day they decided to petition the governor for protection. Two of the Harman men took the petition to Frankfort in person. This paper stated clearly their innocence and their danger, and was signed by eleven men. Governor Beriah Magoffin received them courteously, but refused the Brethren protection because of the excitement of the public mind. If they would leave at once, he would assure them of protection during departure.⁹ Upon receipt of this message the Brethren decided to leave as soon as possible.

They did not sell their houses nor their church, because they had complete confidence that they would return. They could take only the most necessary possessions, because transportation from the village was difficult, especially in winter, before they left. Mr. and Mrs. Wright, old residents on the Ridge, made a fire and invited the Harman families to enjoy it.

The exodus began on the seventh day after the warning. The day was Thursday, December 25, the weather cold and rainy. The exiled families gathered under the trees in front of the Rogers' rambling cottage, with many neighbors and friends to see them off. The Reverend George Carder had ridden in from Jackson County to be with them in their trouble, and as they stood with bowed heads, he prayed for God's guidance upon those who were about to leave their dear homes. Later Mrs. Rogers described the first part of their journey:

"A driving rain was falling, the snow had melted, and everything was dreary without an oat heart within. One old man sat in an open wagon with his arms around his aged wife

ing before them, cried out, 'Not today, boys. If he is not gone

hand a document, asked him for an answer."¹⁰

Mr. Rogers read the printed paper, and replied that he was a quaker, law-abiding citizen who had ridden no law and had done nothing to disturb the peace of the commonwealth. He refused to give up his work in Berea. "I cannot promise to go. I have only one Master to serve, and I must do his bidding." The men scowled nearer as if for attack, but the captain, who'd

of their date. . . .

"Truly we watched for what was to come, and we grew to fear the worst. The season was terrible, and I believe I grew to wish that the mob would come, do their worst, and leave it over. . . . Yet all these days we never looked a door nor opened the slightest piece of firearms. We wore a feeble law, entirely at the mercy of the mob when it should come."¹¹

Then at last the men came. The time was now soon two days before Christmas (December 23, 1859) and Fee had been detained in Cincinnati. The men who came on this December day were not riders in a mob. They were "organized grade-men," fifty-two of them, mounted and fully armed, men of standing and substance from the northern part of the county. They rode into the Rogers' yard in wedge-shaped formation. Their captain riding a white horse. Mr. Rogers wrote: "As they surrounded our little cottage, they looked like a regiment. Mr. Rogers stepped quickly to the door, I following with our late northern clothing to my side. The captain, handling my horse

written's use.

"Mrs. Fee, left alone with her little children, rose to the occasion . . . and I do not know but she with her brave spirit was my husband's greatest help. Her knowledge of Kentucky, of former mistreatment no doubt often gave her more insight into conditions than could have been possible to those

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Founders during Reconstruction

The fostering care of the A.M.A. took three forms: (1) providing small basic salaries in the early years; (2) furnishing access to benevolent people through a widely read magazine, the American Missionary, and social contacts at the Association's annual meeting; (3) recommending Berea College to donors as a wise investment in Christian education. Berea College did not begin its career with a large endowment, nor with any college building, nor with a farm for a manual labor program, but it did begin with certain ideas expressed in the Constitution and with a character that had been tested by persecution.

On its fiftieth anniversary in 1866 the A.M.A. sent a greeting to Berea as "the earliest college founded by its missionaries."¹² John G. Fee had been commissioned as a rural minister in 1848 when the A.M.A. was very young, and he had remained on its payroll of commissioned ministers for the following thirty-four years. When he came to serve as a minister in the vicinity of the Ridge, he received from the A.M.A. \$400 a year, and when J. A. R. Rogers joined Fee in the Berea work in 1858, he too received \$600 a year as a rural minister, for the A.M.A. was then engaged in religious, not in educational work. After the war when there was a pressing need in the South for educational as well as religious work, the Association frequently rendered help in the form of salaries to schools that were doing a much-needed service. In the annual report of the A.M.A., 1869, these men and six women in Berea College were listed as receiving part of their salary from the A.M.A.'s Secretary J. E. Roy of the A.M.A. in an obituary of John G. Fee in 1907 summed up the situation when he wrote: "The Association never made any appropriation toward the support of the College directly; it was furnishing stipends to the missionaries who with Mr. Fee were becoming its founders."¹³

The Association's American Missionary welcomed the letters of Fee, Rogers, and F. Henry Fairchild, the first president of the College, which were sent to give a lively picture of recent events not only in Berea but in the nearby work. Her-

graduates who had completed an existing four-year course. During the sixteen years between 1873 and the close of the Fairchild administration, 1888, forty-three four-year degrees were awarded, thirty of them to white students, thirteen to Negroes. Although in the lower departments the Negroes almost always outnumbered the whites, the Negroes were less numerous than the whites in the College Department because: (1) the Negroes had to earn money in Berens's school system because of previous lack of preparation; (2) they were more likely to stay out of school for an occasional term to work; (3) they were more needed as teachers, especially after 1874, when the first public schools for Negroes were set up by law in Kentucky.

Even though Negro graduates were few in this period, they became outstanding leaders, especially in education. Eleven of the thirteen Negro graduates became teachers, one a lawyer, and one a minister. Only two were women, both of whom became teachers. The men teachers taught in Louisville, Lexington, Danville, Covington, Princeton, Skowronek, and Marysville.

One of them, John H. Jackson, became the first principal of the present State College for Negroes in Kentucky, and served for fourteen years. Another, James S. Haldenby, was its principal for nine years. It is noteworthy that most of these graduates came from Kentucky cities, where educational opportunities for Negroes were better than in the country. Of the eight from Kentucky, three were from Louisville, three from Lexington, one from Danville, and one from Mount Sterling.

Finally the Negro teachers who left the Preparatory or the College Department before graduation were even more important than the graduates, because they were so much more numerous. When an Ohio man wrote in 1875 asking President Fairchild what he could say about Berens College, the president replied: "Not less than 100 Negro schools were taught last year by colored teachers educated at Berens." Kentucky did not at this time have a state normal school for training Negro teachers.

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51 A Century of Interracial Education

There came a time in Berens's history, especially before and after the passage of the Day Law (1904), when many people, both white and Negro, believed that Berens College was founded for the Negro people; and in the decades since 1911 even more people have believed that it was founded specifically for the people of the southern Appalachian mountains.

From the first Constitution, approved in 1858, until a revision made in 1911 the purpose of the College was stated to be the promotion of the cause of Christ by offering a thorough education to all persons of good moral character. No special preference was given in this statement to any one group of people.⁴ From other sources than the Constitution itself it is clear that from the earliest days of the school the founders intended it to be for all people regardless of race. Already in 1855 John C. Foe had spoken of the school as an "entirely nonsectarian," and in 1858 Professor Rogers declared that he would not teach the Berens school unless it was open to all.⁵ In the first catalog (1866-1867) appeared two paragraphs under the title "The school is greatly needed." The first paragraph spoke of the need of the Negro people for a higher school in the state, and the second spoke of the educational need of the white people of the mountains of Kentucky and adjoining states.

After the Civil War the freedmen poured into Berens to receive the magic of education. The catalog of 1866-1867 listed 187 pupils, of whom 95 were Negroes, 91 white. In 1875-1876 there were 237 students, of whom 143 were Negroes, 94 white. In the total enrollment of 369 in 1880-1881, 249 were Negroes, 120 white. In the last year of President Fairchild's administration, 177 were Negroes, 127 white. In one year only between 1866 and 1894, namely 1877-1878, did the record show more whites than Negroes, 144 to 127.

In 1899 the first freshmen class of the College Department was enrolled, and in 1875 the first degrees were bestowed upon

On January 12, 1904, Representative Carl Day (D) of Besseville County in the heart of the Kentucky mountains introduced a segregation bill into the House of Representatives of the Kentucky General Assembly. This House bill no. 25 was sent to the Committee on Education, which held separate hearings of those favoring and those opposing the bill. Representative Day told the press that he had introduced the measure for the purpose of preventing the contamination of the white children of Kentucky.

The bill in its final form declared it "unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school, or institution wherein persons of the white and Negro races are being received as pupils for instruction. No previous Kentucky law had specified penalties for non-segregation in schools, but this bill stated that the fine penalties for segregation were to be as follows: when the institution, \$1,000; upon the teacher, \$50; and upon the student, whether Negro or white, \$20 for each day's violation of the law. It applied to any private school that maintained any interracial branch within a radius of twenty-five miles."⁶

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The soon **TRAVEL HAD** been closed in 1901 to Negroes wishing to study in Berea was opened again in 1920. In 1869 a federal district judge ordered the University of Kentucky to admit Negro students to its graduate schools, since segregated education was not "equal" education. Then at the next session, 1890, the legislature of Kentucky amended the Day law so as to allow the coeducation of white and Negro students in public or private schools above the high school level, "provided the governing authorities of the institution, corporation, group or body so erect, and provided that an equal, complete and accredited course is not available at the Kentucky State College for Negroes."¹⁶

In their April meeting, 1920, the trustees of Berea College reaffirmed Berea's dedication to the youth of the Appalachian mountain region "to which we have tried to minister for nearly a century," and after expressing Berea's "interest in the efforts of Negro youth of this region to secure an education," they

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holding. At its dedication the president of Berea College, after speaking about the ugliness of race hatred, showed how this school might become a bridge for all who cross them.¹⁷ The College, at its time, has helped this school, but the Middle-town School in its turn has been of great help to Berea students. Hubert Blythe, the principal of this school for twenty-eight years, has co-operated with the College in providing valuable experience in race relations to white students. The College Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. help in the school's recreation program. College classes in social case work have been able to include Negro families in their studies through Principal Blythe's aid. Students in Bible and in social problems have presented programs to the school, and student groups have been welcomed by the Negro teachers to help in preparing for the Christmas and other entertainments.

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tion in order that she might fulfill her desire to become a public health nurse among her people in eastern Kentucky."¹⁸

Berea College in its century of interracial experience has not disapproved either the existence or the strength of race prejudice, but it has illustrated some ways in which traditional hoodlums can be overcome by men and women of good will, closely knit into an interracial college community where there is co-ordination of study, labor, recreation, and social service, accompanied by a patient confidence that time is of the essence in working out problems of human relations.

THE FIRST Constitution of Berea College, as has been said, stated no preference for any one race of students, nor did it mention any region which would receive Berea's special care. At the close of the Civil War, however, the first Berea catalog (1867) mentioned two groups of people who were in need of Berea's educational offerings: (1) the recently emancipated Negroes; (2) "the white people of eastern Kentucky and similar regions in adjoining States."¹⁹ The Negroes were so few in number in the mountain counties that to speak of mountain people meant to speak of whites. The preceding chapter has considered Berea's experience in Negro education. The present chapter will deal with the mountain area as a field of work, the growth of interest in the mountain people's culture and needs, the rivalry that eventually sprang up between Berea's two fields of concern, and after Negro exclusion, the use of a quota to protect the mountain people from other white applicants who were less in need of Berea's improved facilities than were the people in the mountain counties, so that today about 90 per cent of the students attending Berea College come from 220 counties in eight states which lie in the southern Appalachian area.

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empowered the administration "to admit such Negro students even within this mountain region whom it finds thoroughly qualified, coming scrupulously within provisions of the Kentucky law, and whom in its judgment it appears we should serve."²⁰

By this action Berea has renounced an institution especially devoted to the mountain people. The Negro candidates for admission are expected to present the same character and scholastic qualifications as the whites. In 1890 three Negro students were admitted to the College; in 1901, eleven; in 1902 and 1920, twelve each year; and in 1924, sixteen. The small number of Negro students since 1920 is explained by: the small number of Negroes resident in the southern mountains; the poorer educational opportunities for Negroes in elementary and secondary work; and Berea's policy of admitting Negro applicants most likely to do college work well. Another factor that probably has helped in the slow adjustment has been the pressure upon the campus of an annual number of students from the Orient who are somewhat different in complexion and habits from Americans of west-European ancestry.

After Negroes had been admitted in 1900, they were welcomed into campus organizations according to their gifts and tastes. One played in the students' "royal college's", another sang in the variety women's glee club. Several sang in the chapel choir. One man played on the variety basketball team, and another was a member of the track team. Negroes also were chosen to carry responsibilities. One of the leading parts in a major spring production of the dramatic club was taken successfully by a Negro, and another Negro girl was chosen president of the women's association. In 1925 a Negro girl was selected to give the address on an all-student Thanksgiving program, and one was named for "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities" by vote of upper-class students and faculty. In 1924 a Negro girl, admitted to Berea's School of Nursing, was awarded a four-year scholarship of \$200 a year by the national board of the Daughters of the American Revolu-



Berns's Extension Service to Rural Schools
Top: Travelling Library
Bottom: Rural Reader



Rural Services at Work
Top: Woodworking Shop
Bottom: College Bakery



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tion of the counties specified in mountain courses. From 1925 to 1926 to list our county map of such counties was included in the catalog but beginning with the catalog of August, 1921, a very small map of the mountain area was printed above the interesting subscription: "The Field of Berns—The Mountains of the South." Since 1928 each catalog has carried a list of mountain courses considered at that time in Berns's field. In occasional changes are made, including dropping twenty-five West Virginia courses from the Russell Sage Foundation's map.

The Berns Way, a bulletin designed to introduce incoming freshmen to student life at Berns College, in its 1924-1925 edition gave two pages to "The Field of Berns." Since some nonmountain students were sure to be accepted, it was, of course, important that they should feel themselves an integral part of the college community and order no hardship because of being nonmountain students. The paragraph preceding the names of mountain courses speaks of the list as that "from which students are given preference," and adds the reassurance: "However, students from outside this area will be given careful consideration." On the opposite page is a map with state lines indicated and Berns's mountain field clearly shown, and the statement appended: "Over thirty per cent of Berns's students come from 230 mountain counties of Southern Appalachia."

March thought has been given to the possible use of a quota to restrict the admission of nonmountain students. In 1922 an 8 per cent quota was applied to nonmountain students below College rank, just none to College students. By 1925 a College quota of 20 per cent had been reduced to 15 per cent, and by 1927 the quota was fixed at 10 per cent for all departments. The catalog of the year 1917 stated what has been the admission policy since that time: "Berns College exists primarily for the people of the Southern mountains. . . . In general not more than 10 per cent of the students are accepted from outside this territory."

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The records of the registrar's office for 1923-1924 show 12.9 per cent nonmountain students in the total registration for that year, 10.8 per cent in 1925-1926, 12.7 per cent in 1943-1944, 7.8 per cent in 1962-1961, 9.9 per cent in 1953-1954. The highest percentage of nonmountain students was 29.5 in the troubled postwar years of 1946-1947, the lowest in the record was 6.5 in 1927-1928. Once admitted, the origin of the nonmountain student is forgotten unless he himself causes the subject to be raised.

To recognize that Berns College draws about 90 per cent of her students from the mountain area is important for the functioning of her educational program, so that remedial work may be provided early in a student's course if he needs it, that students may be guided into course work in the social, economic, and cultural problems of the mountains, and that nonmountain students may be given encouragement to prepare for leadership in fields that are especially in need of trained men and women, such as agriculture, home economics, medicine, and public service.

This devotion of Berns College to the welfare of the mountain people has been followed by an unusual love of the mountain people for Berns. A traveler through the mountains in 1922 wrote what has been expressed in substance many times over: "My most profound impression was the universal confidence of the people in Berns."

The building of the Phelps Stokes Chapel in 1904-1905 was another landmark in Berens's labor history. Sons after the old Chapel was burned to the ground, Miss Olivia Phelps Stokes

of student bricklaying in Berens College.

The building of the Phelps Stokes Chapel in 1904-1905 was

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Massa Lustration at Work (1899)
Courtesy of the *Lustration Courier*(Journal)



large Chapel burned to the ground, and in the plans which were soon made for a new Chapel, brickmaking became more important than bricklaying. By June of 1902 President Frost reported that the brick and tile plant was furnishing employment to thirty-five students. The brickmaking industry served as a student industry for about ten years. The need that labor in the brickyard should be continuous made it a difficult form of labor for students to carry except during summer vacation. Another factor that hurt the young brick industry was the high cost of freight on coal and bricks. Local coal was not then mined commercially near Berens, and the long distance of Berens from the mines in Hill and Harris counties put Berens-made bricks at a disadvantage in competition with those made in southernmost Kentucky. "If we could secure reasonable freight rates, we could sell all we could make," the discouraged superintendent of the brickyard wrote in 1905.¹¹

Soon after the Chapel burned, a form of student brickmaking and bricklaying was employed to break apertures. Boys intending to pursue long college courses were encouraged to take the apprentice course so that they could earn three or four dollars a day in the summer by plying their trade out in the state. For the next fifteen years most of the bricklaying on permanent college buildings and in town was done by these students. In the summer of 1907 Berens student bricklayers and stonecutters were employed in construction of the new Slater Capital at Frankfort. When they returned to college in the autumn, they created a sensation because they were so devoted to education that they were willing to give up four dollars a day at Frankfort for the sake of returning to their books at Berens!¹² After 1909 no bricklaying class was taught for several years. With a renege of college building in 1915-1916 bricklaying classes were again taught in three successive winters, and that was the end of student bricklaying in Berens College.

The building of the Phelps Stokes Chapel in 1904-1905 was another landmark in Berens's labor history. Sons after the old Chapel was burned to the ground, Miss Olivia Phelps Stokes

published in 1855, we find forth thro'out advantage of the manual labor system in higher education. The truth point in this long list was that manual labor would greatly diminish the cost of education. First on the list of advantages was the statement that manual labor furnished exercise most natural to man, and other points brought out its value in character development and in establishing habits of industry.¹

Educational institutions soon found their manual labor experiment facing business difficulties. Students laboring at manual work were likely to be too unskilled to be efficient, or too gross to be industrious. The importance of management and finance was not sufficiently respected by school administrations, and teachers were frequently unco-operative because they wished for a larger share of the students' effort.² By the time John G. Fee was a student in Lane Seminary, Weld had already left Lane and the manual labor system had passed its prime. When J. A. B. Rogers graduated from Oberlin, its manual labor program in the strict sense of the word was a thing of the past, both Fee and Rogers in the early days of Berens looked upon labor as an excellent means of helping a young man through college, but they did not talk of its educational values, as Weld and his European predecessors Jean Jacques Rousseau and Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg had done.

While the Berens institution was still a district school attended by children resident in the vicinity, the pupils lived at home with their parents; but already in 1856 Fee was looking ahead to a college that will furnish the best possible facilities for those with small means who have energy of character that will lead them to work their way through this world.³ The first Berens College catalog issued after the Civil War announced that the institution would furnish industrious young men with sufficient labor to enable them to pay a portion of their expenses; but in a historical sketch of the College (1869) J. A. B. Rogers wrote without equivocation regarding labor in Berens College: "It was not intended that the institution should be

CHAPTER 6: Labor for Education

THE FIRST Constitution of Berens College contained a statement that the institution would try to furnish some labor as an aid to students in securing an education; and such revision to the present day has contained a similar statement.

Berens College was founded in the ebb of a stirring but short-lived experiment in American education, the combination of education and labor. For example, from Oacida Institute (1827) the movement had passed to Lane Seminary in Chincinnati and then to Oberlin under the leadership of Theodore D. Weld, who was at that time America's most persuasive spokesman for the values of manual labor in higher education.

In the manual labor schools of the 1820's and early 1840's several hours of manual labor were interspersed each day from the student, and this labor was furnished and paid for by the college. Most often a large college farm provided a demand for such labor, and frequently the students worked in college shops at such trades as carpentry, printing, blacksmithing, and broom-making, for which they were paid a small wage. In 1831 a National Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was founded, and Theodore D. Weld was selected to be the general agent of the organization. His one annual re-

the College Department. In the early days when no student induction had been set up, the College simply offered institutional work, as much as possible. This work was of two sorts: first, college-grade service courses consisting in laboratories, and the college bell, second, housing work, such as mitering and nailing boards for the boarding hall, and pouring water to the fourth floor of Ladies' Hall. Almost all the college labor of today has grown from those two types of institutional work.

Student labor still drives books in the library and still cleans classrooms, but the boarding hall's baker now has an adjunct of his own, the bakery, which bakes the college bread, and some extras. In fact, many of the college industries, while performing indispensable services for the College, have enlarged their facilities for production because of the desire of people outside the College to share in college services and products. The laundry, the power and heat, and the dairy illustrate such enlarged production. Certain adjuncts are essential for teaching agriculture, such as the poultry farm, the livestock farm, and the garden; but they too produce essential products for the College and for others. Some students secure a desirable cultural experience from such an industry as woodcraft, which grew from the old woodworking department, and from the saw pottery, which still rests under the wing of a teacher in the Art Department. Finally, there are certain industries, such as woodcraft, which were begun as stabilizing industries to absorb student labor when other types of current work were unusually scarce.

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TO MANY SCORES of the things that hard-working Berens students of the past fifty years have said about their "labor for learning" is to find assurance that the effort put upon Berens's labor program has been worthwhile, even though new problems

before the old ones have solved. While it is in the classroom economy, the student becomes a student because of the place of his labor is likely to be where he becomes habituated to social responsibilities which enrich all his remaining life.

It was in the Labor Day address, 1912, that a senior student urged that a waitress in Boone Tavern, "I thought my student labor as a waitress in Boone Tavern. Some of my campus friends are janitors; some are gardeners; some are waitresses; some are typists; and some are making dough at the Bakery. . . . The way we do a job is more important than the job because it indicates answers to so many of the questions that future employers want to know about us."

A young man wrote on February 16, 1912: "I have been thinking what Berens has been to me. When I first heard of Berens, it was to me a dream that was about to come true or a long wishful prayer that was about to be answered, for I had long hoped that there was some good where a young man could get an education regardless of his financial situation. . . . I have learned to do my part and trust in Berens College, and Berens College trusts in God, so I need feel no uncertainty about the rest. Some young men think they cannot work and do any good in school . . . but I say from experience he does not know how to enjoy life and make his joy and aid his in dollars and cents."⁷⁶

In 1928 a lad with fifty-cent cents in his pocket stopped off the bus in Berens and inquired for the "Berens College school-home." He spent three years in the Academy and four in the College, earning almost half of his school expenses through literary and oratorical prizes and the rest through casual labor. When he was close to graduation in 1933 he wrote: "I like to feel that I have been living in a fairly normal way, instead of getting a theoretical preparation for living. Berens College, with its work for everyone, is a whole community in itself, and this fact simplifies our adjustment to the larger community of the outside world."⁷⁷

Among the Labor Day contests, held once a year for more than thirty years, ten have been selected as samples:

- Booze Tavern: serving a meal.
Dental office: denture wax-ups.
Fire Department: 3 teams, 5 men each, erecting ladder, meeting with hose, health Department: bookmaking with patient in bed.
Men's wearing: making bonapans on fly-shuttle loom.
Music Department: writing manuscript.
Poultry: grading eggs.
Power and heat: pole climbing.
Printing: typographic operation.
Woodstock: decking and measuring lumber.

Sometimes a motion movie teacher reveals the audience's loss of this day for Labor's hearty expression of joy in work, but the spirit of Labor, the good teacher, sitting (briskly among the professors) adds substantially to their accustomed wisdom on human relations.

By the close of 1934 there were sixty-three organized departments of labor on the payroll schedule, ranging from admissions office, agriculture, agronomy farm, to subsoil, treasurer's office, woodcraft. Some new departments are projections, as it were, of earlier departments. The bakery began as the boarding hall's baker. The lawn has become, if one speak in organizational terms, agriculture, agronomy farm, livestock industry, poultry industry, garden, ground, forestry, dairy, and cemetery. Janitors-cum-caretaker service showed the need for a department of properties. From Boone Tavern grew Boone Tavern groups. From the college store's lunch counter grew the student lunch counter and recreation room designated as Yovell Hall. Out of the early woodstock has grown woodcraft, industrial arts, and the machine shop. Some departments of labor grew from the need for stabilizing industries, such as horticultural, mountain weavers (using fly-shuttle looms), woodcraft, woodcraft, and the Preside Industries. With the great increase of numbers in the College, there has

been no almost incredible increase in student workers in the offices of deans and other administrators; student laboratory assistants in physics, chemistry, and biology; assistants in men's and women's physical education; aides in post-office, and special labor in music, dramatics, and art. The growth of labor departments making products for the outside market, Preside Industries, woodcraft, bakery, candy kitchen, needlecraft, mountain weavers, and ironwork, created a need for contractors' service, classrooms, and gift shops at labor departments.

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NO TWO INVENTURES have passed through exactly the same cycle of growth. The life history of the bakery illustrates particularly well the experiences of a thriving Berens adjunct over the past half century.

When the Industrial Building was built so that Berens boys might be trained to make woodstock for Phelps Stokes Chapel, and the bakery was moved from the basement of Ladies' Hall, more room was made for the Boarding Department: so a large brick oven was constructed there in 1903. There was no bakery yet, but only a large oven and a baker who made two kinds of light bread, as well as cornbread, which he mixed by hand in a great bowl made from a poplar log.

Ten years later a boy from eastern Tennessee who had been reading a Berens booklet on *How College Students Run an Education* came into the kitchen on opening day with a student grade. The baker in charge found an extra spoon for the new boy, who worked the rest of the morning under the baker's direction. Later in the day it was found that Dean Marsh had already assigned the new boy to milk cows, but Chubb had rubbed all the cows he could to milk in his young life. The nation arranged his transfer to the combstone mixing bowl and the brick oven. Chubb made a lead malleable in mixing his first batch of cornbread, for when the recipe directed the use

IN THE EARLY DAYS Berns teachers and students were sometimes invited to mountain communities for the purpose of organizing a Sunday school which in a mountain area without

FOR A CENTURY Berns College has faced urgent social needs that have wringed upon its conscience as a community of faculty, students, and neighbors. For a century it has been clear that the College would fail of its best intentions if it were only a recipient and not also a giver. The more briefly Berns College has received, the more strongly it has felt the duty to give in increasing measure.

From the beginning Berns' "theory of education" has found expression in many outlying communities. This sense of widespread social needs that the College ought to meet has always been a source of strength, sustaining the institution in its hardest years. When this sense of social duty fails, Berns College as the past has known it, as the present knows it, will cease to exist, and Berns will be only buildings, books, and credit.

CHAPTER 8: A Century of Sharing

CHAPTER 8: A Century of Sharing

a minister served as a church. President Fairchild in 1873 spoke of twenty Sunday schools having been founded in a single year in this area, and added that they were organized and largely organized by the influence of used books brought from Berns.' In 1890 when he spoke of his experiences in founding a Sunday school which soon grew to a membership of fifty-two, he said that a good library of about twenty-five volumes was one of the first necessities.

These Sunday school libraries were successful in the 1890's by teachers' "traveling libraries," each one containing from fifteen to twenty books sent in to the hill country. As recently as 1935 it was set up as though it were a bookstore. A student goes out from Berns to teach in a district school would borrow such a library for a term. Of course no charge was ever made for its rental. Already in 1897-1898 the college librarian reported that twenty-one such libraries had been borrowed by outgoing young teachers.

As time passed Berns book boxes were made larger so as to hold more books, some as many as fifty, and they were sent farther and farther into the hill country. As recently as 1935 Berns' eminent librarian reported: "The most interesting mode of reaching their destination varies from mail train to river boat and from private car to mule back. One teacher in the mountainous west was to ask if she might keep her box of books a little longer until the roads get better, as the mail carrier has to go on a mule about twelve miles." A wooden case containing forty-five books would make quite an addition to the mule's load of mail!"

Thanks to friends who became interested in Berns's extension work with books, the library presently was able to buy new books to replace the used books of earlier days. The librarian's report in June, 1954, showed that the Berns College library had circulated during the past school year 161 traveling libraries, containing a total of 6,572 books, and that these libraries were placed in the schools of twenty-three counties.

to mind the importance of spiritual values.

The well-being of Berns College depends not only upon what it does with the College's endowment, but also upon the kind of men who are chosen as trustees. President William J. Hodchan expressed this with clarity in voting to the trustees when they were considering the election of a new member to the Board: "I sometimes think of Berns as a beautiful and precious vase, in which are stored certain spiritual treasures, which, quite without our knowledge, may escape. One day they may disappear; the vase will be here, all the buildings, the endowment, the students, but the Berns which you and I love, and for which we would gladly die, will be lost."

fully as much as his final bequest.

No man is elected to the Board of Trustees because of his wealth. Each trustee shares as he is able in carrying the college burden, whether by provision legal advice, by financial service, by finding new branches for the institution, by defense of a fundamental principle when it seems to him endangered, by giving encouragement to a benevolent president, or by calling

fourth year as a trustee of Berns College, and although the largest bequest ever made to the College, yet the value of his service as a trustee and especially as a member of the Finance Committee over a long stretch of years may have been worth

The need for this service is suggested by the fact that seventy-five of these book boxes were placed in one-room schools. County bookshelves have not yet superseded Berns's traveling libraries in schools at the head of the hollow.

For twenty-seven years (1916-1943) the college library also shared its resources of books by means of a book wagon or, later, a book car. Miss Corwin had read of book-wagon service provided by public libraries in communities of Maryland, Delaware, and Connecticut. Could not the library of a college with cultural *noblesse oblige* in its heart set up a similar service for its rural country neighbors? Miss Corwin secured the gift of two book-wagons—one of them built by the dutiful fathers of a Berns student—as well as a small sum of money for operating the roadside service.

In the early years of this adventure in adult education the assistant librarian, Mrs. Florence R. Ridgway, directed the book-wagon service in person with the help of student boys chosen for their ability to handle mules and horses on deeply rutted roads, their understanding of books for book-lamished people, and their grace in meeting people.

Mrs. Ridgway saved some of the choice words of appreciation spoken by her patrons. One man upon returning Nicolay's *Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln* joyously returned, "I, I, got so interested I like to have set up all night reading and my woman might sigh whopped me." An old lady who on the book wagon's first trip refused a book because she was too busy studying, "Inevitably," commented later with a look of Spurgeon's sermons, and finally asked for *Ben Hur*, though adding quickly, "But I don't believe much in reading the works of man." The words of an illiterate woman whose husband read the library books to her reflect the common appreciation of the book-wagon service: "It's the nicest thing I know, the way you folks haul around books for us to read."

When this kind of extension work was carried on after 1922 by book car instead of by book wagon, a librarian could cover more miles and visit more schools than formerly, even though

BASKETBALL IN SCARBOROUGH GYMNASIUM



SCARBOROUGH ARMY



COMPUTER LABORATORY



CHAPTER 9: Into a New Century

IN HER EIGHTH chapter, "A Century of Shaping," Elizabeth Peck comments: "When this sense of social duty fails, Berra College as the past has known it . . . will cease to exist, and Berra will be only buildings, books, and credit." Berra College is the fifth quarter of its history has been more than buildings, books, and credit. In a steadily rising national economy it has continued to offer its students a chance to earn a good degree at low cost. It knows that in a democracy the wishes of all citizens should be developed and so should democratic social conscience. It proposes in many ways a combination of the human condition and the assumption of responsibility by those who know the problems and some of the solutions. The Berra College work-study system is a good system for producing effective citizens.

In the quarter century since 1955 numerous technological changes have been made in the whole world. Nations are no longer private or isolated. Now young people who come to college take for granted space flight, heart transplant, computer computers, Tempos and technology are different from what they have been, but the basic needs of human beings remain the same. There is much work to be done, especially the same work.

When Berra College set out in 1938 to find a fifth president to succeed President William J. Hinchon, it found him in a corner of China and relayed its invitation to him by way of a British godson. The new man was Francis S. Hutton, son of William J. Hutton and director of Yale-Chia, which he had been serving for fourteen years. Francis Hutton was educated at Oberlin and at Yale. At Yale he received a master's degree in international relations. He had been married in a family personally and professionally concerned with education, religion, and ethnicity. On all counts he appeared to be a fortunate choice for Berra, which was already known for "its distinctive and storied approach to education." And that he proved to be for the next twenty-eight years.

Soon after President Francis Hutton took his new office, the United States entered World War II, and he found himself with the hard job of presiding over a college where most of the men students, many of the women, and many of the faculty had gone into the military service. But, like other institutions and American citizens generally, the College set out to do its share of the difficult national task. That share was large. According to the President's Report, 1943-1945, there were 1,300 Berra men and women who went into the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Women's Marine Corps, the WAVES, the WACS, or military service. There were fifty-three Berra College casualties. A story came back to the College hospital that increased pride in the nurses Berra had trained: In one military camp the surgeons, when faced with an emergency, would call for their "Millie" nursing team."

On the campus, Berra College welcomed a V-12 Navy unit, a total of 782 sailors, who came in shifts between July, 1943, and October, 1945. The group was one of many units stationed across the country, so be trained during the interval when the United States was recovering from the effect of Pearl Harbor and rebuilding its Navy ships. The V-12 unit brought financial assistance in four times to the College, and the sailors entered into moral discipline and special training, and also into social



Top: Chemistry Laboratory
Bottom: Art Studio



devoted to the College and its purposes, serving it generously with their multiple abilities. They have understood the special characteristics, the special responsibility of the institution, and they guard the College and take pride in its health and its accomplishments. Certain Berea trustee families have poured their affection and their assistance from one generation to the next. More than one generation of the Bingham, the Dandorke, the Emerters, the Seabury have worked closely as trustees with both President Francis Hutchins and President Weatherford, giving the wisdom of experience, giving counsel, funds, and personal friendship.

In 1903 the Ford Foundation, after close scrutiny of Berea College, included it in a group of selected colleges for a challenge grant of two million, on the condition that Berea raise six million in three years. Berea succeeded. Between 1979 and 1973 Berea conducted a five-year Great Commitments campaign for educational funds under the leadership of Donald Dandorke, Sr., long-time friend and trustee. It sought thirty-two and a quarter million and received almost forty million. Twenty-two million of that went into endowment. For Berea, endowment is vital because it takes the place of the nation that Berea students do not pay. It enables the College to provide education for a special group of young Americans—1,400 plus, a year—who might not be able to go to college. Berea recognizes that to do its work it must plan well ahead, must seek broad support, must always husband its funds. Its administrators and its Development Staff believe in the Berea purpose and its system of education, and they are diligent and often successful. Now Berea is in the second half of its Second Century Program, 1978-1983. It is seeking funds again to undergird the long-term vitality of the College.

Large gifts from foundations, trusts, major donors, and corporations are absolutely necessary, but so are small gifts. In the Great Commitments Campaigns, there were 6,215 gifts of \$10 or below, and the greatest number of all gifts to make the big total was 3,100 or less. Who gives? Men and women

who approve the results of a work-study system of education for this country, who perhaps are giving to an American ideal, business men who have tested and know the advantage of early apprentice work under supervision; people who have children and grandchildren and think in terms of the long future; those who wish they had children and grandchildren; many school teachers across the country who know the process of developing young people into maturity; in general, those who, like Mahatma Gandhi, believe that education through productive work, mental and manual, results in "healthy, disciplined freedom." There are many reasons for investing educational money in Berea College.

Dr. Daniel K. Pearson, early benefactor of Berea College, had two special interests. Known to be scrupulously honest, he had made a fortune for friends and for himself by investments in California and Chicago. Also, he was deeply interested in America's colleges. Before he died in his sixties, he undertook to give away most of his great fortune, five million perhaps. He was particularly interested in fifty-four colleges across the country. Berea was one of them. It received many gifts from Dr. Pearson, including what he considered the best of all of his gifts, the \$50,000 he gave to establish the Berea water works. Dr. Pearson left a message to all his colleges. He wrote: "I send this final message to the colleges I have helped. Guard your endowment funds. Use careful business methods in placing the funds of the college. But even more carefully guard your students. Keep them from harm, for the hope of the country is in the young people you are training."²⁴

Berea College has guarded its students. It takes great pride in what they are, how they develop, and what they accomplish. The College knows well that there are many influences that help to shape its students long before they leave home. But

Berea College is, of course, proud of its conspicuous achievements of its former graduates who have become college presidents, of its deans, its chancellors, its mayors of cities, of the foreign special student who became Secretary of State in his own country, Justice, of the young Indonesian woman who served as the Indonesian First Secretary of the Permanent Delegation to the United Nations. It is proud of its graduate who is vice president of a New York bank, and of its former Foundation School student who was president of a national labor union. It values the young women who got started on professional careers long before the era movement was operative. One is a professor of geologists at a leading medical school in the South, one a lawyer for the IRS, one a theatre specialist in lighting plays around the world. A former Secre-

tion Association.²¹

midium about the graduates—teachers, doctors, lawyers, county agents, child specialists, social workers, artists, businessmen, college presidents, pilots, growers, researchers, business and industry administrators and managers, deans, government workers.²² In 1977 there were 220 doctors. Doctors, dentists, optometrists, veterinarians, nurses, and other related medical workers numbered 830. Lawyers, judges 141. Thirty per cent of the alumni were in teaching. All levels. Twenty-five per cent were in business and management as accountants, finance officers, company presidents, salesmen, secretaries, and office clerks. Fifteen per cent were listed in engineering, industrial technology, computer science, geology, and group equity. Five per cent were in farming, farm management, vets or vets. Many were county agents. Those retired or unshown and unmentioned not employed on the public job market were perhaps fifteen per cent. It is estimated that forty-five per cent of Berea's graduates return to work in the Appalachian states. Richard Wilson, correspondent for the Louisville Courier-Journal, wrote in 1979: "A lot of the [Appalachian] region's social workers, educators, doctors, lawyers, and civic leaders would read like a Who's Who of the Berea Alumni Association."²³

ary of Commerce for the United States is a Berea alumna. Berea honors its V-12 doctor-ministry who took a bachelor's degree to become a minister in the South Pacific.

But the College is equally proud of its graduate who is a county agent working in the grass roots of North Carolina, of the school teacher who trained students in both English and mathematics so that they too could climb the learning ladder. It honors the lone economics teacher who for forty years taught the methods of making good homes and good food to many young and older women in her rural county. It is proud of the women graduates who have invented their major energies in building good homes. In the care of sons and daughters and husbands in civic and church work. It is proud of the industrial arts teacher who brings skill and discipline to the high school vocational department in his own home town where his wife and his wife who both worked a small Kentucky community of another ministerial pair working in a large Indiana church; of ten missionary couples serving in many parts of the world.

There are also six commercial air captains who have long good planes for years with no accidents. Whatever the work, wherever it is done, if it is well done, Berea takes pride in the worker.

A graduate, an administrator in a regional Social Security office, visited the campus many years of absence. He said to a faculty member, "Did you know that when I came to Berea College I was tall and skinny, bent over, downright stooped? This college straightened my back and taught me to think."

Berea's business is straightening backs, if they need straightening, and teaching collegians to think. But beyond the academic disciplines, beyond the work-study experience, the College offers an enlarged concept of what it means to be truly human, and it suggests ways to be human on many levels.

The Berea Alumni Office has addresses of approximately thirteen thousand alumni, and it supplies occupational information to young men or a young woman who wants higher education is usually searching and willing to consider new ideas. Often students hear and heed the Berea advocacy. A veteran professor who has watched many generations of Berea students go through the College says that if the ideal is to be the climate of the institution, the students will take it away with them, not always immediately but eventually. Available to Berea college workers for a degree is more than textbook knowledge. Berea College from its 1855 beginning has been classical, informal, vocational, and Christian in its intention. Beyond its practicalities, the controlled work-study system can provide what Jacques Maritain called "psychological equilibrium." Often there is a life-time effect from living studying working for four years in such a climate.

What becomes of Berea graduates? Many go to graduate school. There are many Ph.D.'s and also other advanced degrees. In the early 1930s the Knapp-Cookman survey of American scholars listed Berea College as thirty-one in fifty top-ranking undergraduate institutions that started young scholars on their way to Ph.D.'s.²⁴ In 1964 four Berea students, two women and two men, won Woodrow Wilson Fellowships—in English, in history, in psychology, in sociology. In the two years, 1969-1979, fifty-five out of eighty-eight graduating majors in chemistry have gone to either graduate school or medical school. In 1979 the Department of Psychology reported nine Ph.D.'s acquired since 1973, with four still in graduate school. In the years between 1920 and 1970, Berea graduates earned 425 Ph.D.'s, in 1967-1970 219 Ph.D.'s, in 1970, alone, seventeen Ph.D.'s.²⁵ The Berea total was more than that of any other private college in Kentucky. In the earlier years of this span, two-thirds of the Ph.D.'s were in science, one-third in other disciplines. In 1979 the proportion changed, and science and management doctorate were nearly half and half, with non-science Ph.D.'s increasing.

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A SURVEY OF SOURCES

THE HISTORY of Berea College is found largely in the records accumulated during the past century, and for the purpose of this book the foremost among these sources are the official papers of the College, especially the Annual Reports.

Since 1873 it has been customary for members of the faculty, especially heads of departments, to report annually on their activities to the presidents of the College, who in turn transmits to the trustees his report based upon faculty reports and his own conclusions. Since 1903 the president's report has been printed, but President Frost occasionally read to the faculty and trustees a longer and fuller report than he had published. These faculty and presidential reports, whether printed or unprinted, are invaluable for an understanding of Berea's history.

Other official papers complement the Annual Reports. The Reports of Common School District no. 16 for 1855 and 1856 reflect Berea's beginnings. Since 1858, except during the Civil War period, 1863-1865, the Board of Trustees has kept Minutes of its proceedings. The Presidential Committee has kept Minutes since 1898, but unfortunately those for the period 1866-1908 have disappeared. The Faculty Minutes have been kept since 1866, and to these should be added the miscellaneous records of the regular, the financial reports of the trustees, and the surviving Minutes of the Ladies' Board of Care, which date from October 23, 1860, to May 8, 1903.

The development of the governing regulations of the College may be found in the Berea Constitution and By-Laws, 1855; Foundational, 1890, which includes constitutional changes to 1899; Const-

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Building Bridges for Educational Reform

Oldendorf, Walter P. "Teacher Education at Berea College: Building Rationale for Uniqueness in Liberal Arts Setting," *Building Bridges for Educational Reform: New Approaches to Educational Reform*, Ed. Joseph L. DeVitis and Peter A. Sola, Ames : Iowa State University Press, 1989. Pages 204-219

Building Bridges for Educational Reform



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Jodi Treadway², and Victoria Plaut²

Abstract

Prior research on Appalachian students has noted key differences in academic performance compared to the general population, but few researchers have examined the influence of cultural values on academic attitudes. The current study tested the hypothesis that the association between collectivism and academic attitudes (i.e., academic efficacy, school connectedness, and fear of academic success) would be stronger among Appalachian students than among non-Appalachian students. Participants were 605 university students from Appalachian and non-Appalachian regions of Kentucky and Georgia who completed survey assessments of the variables. A series of regression analyses confirmed the hypotheses. These results highlight the importance of applying cross-cultural theories to explain regional differences within countries.

Keywords

culture, Appalachia, school connectedness, fear of success, academic efficacy, collectivism

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Appalachia, defined by the federal Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) as a region that follows the Appalachian Mountains from northeast Mississippi to southwest New York, includes portions of 13 states in the eastern United States. The Appalachian Region historically has been recognized as economically distressed. For example, the poverty rate in central Appalachia is currently 20% compared to the national average rate of 10% (deMarrais, 1998; Owens, 2000; Tickamyer & Duncan, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2008). In addition, the unemployment rate in the second quarter of 2009 was 1% higher in Appalachia than in the United States as a whole (Appalachian Regional Commission [ARC], 2009). Appalachia has also experienced severe difficulties in academic retention. The high school dropout rate is almost double that of the national average (Laird, Cataldi, KewalRamani, & Chapman, 2008), and only 12.3% of the Appalachian adult population hold a college degree, compared to the national average of 21% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Poverty, unemployed parents (Seals & Harmon, 1995), and inadequate schooling may therefore present major roadblocks to college-bound Appalachian adolescents and young adults (deMarrais, 1998).

Although the Appalachian region was determined by politicians, and not by social scientists, there are some noteworthy differences between some Appalachian areas and areas outside of Appalachia. These differences are most prominent in the Southern Highlands region of Appalachia, which includes parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. This subregion of Appalachia tends to show considerable economic distress as well as some cultural differences with the rest of the United States. Despite the challenging conditions people from the Southern Highlands face, many students from this region succeed in college. The reasons behind their success, however, are rarely examined. Taking a cross-cultural approach, we propose that regional culture and the embodiment of prominent Appalachian cultural values explain some of their success. The purpose of the current study is, therefore, to examine cultural differences between Appalachian and non-Appalachian regions of the United States and the consequences of embodying cultural values in an academic setting. In particular, we suggest that collectivism, a value less commonly emphasized in mainstream American culture but prevalent in some Appalachian regional cultures, may help explain the academic success of students from that region.

Culture and Appalachia

The individuals within a culture typically share values, and are often motivated to seek, both consciously and unconsciously, to embody the values of their

culture (Brislin, 1993; Goodenough, 1973; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963). Generally, doing so results in heightened satisfaction and failing to do so results in heightened anxiety (Spiro, 1961). Thus embodying particular values has implications for cultural members' ability to function both socially and psychologically (D'Andrade, 1984). Two of the most common values examined in cross-cultural research are individualism and collectivism. People in individualistic cultures tend to give priority to personal goals and interests over the goals and interests of their family, in-group, or community, whereas people in collectivistic cultures tend to either make no distinction between personal and collective goals (e.g., "my family's interests are also my interests"), or they give priority to the goals and interests of their family, in-group, or community over their own (Triandis, 1989). People in highly collectivistic cultures tend to also be concerned about the results of their actions on members of their in-groups as well as share resources, feel interdependent with, and involved in the lives of fellow in-group members (Hui & Triandis, 1986). In general people who live in highly collectivistic cultures often attend to the needs of their in-group over their own.

Most research focuses on international differences in individualism and collectivism (e.g., Kolm, 1969; Triandis, 1995, 2005), but not all residents of a country necessarily share these values. Indeed, research suggests that a wide variety of cultural meaning systems exist within countries such as the United States (Plaut, Markus, & Lachman, 2002; Vandello & Cohen, 1999), Japan (Kitayama, Ishii, Imada, Takemura, & Ramaswamy, 2006), Australia (Kashima et al., 2004), and Brazil (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993). More specifically, although the United States has earned a reputation as the most individualistic nation in the world (see Kim, 1994 for a review), residents in several collectivistic U.S. regions exhibit strong endorsement of family and community values (Vandello & Cohen, 1999). One of these regions is Appalachia and even more so in the Southern Highlands region of Appalachia.

People who live in the Southern Highlands area of Appalachia (i.e., eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Georgia, among others) tend to emphasize more collectivistic values than those living outside of the region. These values include a strong sense of family origin (Beaver, 1986; Halperin, 1990; Keefe, 1998) and kinship ties (Bateau, 1982a, 1982b; Bryant, 1981; Matthews, 1966), cosleeping between infants and mothers (Abbott, 1992), a sense of community as both a social identity and a type of social organization (Beaver, 1986; Brown, 1988; Halperin, 1998; Hicks, 1976; Kaplan, 1971), and a strong desire to avoid conflict (Beaver, 1986; Hicks, 1976; Keefe, 1998). Other characteristics of this culture include keeping outsiders at a distance, being attached to one's geographic region, a strong sense of religion

and personal values, and being less open to change (Baldwin, 1996; Montgomery, 2000; Shinn, 1999). All of these characteristics are similar to collectivistic cultures in other areas of the world and within the United States, many of which can be traced to the economic conditions of these regions (Triandis, 2005).

Some of the reasons for the differential academic outcomes for Appalachians may be partially tied to the collectivistic cultural values of the region and the degree to which these values are allowed to be expressed in the academic setting. Very little research has examined Appalachian and non-Appalachian regions from a cross-cultural perspective, much less so in the academic domain. Recent research findings suggest, however, that there are noteworthy differences between these regions in cultural expression and performance. For example, Wilson and Gore (2010) found that the association between school connectedness and academic performance was much stronger among Appalachian college students in Kentucky than among non-Appalachian students. In addition, Gore and Wilburn (2010) found in two studies that Appalachian students in Kentucky who embraced collectivistic values, both generally and in academic contexts, performed better in school than students from non-Appalachian regions of Kentucky who embraced collectivistic values.

These preliminary results demonstrate that the ability to express collectivistic values has positive implications for Appalachian students' success, but those studies focused only on academic performance. Several other factors help determine students' academic success, such as their attitudes toward their abilities and toward their school. In addition, the results of past research can only describe students in Kentucky but not necessarily students in other Appalachian states. Therefore, the current research expands on previous work by including Appalachian regions in more than one state and by examining additional variables that are relevant to a successful academic experience. Taken together, we expect that regional culture will moderate the association between cultural values and academic attitudes (efficacy, connectedness, and fear of academic success). Specifically, we predict that the association between collectivism and academic attitudes will be stronger among Appalachian students than among non-Appalachian students. The following section introduces the three outcome variables of interest, why they are important to the academic experience, and specific predictions for how region and collectivism will influence the degrees to which these academic attitudes are expressed.

Regional Differences in Academic Attitudes

Academic efficacy. Students need more than just ability and skills to be successful; they also need a sense of confidence to use their skills and abilities

and to regulate their learning (Bandura, 1993). Self-efficacy is defined as the "beliefs in one's capability to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations" (Pajares, 2002a, p. 6). In academic settings, self-efficacy beliefs help contribute to the prediction of outcomes beyond the contributions of ability, previous attainments, knowledge, and skill alone (Klassen, 2004; Pajares, 1996, 2002b; Schunk, 1995). In addition, students with high levels of self-efficacy are more likely to set and pursue higher academic and career aspirations than students with lower self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Vittorio Caprera, & Pastorelli, 2001; Schunk, 2003; Zimmerman & Bandura, 1994; Zimmerman, Bandura, & Martinez-Pons, 1992).

Cross-cultural research can help explain how different cultural practices shape self-efficacy beliefs and how those efficacy beliefs might operate as a function of culture (Pajares, 2000). Although some researchers have found higher academic efficacy beliefs among individualistic students than collectivistic ones, there are also some similarities. For example, Klassen (2004) found that past performance was a significant predictor of self-efficacy for both Anglo-Canadians and Asian immigrants. We argue that efficacy beliefs, like academic performance, are indicators of positive psychological functioning due in part to the embodiment of cultural values. In short, we argue that collectivism leads to more positive functioning among Appalachian students and it leads to less positive functioning among non-Appalachian students. Therefore, we predict that the association between collectivism and academic efficacy will be positive among Appalachian students and negative among non-Appalachian students.

School connectedness. Humans have a primary need to feel a sense of belonging to a group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Gross, 1954). School connectedness, a construct that taps into students' feelings of belonging, is a college student's subjective sense of "fit" within the university and the perception that they are personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in the academy (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990; Goodenow, 1993; Hagerty, Williams, & Oe, 2002). A number of studies have found that a high level of connectedness at the university positively affects students' persistence and graduation rates (Hotchkiss, Moore, & Pitts, 2006; Zea, Reisen, Beil, & Caplan, 1997). As examples, Goodenow (1993) found that students with a high sense of school connectedness had higher first quarter and academic year grade point averages than those with low connectedness.

Although little research has been conducted on cultural values and school connectedness, regional differences in connectedness and its consequences have been noted. As mentioned earlier, Appalachian schools are known to have severe difficulties in academic retention (Laird et al., 2008). Appalachian

students are more likely than others to come to college with these collectivistic and egalitarian social values, and the need to maintain roots to their places and people of origin. Because Appalachian students come to the university from a culture that emphasizes strong family and community ties (Batteau, 1982a, 1982b; Brown, 1988; Bryant, 1981; Halperin, 1998; Hicks, 1976; Matthews, 1966), a higher sense of connectedness at the university tends to benefit Appalachian students more so than students who are not from Appalachia (Wilson & Gore, 2010). In short, highly collectivistic students from Appalachia are more motivated than others to connect to their college or university in terms of the relationships with teachers, with fellow students, and with the institution as a whole. For these students, being able to connect to the university and other students would be an expression of their ability to continue to be collectivistic in a new environment. Therefore, we predict that the association between collectivism and school connectedness will be stronger for Appalachian students than for non-Appalachian students.

Fear of academic success. Attitudes toward academic success are not always positive; some individuals experience discomfort when they succeed at a task or outperform others (Exline & Lobel, 1999), so they conceal their accomplishments (Cross, Coleman, & Terhaar-Yonkers, 1991) or downplay their performance (Heatherington et al., 1993). This fear of academic success is more likely to occur when it threatens the fulfillment of affiliative needs, such as the need to feel socially connected (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991), the need to feel a sense of belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and the need to feel attached (Ainsworth, 1989). For example, some students report that their parents will not approve of their academic achievements (Exline & Lobel, 1999). People who are fearful of their own success at school and at work tend to display low intrinsic motivation toward tasks (Zuckerman, Larrance, Porac, & Blanck, 1980) in addition to low self-esteem, need for occupational achievement, and self-evaluations of job performance (Goh & Mealiea, 1984). Horner (1972) proposed that fear of academic and professional success could be used to explain inconsistencies in achievement motivation in women, but subsequent studies found little evidence that this is the case (see Zuckerman & Wheeler, 1975 for a review). Cross-cultural research has, however, found more convincing patterns.

Fear of academic success increases when success implies "breaking rank" from friends and family (Exline & Lobel, 1999). As a result, it occurs more commonly among students from collectivist cultures because of the threat to relationship maintenance. Collectivist cultures reward interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), cooperation (Domino, 1992), and conformity (Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984), all of which would likely increase a fear of

success (Exline & Lobel, 1999). Indeed, when interacting with members of their in-group, individuals from collectivistic cultures tend to downplay their achievements and abilities to avoid appearing better than others (Rhodes, 1989; Swisher & Deyhle, 1987). This is particularly the case among women of collectivist cultures (Wu, 1992), among foreign-born individuals who are less acculturated to an individualistic culture (Ho, 1987), and among individuals who have a high need for social-orientation achievement, which involves succeeding for the sake of one's family rather than for one's own sake (Lew, Allen, Papouclis, & Ritzler, 1998). Based on these findings, we predict that the association between collectivism and fear of academic success will be stronger among Appalachian students than among non-Appalachian students.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The 605 participants in this study consisted of undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses at Eastern Kentucky University ($n = 217$) or the University of Georgia ($n = 388$), both of which attract students from the Appalachian ($n = 133$) and non-Appalachian regions ($n = 472$). They received either course completion credit or extra credit in exchange for their participation. Of the Appalachian participants, 70% defined their hometown as rural (e.g., Belfry, KY, Franklin, GA), 24% suburban (e.g., Richmond, KY, Dalton, GA), and 0% urban. Of the non-Appalachian participants, 19% defined their hometown as rural (e.g., Harrodsburg, KY, Millen, GA), 63% defined their hometown as suburban (e.g., Frankfurt, KY, Albany, GA), and 17% urban (e.g., Louisville, KY, Atlanta, GA). The median income for the Appalachian participants' mothers was between US\$20,000 and US\$40,000 and between US\$40,000 and US\$60,000 for their fathers. The median income for the non-Appalachian participants' mothers was between US\$20,000 and US\$40,000 and between US\$80,000 and US\$100,000 for their fathers. About 40% of the Appalachian participants reported 4 or more generations living in the area where they grew up (including themselves), whereas only about 5% of the non-Appalachian participants reported the same.

For the entire sample, most of the sample was female (65%, 34% were male, 1% was unspecified), and most of the sample was European American (84%), with African Americans and Asian Americans each making up 4% of the sample. The majority of the sample was born between 1987 and 1989 (67%), meaning most of the sample was between 18 and 21 years old. Ages ranged

from 18 to 56 for the sample. Most of the sample (69%) made US\$400 or less per month, and most of them had parents who had at least graduated from high school (67% had fathers and mothers who had both completed high school) although only a portion of them had parents who had graduated from college (25% had a father with a bachelor's degree, 20% had a mother with a bachelor's degree). Despite all of the students coming from psychology courses, less than 10% were psychology majors, with virtually all academic areas represented in the sample.

Participants completed a survey questionnaire by logging into an online data collection system and volunteering for the study by accessing the link to the survey. They read an informed consent statement and then completed the measures associated with this study as well as a variety of other personality and academic assessments. On completion, they were provided with a debriefing statement.

Materials

The survey questionnaire completed by the participants included all of the measures described below. Additional measures for other purposes were included in the packets; they will not be discussed further here. Participants indicated their responses to items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) unless specified otherwise. For all multiple item scales, mean ratings were calculated such that higher scores indicate higher levels of the construct. Table 1 displays the descriptive and reliability statistics as well as the bivariate correlations among the variables.

Collectivism. Four items from Chen, Brockner, and Chen's (2002) Group Value subscale were used to assess collectivism. Example items included, "People should be aware that if they are going to be part of a group, they sometimes will have to do things they don't want to do," and "It is important to respect the decisions my family and friends make."

Academic efficacy. The 30-item Morgan-Jinks Student Efficacy Scale (Morgan & Jinks, 1999) was used to assess student efficacy beliefs about school success. Some example items from this scale are, "I could get the best grades in class if I tried hard enough," "I am one of the best students in my class," and "I will quit school as soon as I can."

School connectedness. Participants completed the 14-item School Connectedness Scale (Florell & Moore, 2007) to measure the degree to which they felt they were active participants at their school. Example items included, "There are lots of chances to participate in class activities and discussions," and "There are lots of chances for one-on-one with teachers."

Table 1. Correlations Among Variables With Descriptive and Reliability Statistics

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Collectivism	—	.16**	.21**	.16**
2. Academic efficacy		—	.49**	.29**
3. School connectedness			—	.34**
4. Fear of academic success				—
<i>M</i>	3.84	3.31	3.38	3.34
<i>SD</i>	0.56	0.34	0.44	0.32
α	.74	.77	.75	.79

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Fear of academic success. Zuckerman and Allison's (1976) 27-item Fear of Success Scale was used to measure respondents' perceptions of the benefits of success, perceptions of the costs of success, and attitudes toward success when compared to other alternatives. Some example items are, "I expect other people to fully appreciate my potential" and "I believe that successful students are often sad and lonely."

Regional origin. To determine participants' region of origin, we asked, "In which town or city did you spend most of your childhood?" Participants' responses were then coded as being Appalachian or non-Appalachian according to the county within which the town or city was located. The Appalachian counties were noted by referring to the Appalachian Regional Commission's list of counties in Kentucky and Georgia (<http://www.arc.gov/index>), which identifies the counties that are to be considered part of the Appalachian region.

Additional demographics. Participants also indicated their gender (1 = male, 2 = female), the estimated amount of income each parent made while they were growing up (0 = did not work, 1 = less than US\$20,000, 2 = US\$20,000-US\$40,000, 3 = US\$40,000-US\$60,000, 4 = US\$60,000-US\$80,000, 5 = US\$80,000-US\$100,000, 6 = US\$100,000-US\$120,000, 7 = US\$120,000-US\$140,000, 8 = US\$140,000-US\$160,000, 9 = US\$160,000-US\$180,000, 10 = US\$180,000-US\$200,000, 11 = more than US\$200,000), each parent's education level, the number of generations who lived in the area during childhood ("Including yourself, how many generations of your family lived in the area where you spent most of your childhood?"), their personal monthly income (1 = US\$0-US\$200, 2 = US\$200-US\$400, 3 = US\$400-US\$600, . . . 15 = US\$10,000+), their birth year, and their college major.

Results

Mean Differences by Region and by State

A series of independent samples *t* tests examined the differences between Appalachian and non-Appalachian students on all variables included in the hypotheses as well as some demographic variables also collected in the survey. The results indicated that Appalachian students scored significantly higher than the non-Appalachian students on academic efficacy, $M_{APP} = 3.54$, $SD = 0.39$, $M_{NONAPP} = 3.25$, $SD = 0.28$, $t(603) = 9.62$, $p < .01$, and school connectedness, $M_{APP} = 3.48$, $SD = 0.50$, $M_{NONAPP} = 3.36$, $SD = 0.42$, $t(603) = 2.88$, $p < .01$. In addition, the results indicated that Appalachian students scored marginally higher than non-Appalachian students on collectivism, $M_{APP} = 3.48$, $SD = 0.63$, $M_{NONAPP} = 3.37$, $SD = 0.56$, $t(603) = 1.79$, $p = .07$. There were no differences between regions in the amount of income the mother made while the participants were growing up, $M_{APP} = 4.02$, $SD = 4.40$, $M_{NONAPP} = 3.72$, $SD = 3.98$, $t(595) = 0.75$, *ns*, but the Appalachian students reported their fathers as having lower levels of income $M_{APP} = 5.10$, $SD = 4.18$, $M_{NONAPP} = 6.61$, $SD = 4.12$, $t(590) = 3.66$, $p < .01$ and they reported more generations living in the area where they were raised $M_{APP} = 3.27$, $SD = 1.94$, $M_{NONAPP} = 2.20$, $SD = 1.94$, $t(579) = 5.47$, $p < .01$ than the non-Appalachian students.

A second series of independent samples *t* tests examined the differences between students in Kentucky and Georgia on all variables included in the hypotheses. The results indicated that students from Kentucky scored significantly higher than students from Georgia on Academic Efficacy, $M_{KY} = 3.62$, $SD = 0.36$, $M_{GA} = 3.15$, $SD = 0.15$, $t(604) = 22.95$, $p < .01$ and School Connectedness, $M_{KY} = 3.55$, $SD = 0.53$, $M_{GA} = 3.29$, $SD = 0.34$, $t(604) = 7.61$, $p < .01$. Similar to the findings mentioned above, there were no differences between states in the amount of income the mother made while the participants were growing up, $M_{KY} = 4.13$, $SD = 4.54$, $M_{GA} = 3.60$, $SD = 3.84$, $t(636) = 1.56$, *ns*, but the Kentucky students reported their fathers making lower levels of income, $M_{KY} = 5.24$, $SD = 4.38$, $M_{GA} = 6.78$, $SD = 3.91$, $t(631) = 4.50$, $p < .01$, and more generations living in the area where they were raised, $M_{KY} = 3.29$, $SD = 2.69$, $M_{GA} = 1.96$, $SD = 1.28$, $t(618) = 8.36$, $p < .01$, than the Georgia students. As noted below, state of origin did not interact with the moderation effects.

The Moderating Effect of Appalachian Origin

To test the hypothesis that the association between collectivism and academic attitudes would be stronger among Appalachian students than among

non-Appalachian students, three hierarchical linear regression analyses were conducted. The binomial Region score (0 = *Appalachia*, 1 = *non-Appalachia*), the centered collectivism score, and their interaction term were entered as the independent variables, and academic efficacy, school connectedness, and fear of academic success were entered as the dependent variables (see Table 2).

For academic efficacy, the results revealed significant main effects of region and collectivism, which were qualified by a significant interaction effect ($p < .01$). In accordance with the hypothesis, simple slopes analyses revealed that the association between collectivism and academic efficacy was positive and significant among Appalachian students ($\beta = .38, p < .01$; see Figure 1), but contrary to our prediction the association was also positive among non-Appalachian students albeit weaker ($\beta = .09, p < .05$).

For school connectedness the results also revealed significant main effects of region and collectivism, which were qualified by a significant interaction effect ($p < .01$). In accordance with the hypothesis, simple slopes analyses revealed that the association between collectivism and school connectedness was more positive among Appalachian students ($\beta = .34, p < .01$; see Figure 2) than among non-Appalachian students ($\beta = .17, p < .01$).

For fear of academic success, the results revealed a main effect of collectivism, which was qualified by a significant interaction effect ($p < .01$). Similar to the results mentioned above, the simple slopes analysis revealed that the association between collectivism and fear of academic success was stronger among Appalachian students ($\beta = .25, p < .01$; see Figure 3) than among non-Appalachian students ($\beta = .14, p < .01$). Thus all three hypotheses were confirmed with the exception of the predicted association between collectivism and efficacy among non-Appalachians.

To distinguish between the effects of region and those of gender, the effects due to the type of town in which they were raised (i.e., rural, suburban, urban), due to the state they grew up in (Kentucky or Georgia), or due to their father's income, a series of follow-up moderation analyses were also conducted using dummy coded Gender (0 = *male*, 1 = *female*), Rural-Suburban-Urban (0 = *rural*, 1 = *suburban*, 2 = *urban*), and state (0 = *Kentucky*, 1 = *Georgia*) scores and the centered father's income score as covariates entered separately into the regression analyses. The interaction effects all remained significant with the inclusion of these covariates, which demonstrated that our findings were not due to confounding factors.

Discussion

Almost all of our predictions were confirmed by the results, which showed that the association between collectivism and academic attitudes is stronger

Table 2. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Appalachian Origin and Collectivism Predicting Academic Efficacy

Variables	Academic efficacy				School connectedness				Fear of Academic Success			
	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.16**				.06**				.03**
Region	-.29	0.03	-.37**		-.013	0.04	-.12**		0.00	0.03	.00	
Collectivism	0.10	0.02	.16**		0.17	0.03	.21**		0.10	0.02	.17**	
Step 2				.03**				.02**				.01*
Region	-.29	0.03	-.37**		-.013	0.04	-.12**		0.00	0.03	.00	
Collectivism	0.27	0.05	.46**		0.31	0.07	.40**		0.16	0.05	.27**	
Region \times Collectivism	-.23	0.05	-.34**		-.019	0.08	-.21**		-.008	0.06	-.11*	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

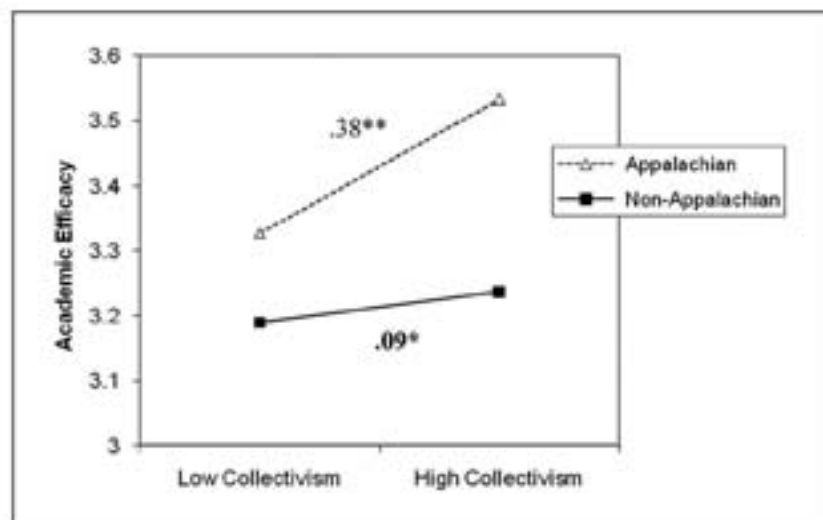


Figure 1. Region \times Collectivism predicting academic efficacy
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

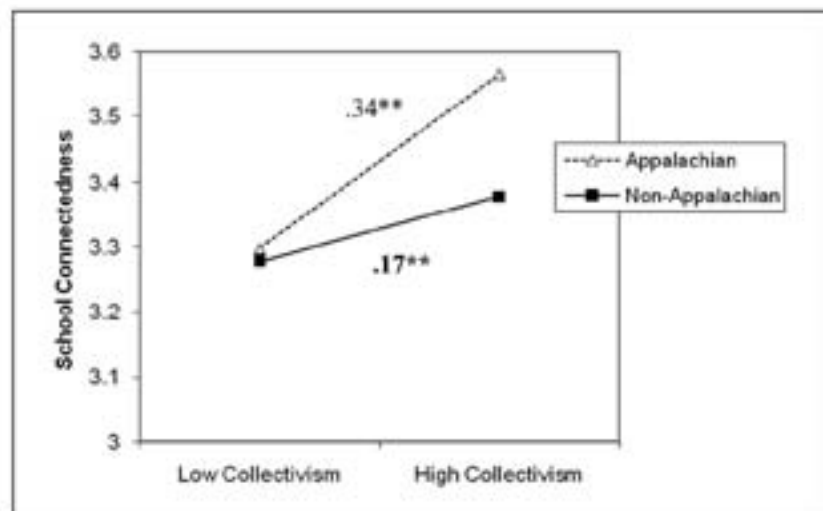


Figure 2. Region \times Collectivism predicting school connectedness
** $p < .01$.

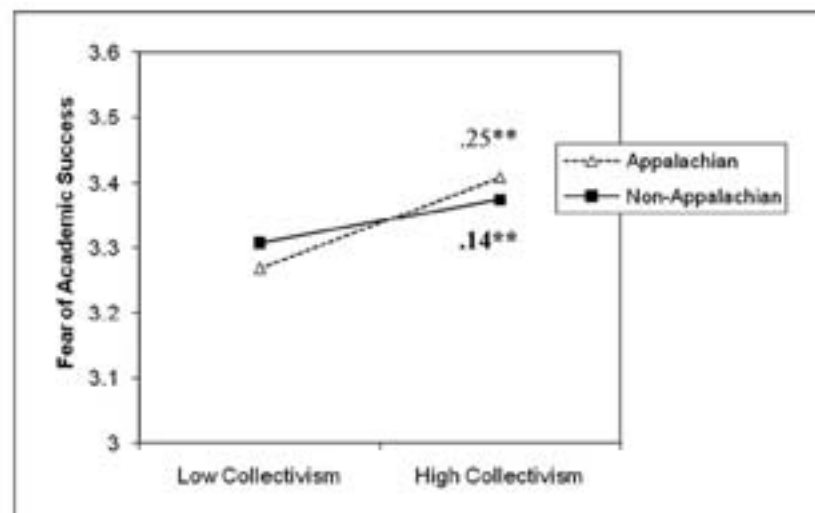


Figure 3. Region \times Collectivism predicting fear of academic success
** $p < .01$.

among students from Appalachian Kentucky and Georgia than from regions outside of Appalachian Kentucky and Georgia, whether those attitudes are positive (academic efficacy and school connectedness) or negative (fear of academic success). The only prediction that was not confirmed was the hypothesis that the association between collectivism and academic efficacy would be negative among non-Appalachian students. Instead, we found that this association was positive although it was quite weak. This may be because individualism and collectivism are orthogonal constructs, which would suggest that the internalization of more collectivistic values does not necessarily mean that the student has less individualistic ones. As a result, expressing values that are marginalized by one's own culture may have little bearing on a student's attitude. All of this suggests that students from relatively individualistic regions can function normally if they internalize collectivistic values, as long as they also internalize the individualistic attitudes that their regional culture deems important.

Overall, these results provide evidence that academic attitudes are a function of the students' cultural environments. The cultural environment for many Appalachian students in Kentucky and Georgia is one that emphasizes collectivistic values, so that those who internalize these values as their own will perceive their academic environment in a similar fashion. For example,

a highly collectivistic Appalachian student will be motivated to maintain his or her connections with others and to the institution as a whole, but he or she will also be ambivalent toward the prospects of academic success. These outcomes are similar to results found in cross-cultural research with international samples: members of collectivistic cultures seek to establish connections with others and to maintain their current relationships, a process which sometimes requires some degree of self-sacrifice.

The results involving academic efficacy differ slightly in that efficacy beliefs have little surface connection to the maintenance or enhancement of connections to others. These beliefs are, however, indicators of positive psychological functioning, which is due in part to the successful embodiment of cultural values. This may explain why Appalachian students who are highly collectivistic, and who are therefore expressing the values of their own culture, are more confident in their academic abilities than are those who do not express these values. This may also explain why the association between collectivism and academic efficacy is weaker among non-Appalachian students. As mentioned earlier, collectivism for this second group is not as important as it is for Appalachians, so expressing it does not speak to their cultural membership one way or another. As a whole, these results have several implications for cultural psychology, particularly as it relates to psychological functioning within specific domains.

Implications

Cultural values play an important role in academic success. Gore and Wilburn (2010, Study 2) showed that Appalachian college students who expressed collectivistic academic values tended to perform better in school than those who emphasized less collectivistic values. The results of our study build on their work by showing that this finding extends beyond academic performance. The embodiment of cultural values also relates to confidence in one's abilities, to the experience of school connectedness, and anxiety toward academic achievement.

The current study also expands on previous work by showing that this phenomenon is evident in states other than Kentucky. Although we only included data from one other state, Georgia, it nevertheless implies that the influence of collectivistic subcultures within Appalachia is not confined to single region of one state. More generally, these results build on recent research in cross-cultural psychology that has examined regional differences rather than international differences (Haidt et al., 1993; Kashima et al., 2004; Kitayama et al., 2006; Plaut et al., 2002; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). The most

notable difference between this study and others on regional culture is that most of the previous work has identified areas that differ on a single construct, such as levels of individualism, collectivism, or self-esteem. The current study takes this work one step further by examining variability in the degree to which members of these subcultures express these beliefs, and more importantly the consequences of holding beliefs that are in line with one's culture. Rather than simply reaffirming that Appalachian students are more collectivistic than others, we have shown that Appalachian students who fit their collectivistic culture will experience more positive outcomes than those who do not, with the exception of them being more ambivalent than others toward their own academic success. These results point to the diversity of cultural values within Appalachia, and they also show that the embodiment of cultural values appears to have its advantages and disadvantages.

Our study examined the association between cultural values and academic attitudes rather than academic performance. We focused on academic attitudes rather than academic performance for two reasons. First, the influence of cultural values on academic performance, particularly in regard to regions within Appalachia, has already been noted in recent work (Gore & Wilburn, 2010; Wilson & Gore, 2010). Second, we argue that the analysis of academic attitudes is just as important as academic performance due to the important outcomes that these attitudes predict. One measure of a university's success is its ability to retain and graduate its students, and to then place them in jobs after graduation. Academic performance is an indicator of students' motivation and readiness, but it does not necessarily predict whether a student will remain in school or pursue a career in their area of study. In contrast, both academic self-efficacy and fear of academic success predict students' academic and career motivation (Bandura et al., 2001; Goh & Mealiea, 1984; Schunk, 2003; Zimmerman & Bandura, 1994; Zimmerman et al., 1992; Zuckerman et al., 1980), and academic retention has been predicted by school connectedness (Hotchkiss et al., 2006; Zea et al., 1997). This research was not designed to comment on which cultural values among Appalachian students relate to retention and aspiration levels but future applications of this research program should examine those associations. In addition, this study's limitations should be addressed and resolved before conducting further research on this topic.

Limitations and Future Directions

Some of the questions left unanswered by this study are in part due to methodology. More specifically, the collectivism measure only involves four

items and is typically used with international samples rather than regional subcultures' samples. Consequently, the number of items constrains our ability to examine collectivism's wide array of indicators, and the concurrent validity has not been tested between subcultures. Therefore, the conclusions of this research regarding differences between Appalachian and non-Appalachian collectivism need to be made with some caution. Another limitation is that all measures were obtained using a self-report method, which leaves the scores vulnerable to social desirability and acquiescence biases. Additional indicators of academic success, such as the retention and career aspiration indicators mentioned above, were not included so the outcomes for these students are not known. Future applications of this research should employ more valid measures of collectivism, particularly those that address subcultural collectivism within the United States, and a more objective assessment of students' academic success, such as whether or not the student drops out of college.

The Appalachian region extends from the northeastern to the southern United States and incorporates 13 states. Therefore, further investigation is needed to examine whether or not these findings replicate in other states that contain both Appalachian and non-Appalachian areas. In addition, examinations of distinctions between urban and rural areas, between affluent and impoverished areas, and between northern and southern areas, constitute important avenues for future research. From previous research on cultural patterns associated with urbanity and social class (Plaut, Adams, & Anderson, 2009; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007), we expect that similar cultural differences may exist between these areas and may in part explain the differences between Appalachian and non-Appalachian regions. Furthermore, the two universities that were sampled for this study may attract students from Appalachia who have undergone a considerable degree of detachment from their hometown. Other regional universities and colleges near and within Appalachia may be more cognizant of the needs of their students, and therefore may incorporate collectivistic teaching methods to accommodate their students. A broader sample of colleges and universities would allow us to examine the diversity within Appalachia as well as the effectiveness of college environments that incorporate collectivistic values.

Conclusions

Appalachian students face difficult odds in their ability to succeed in college. The results of this study suggest, however, that their attitudes are influenced in part by the internalization of collectivistic attitudes, values which are

emphasized by their regional culture. When Appalachian students express the collectivistic attitudes that are emphasized back home, they tend to be confident in their abilities and feel connected to their school, but they also feel anxious about performing too well. These results speak to the importance of culture in people's ability to function in various environments, particularly among Appalachians. We recommend that universities with a high representation of Appalachian students should provide opportunities for those students to reinforce their identity in the new setting. This may include course work on the region, service learning in Appalachian communities, inviting speakers to lecture on Appalachian culture, and displaying Appalachian artwork and other creative works. The students who are able to "bring their culture with them" may be better equipped for the duties and responsibilities inherent to these environments, and their success is determined in part by the embodiment of cultural values.

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7.

**Education, Work, and
Values at Berea College**

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Reports

Berea College/ Union Power for Teaching Assistants/ The Ebony Tower/ Can Colleges Help Boston's School Crisis?/ Education for Development in Brazil

Education, Work, and Values at Berea College

Today there is nothing newsworthy about a college that changes its mission to attract new students or raises its tuition. But a college that finds its mission of more than 100 years still relevant to the needs around it and that charges no tuition—that's another story. Berea College in Kentucky is one school that fits that description. Founded by the abolitionist Berean community in the turbulent 1850s, the college was dedicated to providing an education to Appalachia's bright but poor students and to the goal of interracial education.

Located in the southern Appalachian Mountains 50 miles south of Kentucky's lush horse farm country, Berea has offered many of the region's poorer students their only chance for a college education. In addition to the no-tuition policy, all students are given paying jobs. The student work program has always been an essential ingredient of the Berea experience. At first, most of the work the college offered was unskilled, but in 1892 President William G. Frost introduced a new concept for the labor program. He broadened the range of jobs available by hiring a scientific agriculturist to supervise the college farms and by encouraging the development of the college printing office and the brickmaking factory.

It was also during Frost's administration that the college first required all students to work. In 1975 students must work 10 hours a week. In 1906 they were required to work seven. Frost and the board of trustees had a specific purpose in mind when they instigated the requirement: to reverse an undemocratic trend in the social groupings of students. A law mandating the end of integrated education in Kentucky in 1904 (it was repealed in 1950) forced Berea temporarily to abandon its commitment to educating blacks; many young people who did not need to work in order to go to college, and, in some cases, who considered such work "below" them, began to attend the college after it became all white. Gradually, the students were dividing into two groups—those who had to work and those who did not. The policy of requiring work of all students was intended to bridge the widening gap, and it succeeded.

Today Berea offers its 1,400 students an impressive array of jobs. Most jobs fall into one of two categories: institutional services, such as the college newspaper, janitorial work, campus security, and the library; or student industries, such as woodworking, needlecraft, Boone Tavern Inn (the college-owned hotel), or ceramics. Approximately 25 percent of the students work in academic departments while 6 percent do social service in the surrounding communities. After the first year (freshmen tend to get assigned jobs no one else wants), students may choose their jobs on a first-come, first-served basis. Wages range from 65 cents to \$1.25 an hour. (These are considered a form of financial aid and therefore do not have to conform to minimum wage laws and are not subject to taxes.)

COLLEGE PROFESSORING; or,
Through Academia
with Gun
and Camera
By Oliver P. Kohstoe



Not since *The Jaber-Looth Curriculum*, with which it doubtless will be compared, has such a wryly amusing, self-examining book about the teaching profession been written.

In this serious look at the world of higher education — from a nonserious point of view — the author (himself a full professor and a department chairman) goes through academia "with gun and camera," stalking the wild absurdity and giving much tongue-in-cheek advice on how to be good at professoring, for the novice, and those who aspire to be professors, and their friends. Illustrated with 52 appropriate cartoons.

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The labor program serves many purposes. First, it is a source of income for students. If their parents cannot afford to send them an allowance, it is their only source of spending money because students are not allowed to hold any job outside the college. Second, the labor program teaches students to work together as equals, according to administrators. Emily Ann Smith, special assistant to the president, has been involved with the college for 40 years. She explains, "No matter who you are, if you're assigned to sweep this floor, you sweep it." Finally, the labor program supports a belief at Berea in the value and dignity of work.

Sometimes forgetful of what the college thinks the labor program is accomplishing, the students suffer the usual frustrations of employment. They complain about the low wages and a dearth of challenging jobs. Even a job in one of the craft industries can be drudgery. Sarah Cennelly, a sophomore, reports, "I was bored making stuffed toys. It was like working on an assembly line"; but she was able to find a job in the library. Increasing student skills has not been a priority of the labor program, but Dean of Labor William R. Ramsay hopes to increase the number of jobs in which students have the chance to gain managerial experience. Another sign of change is the existence on campus of the independently funded Work-Study Development Project, whose goal is to develop a

model program that could be used by other colleges.

Free tuition and the opportunity to earn money are not the only ways the college helps poor students. Financial aid in the form of Basic Education Opportunity Grants, funds from the College Work-Study Program, National Direct Student Loans, and donors' money designated for student aid are available to help pay room and board and other expenses, which are about \$1,131 a year.

To support a college with no tuition is a major accomplishment these days; it requires a large endowment and many friends. Berea derives 51 percent of its income from its endowment, which stands at roughly \$50 million; 28 percent from gifts; and 21 percent from other sources, such as the student industries and rents. Some of Berea's money comes from the alumni, but the proportion who give is relatively low—18.5 percent. Most of the children of the alumni do not attend Berea because of the school's policy of refusing admission to students from families with moderate incomes. (The children of the alumni who live in Berea are excepted.) The defining level of income changes from year to year; last year 72 percent of the students came from families with annual incomes of \$6,000 or less. There is no doubt that this policy, as one administrator observed, "cuts the college off from a great stream of affection and money." The result, according to another administrator, is that "we're almost by definition serving first-generation college students." But this is part of Berea's purpose.

An appealing faith in the democratizing power of education combines with an excellent geographic location to bring Berea generous gifts from strangers. Situated just off of Interstate 75, the college is visited by seasonally migrating midwesterners who enjoy spending the night at the college's hotel, Boone Tavern Inn, on their way to and from Florida. They give to the college after reading about it on cards placed on the dining room tables and in their rooms.

Gifts from other friends of the college, including foundations, corporations, and private citizens, are very important to Berea. One of Berea's regular contributors, the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, has pledged to give the college \$5 million if alumni and friends contribute \$10 million by this month. At presstime, college officials said they expected the goal would be reached.

Berea has a reputation for academic excellence and maintains high entrance standards. Eighty-one percent of the freshmen were in the top two fifths of their high school classes. The college's curriculum reflects a respect for the liberal arts and a nondenominational emphasis on Christian

moral values. In addition to the usual distribution requirements, all students must take two year-long interdisciplinary courses—Man and the Arts and Issues and Values—during their freshman year. Later they take Religious and Historical Perspectives and The Christian Faith in the Western World. These courses cover traditional subject matter but avoid dogmatic methods of presentation; in class there is much discussion—with more questions asked than answered.

In requiring students to follow this curriculum, administrators hope they will begin to think seriously about their beliefs and values. Dr. Willis D. Weatherford, president of the college since 1967, says, "We're trying to reintroduce a concern for values and to develop the mind to deal with values." Critical of the modern passion for applying the scholarly standard of objectivity to every area of life, he believes strongly that values "is an area for private schools to deal with," and would like to see more private colleges make it their special concern.

Concern for the character development of the students extends beyond the classroom and into the dormitories. The curriculum of the college may be liberal, but the college's understanding of its role *in loco parentis* is definitely conservative. The doors to the women's dorms, but not the men's, are locked at 11:30 p.m. (Title IX may change this.) Since 1972, all students over the age of 18 have been allowed to have keys to their dorms. Visiting between the sexes was officially limited to the dorm lounges until last year, when students on a floor could vote to have their lounge open at certain hours. Only married students or students over 25 may live off-campus. No drinking is allowed on campus and only seniors not on financial aid are permitted to own cars. The college catalog advises, "Only those should apply who are willing to live a well-regulated rather than a self-indulgent life."

There is much public discussion about the importance of having values and about the specific values the college is committed to. Many people at Berea feel that, in the words of one professor, "Berea's commitment to ideals offers an example to the students." But when students know that the college is overlooking violations of the rules, cynicism sometimes results. One senior observed, "The administration likes to have the rule on the books that we have closed dorms; it gets donations." He complains, "The rules aren't realistic." Another complaint is that it is the faculty and the administration who enforce the rules, not the students. Professor Glen H. Stassen of the Religion and Philosophy Department believes that the administration "can influence values by giving more

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responsibility to the students," instead of imposing values on them "from the top." At the same time, student leaders complain about student apathy. Four years ago the students pushed for representation on all committees. They got the seats but since then they have had difficulty filling them.

One issue that did arouse a good deal of student concern was the firing of a black counselor three years ago. The event brought racial tensions to the surface. With the motto "God hath made of one blood all nations of men" on its seal, the college was embarrassed to discover that the black students were dissatisfied. Black students asked the administration to hire black faculty—there had been none—and two were hired. (One has since left.) The campus pastor and two of the head residents in the dormitories are black. With a black student population that is 13 percent of the total student enrollment, more black adults are needed on campus to serve as role models. But Berea does not pay large enough salaries to attract good black academics, who are much in demand everywhere.

Relations between the black and white students today are described by one student as "fantastic." Most Bereans agree they are good. Cindy Smith, a black nursing student, feels "there is more trust

between the races" since they have been attending integrated high schools. There are several strong black student organizations on campus, like the Black Student Union and a singing group called the Black Ensemble. Perhaps the biggest problem for blacks affects black women. Fifty-four percent of Berea's students are women, but because more black men date white women than vice versa, the dating picture for black women is even more unbalanced than for white women.

Berea is famous for its programs in Appalachian culture. Students may major in Appalachian Studies and study Appalachian history, literature, and sociology. In the labor program, students can learn an Appalachian craft or work as tutors or helpers in one of the community projects. Berea also hosts special programs in Appalachian music, dancing, and crafts throughout the year, including a summer theater project called "Wilderness Road," which employs townspeople as actors and staff.

Educating faculty in Appalachian culture has been a necessity. "We faculty have tended to assume that it is our task as educators to help Berean students 'get over' being Appalachian," comments Dr. Robert Menefee, a professor of economics at Berea since 1946, "but the situation is improving." Realizing that many of the faculty know little about the predominantly rural region their students come from, Dr. Loyd Jones, director of the Appalachian Center, which coordinates Berea's Appalachian activities, takes all who are interested on a three-day visit to the mountains every fall.

Faculty life at Berea is flavored by the school's smallness and earnest character. The student/faculty ratio is 12 to 1 and an average class has fewer than 25 students. The pay is not extravagant, even considering the relatively low cost of living in eastern Kentucky. A full professor receives an average salary of \$19,200. Ruth Butwell, associate dean of students, says, "People who come here come because they're committed, not because they're looking for any big salary. The people here are full of honesty, appreciation, and straightforwardness."

Berea's graduates have become writers, lawyers, state government officials, nurses, poets, and hotel managers. Many have gone on to teach, while some 37 percent of the seniors go to graduate school. For the moment the supply of applicants is ample but, ironically, as prosperity reaches even the hidden valleys of Appalachia, Berea must begin to worry. Says Emily Smith, "the pool of smart, poor students is shrinking." In the future, Berea will have to choose between admitting Appalachian students whose parents are prosper-

ous and increasing the number of students it accepts from outside Appalachia. Currently, 15 percent come from other areas and 5 percent from other countries. Always there will be the temptation to charge tuition and the question of what impact such a change might have on the character of the school and the generosity of its supporters.

There are critics who accuse Berea of being a sophisticated manipulator—a college that is getting rich on the desire of many Americans to help the hard-working poor while it forces its students to work for a token wage and live under old-fashioned moral codes irrelevant to their lives. Certainly Berea's permanent need for money renders the college susceptible to the temptations of image making. But Berea also has many admirers who are impressed by the way the school challenges its students to use both mental and physical muscle while avoiding the narrowness of a vocational school. Many marvel at its effort to nurture a respect for traditional moral values in this modern age. Without a doubt Berea is a serious-minded college, an institution that tackles the business of education with an earnest determination to do well by its students.

—Louise W. Knight

LOUISE W. KNIGHT is a writer for the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education in Washington, D.C.

Union Power for Teaching Assistants

In April 1970 the University of Wisconsin at Madison signed a labor contract with the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA), a local labor union representing the graduate students who teach most of the university's freshman and sophomore courses. The signing followed a year of negotiations and a 24-day strike and marked a major victory for the TAA, at that time the only organization of teaching assistants (TAs) in the country to be recognized as a collective bargaining agent.

Five years later, the TAA at the University of Wisconsin is one of only two such organizations in the United States. Last February, TAs and research assistants at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor went out on strike. The walkout lasted a month, and ended with the signing of a contract providing a small salary increase and a substantial reduction in tuition.

TA unions appeared briefly during the 1960s at some of the nation's larger universities—at Berkeley, for example, in 1964 during the height of the Free Speech Movement. Most of them flourished

and eventually faded away as university administrators successfully resisted efforts to negotiate contracts. But there now seems to be a renewed interest in TA unions, and TAA leaders at Wisconsin are receiving inquiries from teaching assistants at campuses across the nation. As the economy deteriorates, TAs at many universities are finding their already precarious financial position becoming increasingly untenable. Some are convinced that a union will help defend their interests as workers. They may find the Wisconsin union a useful model.

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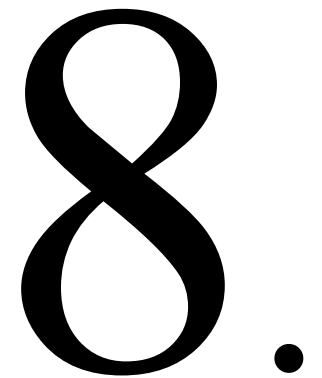
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**Initial Evidence on
the Long-Term Impacts of
Work Colleges**

Wolniak, Gregory C. and Ernest T. Pascarella "Initial Evidence on the Long-Term Impacts of Work Colleges" *Research in Higher Education*. Vol. 8, No.1 (February 2007): Pages 39, 57-67

INITIAL EVIDENCE ON THE LONG-TERM IMPACTS OF WORK COLLEGES*

Gregory C. Wolniak*† and Ernest T. Pascarella**

With the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the impacts that attending a work college may have on students while in college and up to 25 years later, this study estimated the effects of graduating from a group of work colleges on alumni educational and employment outcomes. Based on an overall sample of 7083 alumni from 5 work colleges, 20 private liberal arts colleges, and 5 public regional universities, a series of regression equations tested for differences across a range of college and employment related outcomes. With respect to a variety of facets of undergraduate educational outcomes, results indicate that attending a work college, relative to other types of institutions, has significant long-term effects. With respect to socioeconomic outcomes, results indicate that work colleges provide the greatest benefit to students from families with relatively low parental incomes.

KEY WORDS: college impacts; between-college effects; work.

Post-secondary education in America, like the greater society, is diverse and stratified (Davies and Guppy, 1997; Labaree, 1990; Rhoades, 1987). Institutions differ in size, mission, control, academic selectivity, social prestige, as well as the demographic and socioeconomic makeup of their students, and the value of an education is partially determined by the amount and type of schooling students acquire (Cohn and Geske, 1990; Knox, Lindsay, and Kolb, 1993; Paulsen, 1998; Smart, 1986). Over the past several decades a substantial portion of

*This research was supported by grants from The Mellon and Spencer Foundations.

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determination but based on the likelihood ratio index (Long, 1997). Finally, in the tables summarizing our results, estimated effects are expressed in terms of work college alumni. Thus, a negative effect indicates that work college alumni are *disadvantaged* on that variable relative to other alumni, while a positive effect indicates that work college alumni are *advantaged* on a specific variable.

RESULTS

In this study we sought to identify, first, the unique effects that work colleges may have on undergraduate educational outcomes, defined by the impact of work colleges on their students' skill and orientation development as well as satisfaction with college, loan debt, and graduate degree attainment. Second, we sought to identify the unique effects of attending a work college on alumni job preparation, work experiences, and employment rewards. Finally, we asked whether the effects of attending a work college were general or conditional on specific alumni characteristics. In this section we present our results organized according to these three lines of inquiry. Table 3 presents estimated total and direct effects of attending a work college compared to a liberal arts college or regional institution on all 14 dependent variables.

Undergraduate Educational Outcomes

With respect to skill and orientation development, the results in Table 3 show that work college alumni consistently reported an advantage, and had greater overall satisfaction with their college experience. More specifically, compared to alumni from both private liberal arts colleges as well as those from public regional institutions, work college alumni reported that their college experience had a significantly greater role in shaping their orientations towards learning and skill development, their development of entrepreneurial and leadership skills, and their overall understanding and awareness of their own citizenship and other global issues. These significant and positive differences between work college and the other alumni appeared in both our total effects model, as well as in the more specified direct effects model. The size of the significant effects for these three dependent variables ranged from .246 to .741 of a *SD* (see B_{S_j}), irrespective of model specification. Alternatively, with respect to the development of personal and spiritual orientations, we found a distinct advantage among work college alumni relative to graduates of regional institutions, but not in comparison to graduates of liberal arts colleges. All together, among the estimated

TABLE 3. Estimated effects of graduating from a Work College compared to graduating from a Private Liberal Arts College and a Public Regional Institution

Dependent Variable	Total Effects ^a		Direct Effects	
	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution
Learning Orientations and Intellectual Skills^b				
<i>B</i>	1.197*	1.952*	1.130*	1.767*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.260	.424	.246	.384
<i>R</i> ²		.041		.073
Entrepreneurial and Leadership Skills^b				
<i>B</i>	2.317*	3.189*	2.226*	3.039*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.352	.484	.338	.461
<i>R</i> ²		.048		.062
Personal and Spiritual Orientations^b				
<i>B</i>	.351	3.292*	.285	3.205*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.080	.750	.065	.731
<i>R</i> ²		.125		.139
Citizenship and Global Orientations^b				
<i>B</i>	1.828*	2.340*	1.759*	2.227*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.579	.741	.557	.706
<i>R</i> ²		.060		.079
Scientific and Quantitative Skills^b				
<i>B</i>	.462*	.264	.439*	.167
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.190	.109	.181	.069
<i>R</i> ²		.098		.188
Overall Satisfaction with College^b				
<i>B</i>	.194*	.326*	.195*	.312*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.253	.426	.255	.408
<i>R</i> ²		.031		.052
Total Loan Debt^b				
<i>B</i>	-1.462*	-.882*	-1.459*	-.849*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	-.649	-.391	-.647	-.377
<i>R</i> ²		.208		.219
Graduate Degree Attainment^c				
<i>B</i>	-.191	.003	-.170	-.162
Exp(<i>B_i</i>)	.825	1.003	.843	.850
Pseudo- <i>R</i> ²		.086		.168
Preparation for First Job^d				
<i>B</i>	.246*	.303*	.060	.033
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.222	.273	.054	.030
<i>R</i> ²		.018		.360

TABLE 3. (Continued)

Dependent Variable	Total Effects ^a		Direct Effects	
	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution
Preparation for Current Job^d				
<i>B</i>	.198*	.377*	-.000	.066
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.169	.321	-.000	.056
<i>R</i> ²		.016		.325
Full Time Employment^e				
<i>B</i>	.155	-.117	.344*	.002
Exp(<i>B_i</i>)	1.168	.890	1.410	1.002
Pseudo- <i>R</i> ²		.044		.084
Annual Salary^e				
<i>B</i>	-.174	-.481*	-.047	-.420*
<i>B_{SY}</i>	-.077	-.214	-.021	-.186
<i>R</i> ²		.205		.293
Satisfaction with Current Job's Work Tasks^f				
<i>B</i>	.100	.458	.054	.242
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.021	.097	.011	.051
<i>R</i> ²		.015		.128
Satisfaction with Current Job Rewards^f				
<i>B</i>	.227	.171	.132	.130
<i>B_{SY}</i>	.092	.069	.053	.053
<i>R</i> ²		.024		.225

Note: *B* are metric coefficients (in the original metrics of the variables, the average statistically adjusted change in dependent variables that is expected from having attended a Work College vs. a Liberal Arts College or Regional Institution). For continuous dependent variables, *B_{SY}* represents *y*-standardized coefficients (the amount of a standard deviation change in dependent variable related to a attending a Work College vs. a Liberal Arts College or Public Regional Institution), and *R*² are coefficients of determination (the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained by all other variables in the model). For dichotomous dependent variables Exp(*B_i*) represents odds ratios, while Pseudo-*R*² is analogous to the coefficient of determination but based on the likelihood ratio index.

^aTotal effects equation also includes variables: age, sex (male = 1, female = 0), race (white = 1, non-white = 0), parents' educational degree attainment, parents' income, secondary school grades, ACT Composite score, precollege plans to attain a graduate degree, precollege expectations to apply for financial aid, whether or not the college attended was the student's first choice, institutional academic selectivity, and college graduation cohorts (1974-76, 1984-86, or 1994-96). Regression degrees of freedom (*df*) = 15.

^bDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in the total effects model, plus: college grades and college majors. *df* = 22.

^cDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in note "b", plus: marital status; satisfaction with college; and the five skill and orientation development scales. *df* = 29.

TABLE 3. (Continued)

Dependent Variable	Total Effects ^a		Direct Effects	
	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution	Liberal Arts College	Regional Institution
Preparation for Current Job^d				
<i>B</i>	.198*	.377*	-.000	.066
<i>B_{St}</i>	.169	.321	-.000	.056
<i>R</i> ²		.016		.325
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^bDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in the total effects model, plus: college grades and college majors. *df* = 22.

^cDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in note "b", plus: marital status; satisfaction with college; and the five skill and orientation development scales. *df* = 29.

TABLE 3. (Continued)

^dDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in note "c", plus: graduate degree attainment. *df* = 30.

^eDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in note "d", plus: congruence of current job to most recent degree, college preparation for first job, college preparation for current job, and whether or not alumni is employed in the Appalachian region. *df* = 34.

^fDirect effects equation includes all variables specified in footnote "e", plus full-time employment, employed by a for-profit organization, annual salary, and annual household income. *df* = 38.

**p* < .01.

direct effects on overall satisfaction and the five skill and orientation development scales, work college alumni reported an average advantage of .274 *SD* over alumni of liberal arts colleges, and an average advantage of .459 *SD* over alumni of regional institutions.

In terms of loan debt and the likelihood of completing a graduate degree, we found mixed evidence of differences by alumni institutional affiliation. While no differences were found in the likelihood of completing a graduate degree, work college alumni did report significantly less loan debt from their undergraduate education than alumni from the other institutions, with the largest differences appearing between work college and liberal arts college alumni. More specifically, based on our most conservative (direct effect) estimates, attending a work college lowered alumni loan debt, on average, .647 *SD* relative to liberal arts college alumni, and .377 *SD* relative to regional institution alumni. In fact, the median value of loan debt reported by alumni from liberal arts college was in the range of \$2,500-\$5,000, and averaging more than \$5,000. For work college alumni, loan debt was considerably less, totaling between \$0 and \$2,500.

Job preparation, Employment, and Rewards

Compared to the above results, the effects of attending a work college on job preparation, employment, and rewards variables were less robust and somewhat less favorable. In terms of the degree to which alumni felt that their college education prepared them for their first and current jobs, work college graduates appear advantaged relative to alumni from either liberal arts or regional colleges. However, the significant differences we found were only with respect to our total effects model and not in the more specified direct effects model. This finding indicates that any advantage work college graduates reported in terms of job preparation were largely indirect, mediated by differences in college experiences, and skill and orientation development during college.

In terms of the likelihood of being employed full-time, the only significant effect we uncovered was between work college and liberal arts college alumni, and only appeared after controlling for differences across an array of demographic, socioeconomic, and educational background characteristics, college education variables, skill and orientation development, and post-college educational and occupational characteristics (see Table 3, footnote "e" for exact specification). Net of these factors, work college alumni were 1.4 times more likely to report full-time employment compared to their liberal arts college counterparts. However, this greater likelihood of being employed full-time did not translate into greater earnings for work college alumni. Specifically, no earnings differences were found between liberal arts and work college alumni, while graduates of public regional institutions reported almost .20 *SD* greater annual salaries than those individuals whom graduated from a work college. Finally, we found no differences between any of the alumni in terms of the satisfaction they had with their work tasks or job rewards.

Overall, we found large variation in the predictive power of our models. Controlling for demographic, socioeconomic, and educational background characteristics in the total effects model, the percent of variance in the dependent variables that was explained by the models (R^2 or *Pseudo-R*²) ranged from less than 2% in predicting job preparation and satisfaction with work tasks, to over 20% in predicting annual salary and loan debt. Our direct effects models ranged from explaining 5.2% of the variance in overall satisfaction with college, to over 30% for job preparation. Ultimately, regardless of statistical differences between alumni from different institutions, models differed widely in the degree to which they explained differences in the dependent variables. While work college alumni reported significantly greater levels of satisfaction with their college experience, for example, our direct effects model explained only 5.2% of the variance, leaving the remaining 94.8% of the variance in college satisfaction unexplained by our model. The above results should be viewed in light of these considerable differences in the statistical power of the models.

Conditional Effects

In order to ascertain whether or not and to what extent the impacts of attending a work college differ according to specific alumni characteristics, we tested for differences by sex, parental income prior to college, graduation cohort, and precollege academic ability (represented by alumni ACT composite score prior to entering college). Overall, we

TABLE 4. Estimated Metric Effects (*B*) of Work Colleges vs. Liberal Arts Colleges and Regional Institutions, Conditional on Alumni Characteristics

Dependent Variable/Alumni Characteristic	Work College vs. Liberal Arts College	Work College vs. Regional Institution
Scientific and Quantitative Skills		
Low parental income	.643**	
High parental income	.149	
Total Loan Debt		
Low parental income	-1.629**	-1.046**
High parental income	-1.158**	-.494**
Graduated between 1974-76	-.868**	
Graduated between 1994-96	-2.222**	
Annual Salary		
Low parental income		-.361*
High parental income		-.503**

Note: All equations are specified according to the direct effects models shown in Table 3. "Low" ("High") represents alumni who reported scores below (equal to or greater than) the sample mean for the stated variable.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

found evidence that our estimated direct effects masked important interactions between alumni characteristics and the institutions they attended for three of our dependent variables. As shown in Table 4, we found significant conditional effects related to alumni college loan debt, salary, as well as alumni perceptions that their college experience contributed to their scientific and quantitative skills. The alumni characteristics that appeared to be most influential were precollege levels of parental income and graduation cohort.

Previously we found that work college alumni, on average, report significantly greater development of scientific and quantitative skills while in college relative to their counterparts from liberal arts colleges (see Table 3). Our conditional effects further indicate that the advantages of attending a work college on developing scientific and quantitative skills occur most dramatically among alumni whose parents had relatively low incomes. After splitting up our sample into groups based on parents' income prior to college being below the sample mean vs. greater than or equal to the sample mean, we found that the significant direct effects of attending a work college we previously reported were almost

entirely driven by the work college alumni with relatively low-income parents.

We also found that parental income prior to college has important implications for the accumulation of college loan debt, as one might expect. From our direct effect estimates we found work college alumni to carry significantly less loan debt upon graduating from college than alumni from both of the other comparison institutions. The conditional effects, again, indicate that the advantages of attending a work college fall disproportionately to individuals from families with fewer economic resources. In particular, relative to liberal arts colleges we found the influence of work colleges on loan debt to be over 40% greater in magnitude among students with parental incomes less than the sample mean than among students whose parents earned incomes at or above the sample mean. Relative to regional institutions, the effect of attending a work college on loan debt among lower income students was more than twice the size of the effect among students with higher parental income.

The impact of work colleges on loan debt also appears to be conditional on graduation cohort. Compared to liberal arts colleges, our results indicate that work college alumni who graduated most recently (in the mid-1990s) enjoyed considerably greater reduction of debt than alumni whom graduated in the mid-1970s. We found the effect of work colleges (vs. liberal arts colleges) on loan debt to be over two-and-a-half times greater for the 1990s cohort than the 1970s cohort. Yet, even up to 20 years after college, the benefit of attending a work college still exists in the form of significantly reduced loan debt. Interpreted another way, this finding suggests that not only do work college alumni carry less college loan debt in general (see direct effects), what debt they did have declined relatively faster with time than did the debt of alumni of liberal arts colleges.

Finally, the conditional effects we found acting on annual salaries were entirely related to parents' income prior to college. While our estimated direct effects indicate that work college alumni earn equivalent salaries to liberal arts college alumni but less than alumni of regional institutions, this difference appears smaller for individual's whose parents' incomes were below the sample mean. Net of an array of potentially confounding variables, the negative effect of work colleges (vs. regional institutions) on annual salary was most pronounced among alumni from families with greater economic resources. In other words, there appears to be less of a difference in the salaries of alumni whom had lower levels of precollege parental income than among alumni with higher levels of precollege parental income.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this study we analyzed a sample of three cohorts of alumni from 30 colleges in and around Central Appalachia, drawing from an overall population of more than 7000 alumni. The data contained information on educational and employment characteristics up to 25 years after college, and provided controls for an array of confounding influences including precollege tested academic ability, levels of parental income and education, educational aspirations, financial aid expectations, as well as college selectivity, majors, and graduation cohort. Our purpose was to compare alumni whom had attended one of five work colleges to alumni whom had attended other types of institutions, in order to identify the net effects of work colleges on undergraduate educational outcomes and on socioeconomic outcomes. We also sought to identify if the effects of attending a work college were conditional on specific alumni characteristics, or general for all alumni. Overall, this study produced three main findings.

First, in terms of alumni attitudes about the impact of their college education, our results suggest that work colleges are successful at providing their students with a range of undergraduate educational outcomes. In particular, compared to the other types of institutions in our sample, we found work colleges to be uniquely effective at developing educational outcomes related to: *learning and intellectual skills* (e.g., problem solving, speech, and writing skills, appreciating the arts, and life long learning), *entrepreneurial and leadership skills* (e.g., ability to manage one's time and finances, self confidence, working as a member of team, and getting along with people with different perspectives), *orientations towards citizenship and the global environment* (e.g., attention to environmental and international issues, positive interactions with people of different races and cultures, and exercising one's rights as a citizen), and *overall satisfaction with college*. While these educational outcomes were not based on assessments of skills or cognitive development, they do represent alumni dispositions concerning distinct facets of their college education. Thus, attending a work college appears to have overall positive impacts on alumni attitudes that are relatively greater than the impacts of the liberal arts colleges and regional institutions within our sample.

It may be that the educational impacts of work colleges reflect the benefits of purposeful student involvement and the clear and integrated experience work college's offer their students. A substantial body of research verifies the positive effects that accompany student involvement, particularly when it is aligned with a clearly defined institutional mission. For example, Hu and Kuh (2003) have identified that students'

perceptions of their institutional environments affect their engagement. Astin (1993) and Anderson (1981) provide evidence that certain forms of work activities enhance students' levels of involvement, while others have provided evidence that the benefits accompanying part-time employment are partially due to resulting increases in student involvement (e.g., Gleason, 1993; Pascarella et al., 1998). Furthermore, Kuh et al. (2005) have demonstrated the effectiveness of institutions that are guided by strong missions, while Seifert et al. (2006) have recently provided compelling supporting evidence of this by studying historically black colleges. Ultimately, the educational benefits we found associated with attending a work college may be attributed to the clear and integrated role of their work program within their overall educational process. The clear mission of work colleges, and a culture built around the merits of work and the application of knowledge, fosters a level of involvement among students that appears to be effective at developing a variety of socially and economically relevant skills and orientations. The net effects we found associated with work colleges may well stem from their unique mission, and the degree to which it is manifest in the daily lives of students through their formal work activities. The work activities of students are intended to provide a rich context for learning that, according to our results, appears to be effective from the perspective of alumni.

Our second main finding is that work college alumni owe significantly less than their counterparts from other institutions, but also may earn less. We found that attending a work college clearly limits the accumulation of loan debt, but also that the salaries of work college alumni are on average less than those of alumni from regional institutions but equivalent to alumni from liberal arts colleges. Considering that both loan debt and earnings reflect the economic value of a college education (Leslie and Brinkman, 1988; Paulsen, 2001), our results suggest that the economic value of a work college education is greater than an education provided by the liberal arts colleges in our sample. On the other hand, the economic value of attending a regional institution relative to a work college remains unclear. In terms of debt accumulation, education attainment, and employment preparation and rewards, with only one exception, we found that the effects of attending a work college were either negligible (e.g., graduate degree attainment and job satisfaction variables), indirect (e.g., job preparation variables), or distinctly negative (e.g., annual salary). In general, our results run counter to existing evidence that smaller and more prestigious institutions enhance the educational attainment as well as labor market earnings of their students.

Our third and final main finding is that in terms of socioeconomic outcomes, the effects of work colleges distinctly benefit students from families with relatively low economic resources. In the development of scientific and quantitative skills, the accumulation of college loan debt, and the annual salaries of alumni, our results clearly indicate that work colleges offer the greatest benefits to students whose parents earn relatively lower incomes. Research has demonstrated the lasting impact of higher education on subsequent earnings, status, and social mobility (e.g., Davies and Guppy, 1997; Haller and Portes, 1973; Knox et al., 1993; Smart, 1986; Smart and Pascarella, 1986; Wolniak, Seifert, Reed, and Pascarella, 2005). After controlling for institutional academic selectivity, college majors, and a variety of other confounding influences, our findings offer a unique perspective on the relative influences that students' economic resources prior to college have on economically and socially valuable college outcomes. Simply, our findings suggest that inherited economic resources may be rewarded significantly less at work colleges than at other types of institutions.

CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes primarily to our understanding of between-college effects, and secondarily to our understanding of the interactions between different types of institutions and different types of students. Following their extensive review of the college impact literature, Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) emphasized that with the exception of elite institutions and career and economic outcomes, any advantages related to where one attends college tend to be smaller in magnitude and less consistent than advantages related to one's overall education attainment or the specific characteristics of one's college education. This point reinforces evidence, dating back as far as Holland's (1957) early research, that it is the qualities of students, their programs of study, and their involvements that explain the majority of college effects. It is simply more common to find significant effects within a college than between colleges. Nevertheless, after statistically controlling for an array of potentially confounding differences in alumni backgrounds and educational experiences, we found strong evidence suggesting that the type of institution one attends can, in fact, have a distinct impact that may last well into one's post-college life.

Our results also contribute to a growing body of evidence suggesting that the impacts of college vary according to (or, interact with) specific student characteristics, and that a more complete, but also more complex understanding of college effects comes from studying such

relationships. For example, focussing on the academic selectivity of institutions, Dale and Krueger (2002) found that selective colleges produce significant earnings benefits for students from families with low parental income, and that there is a high economic payoff of attending more expensive institutions for students from lower income families. At the other end of the cost and prestige spectrum (see Bowen and Bok, 1998, Appendix B, or Dale and Krueger, Appendix 1), relatively inexpensive and low profile work colleges similarly benefit students of relatively low-income parents in terms of socioeconomic outcomes. The mere fact that the effects of work colleges can not be attributed to high levels of academic selectivity or high tuition (or whatever such variables may signal in the labor market), should encourage more scholarship on what institutional or environmental characteristics *really* foster positive long-term outcomes.

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9.

**Berea College:
The Telescope and
the Spade**

Hutchins, Francis S. "Berea College: The Telescope and the Spade-Newcomb Address
May 17, 1963" Princeton: Princeton University Press for The Newcomen Society, 1963.
Pages 5-7

Berea College
*The Telescope and the
Spade*

FRANCIS S. HUTCHINS, L.L.D.

MEMBER OF THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY
PRESIDENT

BEREA COLLEGE

BEREA

KENTUCKY



THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY IN NORTH AMERICA
11016 DOWNINGTOWN PRINCETON PORTLAND

1963



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THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS AN AFFILIATE OF THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN



The Newcomen Address, dealing with the history of Beves College, was delivered at the 1941 Executive Dinner of The Newcomen Society in Great America, held at The Regency of The Kentucky Hotel, at Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A., when Dr. Hutchins was the guest of honor on May 21, 1941



First Printing: May 1941

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 42-19113



Some former members of Newcomen

To former members of Newcomen:

As we stood on the porch of the Union Church of Beves following the morning service, I was introduced to a charming lady from Pakistan, beautifully clad in a sari. While we talked, she glanced across the street toward the Boone Tavern. She exclaimed, "Who is that?" We informed her that it is an ancient ruin, the Superintendent of Buddhist Education in Cambodia, who was recently addressed as "The Venerable" in a letter from Pakistan. "Who is that?" "It is true, everyone does come from Pakistan."

Do the pages of our guest book indicate visitors from Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Poland, Indonesia, Ceylon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Thailand, Laos, Thailand, Singapore, Finland, Greece, Tanzaania, and many friends who have come shorter distances. In fact, it is possible to tell the "hot spots" in American foreign policy by observing the nations from which these visitors come.

These friends come because there are some characteristics of Beves College, some elements of distinction, some policies or attitudes which mark it, with the result that a visit is in order.

Beves's first President, Henry Hutchins, was instrumental in building the broad foundation. He was followed by William B. Stewart, who was instrumental in the development of the college. Then came the late President, William J. Hutchins, who was instrumental in the development of the college. In the past several years, his work has been instrumental in the development of the college. Hutchins has been instrumental in the development of the college. Hutchins has been instrumental in the development of the college.

The history of Beves College and the high position it occupies today are the outstanding qualifications of those few men who have been instrumental in the development of the college. Their combined measure of office is almost one hundred years.

Our honored speaker of the evening was born in 1921. He is the A.B. degree from Oberlin, the A.M. from Yale, plus honorary degrees. He devoted seventeen very successful working years to education in China. The value of his judgment and ability is evidenced by his active participation in numerous organizations in the fields of religion, health, education and citizenship.

There are over two thousand colleges and universities in the United States. The image of each of these is determined by its own standards, what he sees, what he looks. In simple terms, the purpose of each institution is to EDUCATE. The degree of achievement by Beves can best be established by one who for several years of years has made himself familiar with its problems, its needs, one who has carried the responsibilities of its leadership, one who gives deep thought and continuous effort to planning its future. It is my pleasure and privilege to introduce to you Professor STEPHENSON HERRINGTON, President of Beves College.

To former members of Newcomen:

During the past thirty years, The Newcomen Society has issued publications covering the struggles and achievements of some seven hundred outstanding organizations. The discussion of these, supplemented by dinner meetings such as this, has played an important role in aiding America's progress toward a nobler civilization.



Beves College, Louisville, Kentucky

Beves College meets inclusion in this effort group. Every person interested in or connected with Beves except with pride and responsibility that go with this effort.

Each institution, irrespective of purpose or achievement, has its own individuality. There are, however, certain fundamentals that are common to all successful group operations. Among these are the qualities of Management and Leadership.

10.

Stalwart Women

Bashaw, Carolyn T. *Stalwart Women: A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1999.

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“Stalwart Women”

A Historical Analysis of
Deans of Women in the South

Carolyn Terry Bashaw

FOREWORD BY LINDA EISENMANN

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"STALWART WOMEN"

**A Historical Analysis of Deans of
Women in the South**

CAROLYN TERRY BASHAW

Foreword by Linda Eisenmann



Teachers College, Columbia University
New York and London

To
Joan E. Pritchard
Emily S. Gilman
and
the memory of Bernice Cottrell Terry

INTRODUCTION

"Stalwart Women" Deans of Women and Their Significance in the History of Collegiate Women in the United States

In the spring of 1930, at the age of 70, Katherine S. Bowen was retired from Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, after 32 years as dean of women. Students, administrators, and faculty celebrated her contributions to the women of Berea College. "We bring to you tonight . . . the thanks of a thousand freshmen girls," noted dinner honoree Bowdoin Bowdoin. "For the care we have had in watching her grow and for the rights and privileges she should not have had, but you see we won them for us."¹ No less admiring in his praise, President Francis Hinckley cited her equally significant initiatives on behalf of women faculty members: "It would be hard for the women of the faculty, who have come in recent years to know how Miss Bowen served herself in the material welfare of [these] women" ("President Oliver Recognizes Her," 1939).

Faculty colleague and colleague in the Berea Alumnae women's union frequently cited Bowen's contributions: "To a pioneer institution she brought pioneer gifts, physical strength . . . a mind, quick, operative, and a sense of humor."² "Bowen brought an additional quality to Berea, Smith observed, something very contextualized and somewhat newly needed—"a woman's point of view and a woman's set of values" (p. 203). Putting these gifts to use, the dean instituted changes that tangibly improved the lives of women students and faculty members. For the former, she oversaw the establishment of extracurricular opportunities and the expansion of dormitory facilities. For the latter, college authorities, responding to "her foresight and championship," established "work-and-houses" to provide a respite from daily dormitory responsibilities. In the end, Smith (1939) concluded, "her best gift to Berea has been to and through its women" (p. 205).

Ceremonies such as those honoring Katherine S. Bowen were common in colleges and universities throughout the South, and indeed the nation. During the 1940s and 1950s, numerous pioneer deans of women retired after careers of

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highlight the "conventional plus" of early professional women, focusing on priv-

ately, to evaluate the careers of Brewster, Harris, Stump, and Blanding, one must examine the personal circumstances that shaped their lives. What, if any, role did their parents and siblings assume? Why and when did they attend college? What did they study? Did they marry? Why did they work? What work did they choose? Why did they finally become deans of women?

Katherine S. Brewster, Agnes Ellen Harris, Abbie H. Stump, and Sarah Gibson Blanding represent alternative stories on three levels. Most obviously, they were women professional leaders in higher education, which men have traditionally dominated. However, because of the common tendency to consider women professionals as a relatively homogeneous group, historians often overlook the multiple textures the lives of these four women suggest. Brewster, Harris, Stump, and Blanding differ in significant ways not only from their women contemporaries in higher education but also among themselves.

Most studies of academic women, including those few of deans of women, highlight the "conventional plus" of early professional women, focusing on priv-

ately, to evaluate the careers of Brewster, Harris, Stump, and Blanding,

one must examine the personal circumstances that shaped their lives. What, if any, role did their parents and siblings assume? Why and when did they attend college? What did they study? Did they marry? Why did they work? What work did they choose? Why did they finally become deans of women?

CHAPTER 1

"The Alternative Story"

Early Life and Challenging Careers



A formidable pioneer on the Berea campus for 20 years, Katherine Brewster worked to enhance the experience of women students and faculty. (Archives and Special Collections, Berea College)

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"Sister" Women

disregarded service. Indeed, this generation of women made essential contributions to the fortunes of academic women—students, faculty, and, perhaps, professional colleagues.

Why does Brewster's story matter? Was she part of a collective regional network? Why early members of a profession that no longer exists? What do her life and the lives of her colleagues reveal concerning the fates of academic women in educational institutions in the South in the first half of the century?

The best kept secret in the history of higher education for women, particularly in the South, is the leadership that deans of women exercised in defining the quality of institutional life for women students, faculty members, and professional colleagues. By 1900, the majority of American college women attended conventional institutions of higher learning. Within 20 years they comprised approximately half of the entire undergraduate population. In response, traditional academics hired a new administrative official, the dean of women, charged with their supervision. Although most college and university presidents considered the position a necessary expedient to ensure displaced parents, many of the women whom they hired did not see. At the highest-ranking women on the conventional campus, deans of women increasingly expanded their role from one of supervision to one of advocacy. Such a challenging strategy inevitably produced both sagging tuition and soaring administrative costs.

Between 1920 and 1970, virtually every conventional institution—Black or White—in the United States employed a dean of women. Nevertheless, historians of women's higher education have consistently dismissed or ignored this administrative officer. Margaret W. Rowland (1982), in her study of women academics, defined the position as a variety of "academic women's work" (pp. 71-72), which some women accepted in order to obtain employment in higher education.

Pioneer deans of women, many of whom were competent scholars, labored in forsaken fields, quickly perceived the position as an "aching ember" (Brewster, 1982, p. 7) by which they could demonstrate their organizational skills and reduce women's visibility both on the conventional campus and in the larger society.

Aspiring women professionals such as these chose between two options: either to enter a traditional field with its various obstacles, or to build new, female-dominated professions, whichever path they followed. Nancy Curt (1987) suggests that women professionals confronted similar problems: the battle for "professional credibility" and the need "to outperform men in their rigor and standard" (p. 218). Such formidable obstacles, however, did not deter dedicated women. Frances Mc Quarr and Marian Storer (1987) identify their strategies—experimentation, separation, abandonment, and innovation—by which

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women achieved productive professional careers. Of special interest are the innovations women who created professional employment opportunities by appointing "area ignored by the established professions" (p. 217).

LEGITIMIZING THE PROFESSION

Deans of women were just such innovators. In 1900, despite the dramatic increase in the number of women attending conventional institutions and in the number of deans of women, the position possessed none of the components of a profession—formalized graduate training programs, a coherent body of research literature, and a professional association. However, between 1900 and 1916, dedicated deans of women began transforming a nondescript job into a legitimate profession.

Beginning in 1834, with the appointment of Marianne Davison as principal of the Female Department at Oberlin College, institutions of higher education sporadically hired this new administrative official, who eventually became the dean of women, to be responsible for the welfare of college women. Although numerous other institutions hired "help" principals, deans, and abbesses of women, Gertrude S. Martin (1911), Dean of Women at Cornell University, is one of the earliest studies of the position, maintained that "it was the University of Chicago that really made it [the office] salubrious" (p. 66). Since this institution was committed to coeducation from its founding in 1862, President William Henry Harper hired one of the most prominent women administrators in the country, Alice Freeman Palmer, as the first dean of women. The president of Wesleyan College between 1881 and 1887, Palmer clearly defined the conditions of her employment at Chicago: that she be in residence only 12 weeks each year and that she bring as her assistant Marion Talbot, a Wesleyan faculty member (Harold, 1995, pp. 232-235). Palmer's choice of an assistant proved to be significant, both for women's education at the University of Chicago and for the future leadership of this unique profession.

Born into a prosperous but progressive New England family, Marion Talbot graduated in 1881 from Berea University, coeducational since its founding 8 years earlier. Like so many of the first generation of women college graduates, Talbot had scant opportunity to obtain meaningful employment. Keady aware of the problem, she joined with other college-educated women in the area to found the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) in 1881. Subsequently, Talbot accepted a faculty position at Wesleyan College, and, in 1887, accompanied Alice Freeman Palmer to the University of Chicago (Fitzgerald, 1996; Koenig, 1982).

Following Palmer's unexpected resignation in 1895, Marjorie Talbot became

the daughter of a country minister, Katherine Sophia Bowersox was born in 1861, in Painesville, Pennsylvania, a small community in the rural portion of the state. Her father's love of nature, especially ornithology, birds, and simple pleasures, might well be traced to her rural childhood. So might her sensitivity and sense of purpose, for Bowersox's early years did not remain those of idleness.

Following her father's death in 1879, the 19-year-old girl, her mother, and two brothers struggled to survive as a family. Despite severe economic problems, however, the young Bowersox displayed an active intellectual curiosity, which served her well at the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and at Berea College. Turning to her late father's modest collection of books, she read them all, "including a fine volume *History of the Reformation* and a two volume *Ancient History*" ("Bones of the People," 1919, p. 2). Determined to improve her circumstances, and those of her family by whom she took responsibility, Bowersox sought college training. Like many other ambitious but penniless young women, she took advantage of the closest state-supported institution that would prepare her for economic independence and enrolled in Bloomsburg Literary Institute and State Normal School, which provided cooperative training for both women and men seeking careers in public school work in nearby Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania (Edwards, 1982).

Bowersox enrolled in the elementary teachers course, an almost unattainable path to employment (Edwards Liu, n.d.). She did not, however, earn a degree from Bloomsburg. Although she subsequently attended summer school at a variety of institutions and Berea College awarded her two honorary degrees, Bowersox considered her lack of a college degree her "lifelong regret." Reflecting on the matter, she confided to William J. Haskins, President of Berea College, that "like so many of our Berea students, I went to school during the summer and worked the rest of the year to support my mother and seven-traveling brothers." For four years, Bowersox toiled in the public schools of Middleburg, Pennsylvania, a rural village close to Painesville.

Perhaps in search of a larger salary, perhaps in search of a greater challenge than public school work, in 1891 Bowersox joined the faculty of the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. For 8 years, she served as supervisor of the Normal Training class, in 1902, she assumed an administrative post as the Principal of the Academy Department.

The Indian Industrial School became a reality because of the dedication of one man. In 1875, Second Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, USMA, a cavalry officer serving the Fifth Territory, transferred 75 Plains Indians to Fort Marion in Florida (Moore, 1962). Rather than incarcerate them, the lieutenant advocated not only productive work but also education for the Native Americans,

almost annually. Have also visited Hampton and Tuskegee this year."¹ Not wanting Pratt to think that Berea was her only employment option, Bowersox also indicated that she had other employment possibilities. In 1906, the Pittsburgh chapter of the YWCA asked her to become its general secretary and in 1907, federal government officials, obviously pleased with her work at Carlisle, offered her the principalship of the Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas.

Despite these offers, Bowersox announced Pratt that Berea was "just the atmosphere I would work for my work." She clearly wanted to serve in an institution where "the building of character and higher ideals are of first importance."² Reflecting a deep sense of duty and personal honor, Bowersox assumed the principalship that "if I feel that I cannot do any other work, satisfactorily, offered me."

Bowersox's experience at Carlisle prepared her well to serve as Dean of Women at Berea College. As the principal of the Academy Department, she moved beyond the traditional woman's work of teaching into a supervisory role, in which she developed valuable administrative skills that assisted her that she had a variety of career options. She understood and appreciated the potential power of educational institutions to foster a more just society. Most important, however, Bowersox's work with Native Americans reinforced her affinity with ethnic American groups, enhancing her ability to understand the problems that Appalachians Americans faced.

AGNES ELLEN HARRIS

Agnes Ellen Harris, like Bowersox, grew up in a family that valued sacrifice and service. Born in 1883 in Colburns, Georgia, a small community near the Alabama border, Harris was the second child and first daughter of Elton Stranahan Harris and James Collier Harris. James Harris relinquished his own dream of becoming a physician and turned instead to teaching in order to educate his eight siblings. Successful in this profession, he served for over 40 years as superintendent in the public schools of Colburns, Marietta, and Rome, Georgia, and as director of the Georgia School for the Deaf.

James Harris's sacrifices for his siblings and his offspring bore fruit. His brothers and sons enjoyed successful careers in politics, medicine, industry, and the military. His daughters, as well, took their place in the public sphere. Agnes Ellen Harris and her sister, Margaret, held faculty and administrative positions in higher education (S. Harris, 1935).

Throughout her life, Agnes Ellen Harris remained especially devoted to her father. Their close relationship may well have been a consequence of her mother's untimely death in 1895, when Harris was only 12. James Harris cared for his children as conscientiously as he did for his siblings. Recalling his sacrifices

of service to the Indian Industrial School. Obit was written that the mission of the Indian Industrial School "is to give to the Indian children of this country the best education possible, and to train them in the habits of industry and self-reliance." (Edwards Liu, n.d.)

Pratt subsequently approached Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz in 1879, in hope of founding a government-supported school for Indian (Moore, 1962). He had selected Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a military post since 1861, as the site for the proposed school. The federal government agreed to support him. On November 1, 1879, Pratt officially opened the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle.

In accepting employment at Carlisle, Bowersox unwittingly became part of one of the most controversial experiments in the assimilation of Indians in the United States. Although Carlisle's founder, Richard Henry Pratt, promoted from a graduate degree to help Indians become responsible citizens, in the end, his work at Carlisle, and indeed the entire boarding school experiment, yielded at best ambiguous results. Anthropologists and others reported of the value of Indian group cultures opposed the severing of Indians from their traditions. Furthermore, many graduates of the boarding schools considered themselves to be alienated from both White and Indian cultures.

How did Katherine Bowersox contribute to the mission of the Indian Industrial School? She worked devotedly to enrich the religious, intellectual, and social experiences of her students. Pratt considered religious training a vital component of education for citizenship. Each Thursday evening, students attended prayer meetings, which Bowersox often conducted (*Old Men and Myself*, February 2, 1902, p. 3). Of course, religious activities diminished students' work hours, taking her time as superintendent of the Sunday School (*Old Men and Myself*, November 11, 1901, p. 3).

The following semester she directed farm reading, guided by her manual curriculum, served Bowersox well at Carlisle. In addition to her teaching and administrative responsibilities, Bowersox directed numerous speakers to groups large and small. The array of subjects is somewhat astounding, both that she would be familiar with them and that they might be of interest to the students. She spoke on such diverse topics as Charles Lamb, Alfred the Great, Chinese literature, Greek civilization, and Japanese education (*Old Men and Myself*, February 21, 1894, p. 3).

Katherine S. Bowersox lived her and loved her students, as an extension of her social activities, both in and out of the campus, suggests, are participants in the activities of both the Irrepressible, a men's debate society, and the Stranahan Stranahan Longman Literary Society for women (*Old Men and Myself*, February 22, 1901, p. 3). Bowersox also found partners for student groups, including the senior women and "the senior psychologists and their young partners' friends" (*Old Men and Myself*, December 15, 1902, p. 3).

How could her far-studied Bowersox work within a repressive institution

KATHERINE S. BOWERSOX

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ACADEMIC WOMEN AND THE LOVE OF NATURE

Because historians have devoted almost exclusive attention to the experiences of academic women in single-sex institutions, stories of their relationship to the outdoors and athletic activities dominate the literature. However, numerous academic women in coeducational institutions, including Katherine S. Bowersox and Sarah Gibson Blalock, harbored an intense, lifelong love of nature. Outdoor activity dominated Bowersox's childhood in rural Pennsylvania. As a student at Blountsburg Normal School and as a faculty member at the Catholic Indian Industrial School, she enjoyed picnics, hikes, and sporting events with her colleagues and students.

During her 30 years at Beta, Bowersox's appreciation of the outdoors intensified as a consequence of her encounters with one of the last relatively wild landscapes east of the Mississippi River, The foothills of Appalachia, the home of Beta College, remained curiously unspoiled wilderness when she joined the faculty in 1937. Pristine rivers and virgin timber still abounded in eastern Kentucky.

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College Women and Athletic Opportunity

CHAPTER 5



Above: over childhood, Sarah Blalock was a student on the 1921 women's basketball squad at the University of Kentucky. The coach of the Kentucky, Albert B. ("Happy") Chandler took her court, subsequently served as Governor of Kentucky and as Commissioner of Education (University of Kentucky Archives)

On May 10, 1922, the Beta College student newspaper, the *Frontier*, published a lengthy article entitled "Nations, Girls!" in which a young student extolled the growing enthusiasm of her peers for organized athletic activities. Like many traditional college women, "we had [considered] all sports . . . the righted property of the male sex and . . . had accepted this state of affairs without a murmur." "No longer willing to break such subordination either in the playing field or in the marketplace, Beta women sensed that they wanted to be "top-notch" of carrying on a nation's work . . . whether it be dance, bicyclic, tennis, or soccer . . . accordingly." The perceptive student author articulated the direct relationship between academic achievement, physical health, and economic independence. She concluded that, to do their work competently, women must have the opportunity in college "to acquire that physique which is so essential" (p. 4).

Dozens of women played a central role in the establishment, maintenance, expansion, and control of women's physical education programs. Early on, they realized that athletics, like academic fields and house societies, stemmed with larger issues of campus space, institutional finance, and cultural expectations of society. Skarzyn, both on and off the campus, concluded that the only issue of women's physical fitness—in maintenance and control—was in track. If not soon, something than their academic achievement on the campus.

Consequently, Barbara Solomon (1983) found that athletic programs, staff members, and facilities for women in coeducational institutions appeared more slowly. Inspired by female funds, particularly in the 1930s, college presidents often remained reluctant to invest precious monies in women's athletic activities. Only after years of lobbying did Katherine S. Bowersox and Addie H. Slump secure the construction of facilities such as the Wood-Freeman Building at the Women's Field House in most cases, as both donors discerned, the

dedicated to serving the economically poorest of students, Beta College girls did not consider a sport program for women to be a necessity. Furthermore, during the early decades of the college's administration, who struggled hard to maintain an institution of higher education for Appalachia's Americans, had little inclination to consider the addition of expensive curricular activities. Indeed, Beta students, virtually all of whom were accustomed to labor physical labor from their childhood in rural Appalachia, considered the labor on campus, permitting the majority of the college's maintenance work to be exchanged for their education. Women and men, campus activities assumed, derived sufficient physical exercise from the college's labor program.

Katherine S. Bowersox disrupted Hovener's moral and muscularly the economically nonmuscular work of the college labor program, she contended that it could not require organized physical education for women on the campus. Indeed, after only a few years at Beta, Bowersox discovered that "women's girls do not know how to play." Accomused to hard work at home, when these young women had time on campus, the dean observed that they would "go and trim or 'just sit' [and had to be] coaxed and prodded into regular physical training."²⁴

A comprehensive physical education program, complete with a woman's gymnasium and physical education director, Bowersox insisted, would benefit Beta women in a number of ways. The dean claimed that there would be fewer "poor cases of disability . . . if there was greater opportunity for outdoor, highland play." Most important, however, a 4-year physical education program would produce more women graduates devoted to the long-term physiological and emotional benefits of physical fitness for themselves and their families.²⁵

ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING ATHLETIC PROGRAMS

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"Sister Women"

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content, in 1892, at South College when women at the University of Kentucky established their first basketball squad in 1902. In his study of the formation of women's basketball at the university, Gregory Stanley (1995) found that women students responded enthusiastically to this new campus activity. Soon, however, he concluded that were the content to continue because of their wide popularity, they would do so only under her strict control. By 1902, six hundred men students from viewing the women's games, citing issues of propriety.

Frustrated by such stringent restrictions on the quality of their collegiate experience, a contingent of women students petitioned the university administration, asking that the women's basketball team operate under the aegis of the male-dominated Athletic Association. Women students found powerful allies among the faculty, and, most important, in the new president, Henry Banker. Despite Stork's vehement protest, in 1910, the women's basketball team became the province of the Athletic Association, under the control of male physical educationists and politicians.

For the subsequent 11 years, women's basketball flourished at the University of Kentucky. Collegiate opponents included Western Kentucky Normal, Kentucky Wesleyan, and Chattanooga. According to Peg Standard (1991), the Kitemasters also regularly played high school teams, with intermittent success. Under control of the Athletic Association, the women's team garnered enthusiastic support for its spirited athletic performance. Such enthusiasm was double-sided, however, for with the appointment of Frank L. McVey as president in 1917, Illustrious Stork proved an essential contributor in her battle to cancel the women's basketball program.

Gregory Stanley (1995) found that like Stork, McVey objected to women's intercollegiate basketball on both physiological and cultural grounds. First, he maintained that such an active sport excessively taxed women's physical strength. Furthermore, he questioned the propriety of a group of women athletes, with few chaperones, traveling across the state and region for games.

Three years after McVey's arrival, Stork persuaded him to establish the Women's Athletic Council, which the dean of women and the head of women's physical education controlled. With this administratively viable in place, she commenced a more concerted, and ultimately successful, campaign to discontinue women's intercollegiate basketball. Critical to her strategy was the support of South Gibson Blanding, who became dean of women in 1923.

Thus, in her very first year as dean of women, Blanding found herself at the heart of a university-wide crisis concerning the quality of women's collegiate experience. To appreciate her support for canceling women's intercollegiate basketball, it is essential to reexamine Blanding's ties to her two professional mentors—Florence Stork and Frances Kraft McVey. Stork, like Blanding, was an alumna of the New Haven Normal School of Gymnastics. Thus, the two shared

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When Sarah Gibson Blanding became Dean of Women at the University of Kentucky in 1923, an active, professionally trained physical education program for women had been in existence for over 2 decades. Early in her term, Blanding, unlike either Bowersox or Hovener, confronted the more vexing issues of configuration and control of women's sport on campus. What should an athletic

CONTROL OF WOMAN'S SPORT ON CORDEDUCATIONAL CAMPUSES

The external establishment of sport programs for women on cordeducational campuses afforded deans of women and their students at best minimal security. However, difficult the struggle to establish such programs, the universities remained at best ineptly professionals. Following closely on the establishment of women's sport programs was the issue of campus space. Should women share facilities with men? Should institutions build for them a separate, entirely new plant? Cordeducational administrators usually answered both questions negatively, although women tended to start a craft off, and steadily lobby, facilities.

Within this context, Agnes Eliza Harris's success, along with the moral support of President George Denny, in establishing and maintaining the Women's Campus at the University of Alabama remains a unique achievement in the economically deprived South of the early 20th century. Although one could view this as a kind of extraordinary outlier, the construction of the Women's Campus allowed Harris to build the sort of separate space from which women students could derive strength and in which they could develop organizational and leadership skills.

The Women's Campus included classrooms, dormitory space, and meeting rooms. Harris took special pride in the women's gymnasium, which opened in 1913, the very heart of the Great Depression. She took economic, however, that such modern facilities still had to be provisioned from the men's students. On hearing that a group was petitioning for use of the existing pool, Harris warned that J. Saxton, professor of physical education, "that the granting of this request would be a serious blow to the progress of the education of women at the University of Alabama." Harris struggled for nearly 6 years to build a comprehensive program for women. Harris was adamant that her efforts not be distributed, and she reminded her colleagues that not only did the women students consider the gymnasium and its facilities among their "most precious possessions," but also that many parents in the region had sent their daughters to the University of Alabama precisely because it offered them access to college facilities comparable to those of men.²⁶

"The Physical Work Is for Edward"

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ing's "wealth and remarkable contribution," Stuebel concludes, earnestly confirms "the political realities of the athletic bar" (p. 444).

Consistent with Patricia Vertinsky's (1994) observations of contemporary scholarship in the history of women and sport, these women seem to reflect two primary trends. First, they reveal the forthright efforts of three young-minded individuals—Katherine S. Brewster, Agnes Ellen Harris, and Sarah Gibson Black—going—to establish, maintain, configure, and control women's athletics on the conditional campus. Second, they also reflect the larger cultural and professional context in which these forms of women formalized their policy.

CONCLUSION

From their earliest appearance on previously all-male campuses, women students raised issues concerning not only the allocation of space and facilities but also the establishment of academic honor societies and campus rituals. During the early decades of the 20th century, as the number of women on conditional campuses increased, these concerns continued to dominate the actions of deans and other administrators. However, with the advent of the new century, women students, through their additional requests for athletic programs with intercollegiate competition, invoked a provocative response. As a consequence, a spirited conflict occurred between deans of women and women physical educators on the one hand, and male coaches on the other, concerning nothing less than the right to attend or control traditional conceptions of gender.

On their respective campuses, Brewster, Harris, and Blasinger confronted their identical problems. From both a personal and a professional perspective, they recognized the value of physical activity in the lives of young women. Throughout their own long lives, Brewster and Blasinger related primarily to nature and participation in physical activity.

Disappointed that their women students enjoy full, autonomous lives, these deans also perceived the connection between academic achievement, physical health, and economic independence. Convinced that personal health was an essential component in the lives of educated women, Brewster, Harris, and Blasinger sought to establish, maintain, configure, and control athletic opportunities for women students on the conditional campus.

This analysis of the efforts of these three women to foster such programs fills a significant gap in the literature of college women and sport. Historical analysis of women students' athletic experiences on campus focuses disproportionately on single-sex institutions. Perspective accounts of the relationship between academic women and the outdoors, between students and athletic competitions in women's colleges, dominate the literature.

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Gregory Stuebel (1995) found that in her attack on intercollegiate basketball for women at the University of Kentucky, Blasinger invoked the domestic goals of the Women's Division. Such a stance followed directly from her initial professional training in physical education and her close association with Florence Stone. Deriving the critic over the favor of the Kappa Omnisigma, Blasinger, who assumed a critical role, did not hesitate to attend university officials of both the physical and the conditional pressures inherent in such concerns.

Why did Blasinger and Brewster women's physical educators advocate discouraging women's intercollegiate athletics, particularly basketball? Did they do so purely in response to cultural bias? Was such a policy, at least in part, an act of professional pragmatism?

Close analysis of the local climate in Lexington, Kentucky, is instructive on two levels. First, it offers a far larger, national phenomenon than which historians draw prescriptive conclusions. Second, it reveals historians that deans of women such as Blasinger, however admirable their achievements on behalf of college women, seldom operated solely from altruistic convictions.

In her examination of the response of professional women physical educators to the growing popularity of women's intercollegiate sport, Susan Cain (1994) identifies a fundamental conflict encompassing both gender and job/philosophy of sport. Throughout the 1920s, women physical educators and male coaches and promoters debated vigorously, especially over the propriety of intercollegiate basketball contexts. Issues of configuration and control of women's athletic programs remained the discussion.

Despite their divergent disagreement, women physical educators and their male supporters shared certain common assumptions. Both agreed that college women should have access to sport. Both acknowledged the cultural bias that sport might marginalize women. Both sought to combat this bias, albeit through drastically different representations of athletic involvement, under the control of academically opposed supervisors.

Women physical educators, Cain (1994) found, combined "frank" athleticism with a middle-class concept of womanhood" (p. 34). Encouraging progressive traits and professional sport marketing, the "wholesome, modest athletic" (p. 37) composed only in historical contexts under the supervision of women physical educators. Concerned primarily with good health and good fun, such student athletes welcomed a women-centered, woman-oriented sport pro-

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**Berea College Summer
Work and Leadership
Training Project**

United States Department of Commerce - Economic Development Administration.
*Technical Assistance Project Final Report:
Berea College Summer Work and Leadership Training Project. Washington: 1966*

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE
PROJECT
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

REXIA COLLEGE
SUMMER WORK AND LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROJECT

FINAL REPORT

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"This technical assistance study was accomplished by professional consultants under contract with the Economic Development Administration. The statements, findings, conclusions, recommendations, and other data in this report are solely those of the Contractor and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Economic Development Administration."

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One of the major problems is the shortage of skilled workers in the Appalachian area in the wood processing industry. The higher standards of wood quality, and increased demand for wood products are in demand. Increasing plant capacity has been generally achieved through increased productivity and skilled direction. Increasing the controlling and training factors through the use of industry work study groups.

A major goal of the work in the center and potential of its youth development, many of the most promising young people began from the region to obtain job opportunities in the area.

SUMMARY

The program, "A Summer Work and Leadership Training Program Involving Appalachian Student Participation in Wood Processing and Fabrication Industries", had as its goal the familiarizing of Appalachian College Students with the opportunities offered by the wood products industry. This was done during the summer of 1966 by placing students in wood industry jobs as participating members of the work staff, plus providing informative seminars to supplement the experience with an over-all understanding of the industry. Co-operating participants include the University of Kentucky, the University of Louisville, Union College and a representative sample of Kentucky wood-processing concerns.

This program was carried out under the terms of Economic Development Administration Contract C-323-66 (Neg.).

SUMMARY

The history of the program dates to the summer of 1965, when the report was submitted to the Kentucky Woodworking Firm. This summer's program was successful. The 1966 program was judged to be successful. This report is submitted to the Kentucky Woodworking Firm for its being repeated in the summer of 1967 in a similar form. The 1966 program was conducted on a larger scale and included the help of several other institutions in addition to the contractor as well as an increased number of Kentucky woodworking industries. While the 1966 program had concentrated the program into the Louisville and Derby areas, the 1967 program was planned to Louisville as before but also several small firms scattered through the Appalachian Kentucky mountain area.

In summary of the general evaluation of the program the following items are noted:

1. The program was established with specific and limited goals. (Provide significant employment for promising students. Providing information and inspiration concerning careers in the wood industries. Alerting employers to the need for and sources of young potential leaders.)
2. The program accomplished each of these goals separately to a good degree.
3. The separate goal accomplishments produced a unified program of significant positive impact on both the students and the employers.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident that the 1966 summer program, like its predecessor in 1964, achieved its intended objectives. It also became increasingly evident that there are critical shortages of creative young leaders in the wood industries in Appalachia. The contrast in methods and management techniques to say nothing of vision and initiative between the plants in Louisville and the struggling small firms in Southeastern Kentucky became painfully obvious during the program. It is difficult to realize how restricted are the horizons and how short range, crisis filled, and makeshift are the methods of industry managers in many plants in the region. It is obvious that means should be found to increase the competence and skill of present management in these small operations and to bring the persons who are responsible for these operations into contact with the best of current practice. Means are also needed to create better understanding and relationships between the wood industries and investors, civic leaders, development agencies and other facets of industrial life in the region.

The two programs which have been conducted were both of an elementary nature and have produced a modest number of interested and modestly well informed young people. All participants agree that, although much was learned in a single summer, an additional period of advanced seminars and work assignments involving increased responsibility would be of considerable impact on persons who had participated in either of the previous programs. It is also evident that the need for young potential leaders in numbers is great, far beyond the number produced by the two previous programs.

In light of the foregoing, the following recommendations may be made:

1. That another program similar to this be given during the summer of 1968.
2. That an advanced program going beyond this for those who completed the 1964 or 1966 projects be offered during the summer of 1968.

3. That a project be created to locate and draw into the program potential employers, investors, and civic leaders in the Appalachian region who may be instrumental in developing positions for the students after their graduation and who may be able to achieve sound plans for the development of greatly expanded industries in the area. The major need is for sound planning and good organization. The materials, needs and markets are all available.
4. That, in future programs, some means, either supplementary payments, extended contracts or exclusion of low pay shops, be used to make the wages received by students working firms located in rural settings at least roughly comparable with wages received by those in the larger cities and by careful conferences with employers to insure that on-the-job learnings shall be based on good rather than shoddy practice.
5. In future programs the Director should encourage the management of the industries, particularly those of the smaller shops, to participate in the seminars and other related activities so as to improve their own operations. It was presumed in the previous two programs that competent management at the senior level was available, but this presumption has not held up. Many small plant owners and operators are in immediate serious need of even the most basic kinds of information and skills. These people mean well, try very hard and risk all their personal assets in their enterprise; but they are so lacking in basic information and skills and do very well to even get by, much less expand.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF SEMINAR LEADERS AND TOPICS

First Seminar, June 7

Mr. James E. Hall conducted the screening of several plants in eastern Kentucky to match the right student to the right job on the basis of experience and training.

Mr. Rude Osolnik conducted the screening of the several plants in Louisville, Kentucky to match the right students to the right jobs on the basis of experience and training.

Second Seminar, June 14

Mr. James E. Hall visited the plants in eastern Kentucky to observe the students while they worked.

June 15, Mr. Rude Osolnik visited the plants in Louisville to observe the students while they worked.

Third Seminar, June 15

Mr. James Hall gave an introduction to the topics and speakers for the seminars in Barbourville and set up the way the seminars were to function. The keeping of individual logs or diaries of work experiences was explained.

June 16, Mr. Rude Osolnik gave an introduction to the topics and speakers for the seminars in Louisville and set up the way the seminars were to function. The keeping of individual logs or diaries of work experiences was explained.

Fourth Seminar, June 20 and 21

Mr. Howard E. Newland, Director of the Wood Utilization Division of the Department of Commerce at Frankfort, Kentucky conducted a seminar on Resources and Types of Wood Manufacturing Establishments in the state.

Fifth Seminar, June 21 and 22

Mr. J. W. Jones, an attorney in Louisville, conducted a seminar on Methods of Organizing a Business.

Sixth Seminar, June 22 and 23

Mr. Errett Conway, Forest Economist of U. S. Forest Research Center, Berea, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on Timber Resources in Kentucky and Their Uses.

Seventh Seminar, June 27 and 28

Mr. Ronald Ewe, Certified Public Accountant with Ernet and Ernst Company in Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on Records and Reports of a Business.

Eighth Seminar, June 29

Dr. James Bobbitt, Director of Institutional Research, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, compiled a questionnaire which was presented by the Director and the Assistant Director to be used as an aid to a preliminary evaluation of the program.

Ninth Seminar, July 5 and 6

Mr. James Toy with the Small Business Administration in Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on the various types of loans available to small businesses.

Tenth Seminar, July 7 and 8

Mr. Eude Goclnik, Chairman of the Industrial Arts Department at Berea College, conducted a seminar on the Berea College Low Cost Housing Project.

Eleventh Seminar, July 12 and 13

Mr. M. D. Williams, Personnel Manager at Kroehler Company in Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on the responsibilities of Industrial Relations Department.

Twelfth Seminar, July 14 and 15

Mr. Samuel Kendrick, Production Control Manager at Gamble Brothers, Inc. in Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on the operation of a woodworking business.

Thirteenth Seminar, July 18 and 19

The students were taken on a field trip to Cumberland Forest Products at London, Kentucky. There they saw the following: (1) veneer being cut and dried, (2) plywood being made, (3) a wood chipper, (4) dry kiln ovens, (5) rotary and sliced veneer cutters, and (6) a saw mill.

Fourteenth Seminar, July 20 and 21

Mr. Walden Lovisi, Production Control Division, Housier Cabinet Corporation, Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on the purposes and procedures of a time and motion study.

Fifteenth Seminar, July 25 and 26

Mr. Roberts, Sales Manager Flooring Division, Wood Mosaic Corporation at Louisville, Kentucky, conducted a seminar on merchandising.

APPENDIX C

FORM USED IN EVALUATION

1. Name _____
Last First Age
2. Home State _____ County _____ Town _____
3. Semester completed in college 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Major _____
(Circle one)
4. What kinds of work experience have you had previously? _____
State kind of job in terms of what you did. _____
5. Go back to the above answers and add the number of months you worked at each job.
6. What kind of work does your father do? _____
Your brothers or sisters, if any? _____
Your mother? _____
7. What kinds of wood industries or jobs are there in or near your home community? _____
8. Where are you working this summer? _____
9. What exactly are you doing? _____
10. Does this work make use of what skills you already have? _____
11. What kinds of things have you learned thus far on the job? _____
12. From whom have you learned these things? (Foreman, shop manager, machine operator, fellow worker, etc.) _____
13. How have you been treated by the other workers at the shop? _____
14. Do you feel that you are able to do the job you have been assigned? _____
15. Are there other jobs in the shop which you could have done better or learned more from? _____
Which other jobs? _____

EVALUATION STATISTICS

Age of participants:

18	4
19	7
20	7
21	5
22	2
23	1
24+	1

Total participating 27

Home State:

Kentucky	19
North Carolina	2
Ohio	1
Tennessee	1
Virginia	2
West Virginia	2

Total participating 27

Semester completed in college:

1	2
2	5
3	2
4	8
5	2
6	8

Total 27

Major in college:

Industrial Arts	10
Mathematics	2
Elementary Education	1
Business Administration	1
Psychology	2
Biology	3
Religion	2

German	1
Physical Education	1
Prelaw	1
Geography	1
Undecided	2

Total 27

Previous Work Experiences:

Work in Tobacco Warehouse	2
Salesman	2
Foundry	2
Truck Driver	2
Agriculture	2
Grocery Clerk	6
Restaurant work cashier bookkeeping, etc.	3
Steel setter	2
Lumber mill	2
Librarian	3
Construction	2
Mowing lawns	8
Painter's assistant	1
Guide	1
Surveyor's assistant	1
Hospital orderly	1
Military police	1
Office clerk	1
Field labor for Green Giant	1
Student instructor of Physical Education	3
Cable T. V.	1
Janitor	1
Veneer mill saw operator	1
Welder	1
Mechanic	1
Mental Institution orderly	1
Summer Missionary	1
Tobacco measuring	1
Audio Visual Tech.	1
Woodworking at Berea	1
School bus driver	1

(Several gave multiple responses)

Occupations of Fathers:

Minister	1
Teacher	1
Farmer	4
Prospector	1
Construction welder	1
Manager of Chevrolet dealership	1

"Provided a source of income and sufficient funds for continued education."

"Not extremely good but worthwhile."

"\$1.35 per hour is ridiculous."

"Could have been better."

Summary: This question, which is divided into several parts, was included in the questionnaire for guidance of future programs of similar nature rather than as part of the follow-up. The data it elicited are reported but will not be commented on here.

13. Please write a few statements reflecting your own present thoughts about the summer program we held in 1964.

"In recalling the opportunities provided for me in the training program, I feel that I was very fortunate to have been included. I am sure it helped me cultivate a much deeper interest in my present business."

"I thought it was an excellent experience but it seems to me that the wood industry doesn't have enough "pros" without presenting a prejudiced case."

"The idea behind the program was good. There could have been a better method of selecting participants." "Everyone that participated was not fully interested but some merely wanted a job."

"I was glad to have the job. The money and living facilities were excellent. I can't be sure as to how much use the seminars and other learning experiences have and will help me."

"It was a good experience for me."

"I think this was a very educational program. And very profitable. I learned a great deal from the program."

"The program was a complete success in my mind. I am now aware of the many possibilities open to people in wood industries and have suggested to many the possibilities for success in this area."

"A good experience which I have never regretted. I am certain it was profitable."

"Enabled me to have income, learn of wood industry and related fields. Good social life."

"Gave on the job training and educational training necessary for one to learn about the wood working industry."

"Very rewarding exposure to broad view of industry. Interesting to learn how a business is started and made prosperous."

"Program helpful, educational, and provided college expense money."
"Time well spent."

"Enjoyed the summer and experiences but have had no use for seminars."

"Wasn't sure of Industrial Arts interest. Now I know it isn't wood."

no comments on one questionnaire

(For Summary and Observations see following question 14.)

14. Additional comments on the program.

"I would like to have seen a continuation of this program, even though I could not participate. However I am interested in returning to the Southern Appalachians. I would still like consideration if I am needed in the present to participate in a similar program."

"I hope to see this type of program continued in the future, and if possible to see the seminars be given credit as a college course in the area of Independent Study."

"The seminars were very valuable and much was learned by this. I rank it as high as any college course offered. With many topics discussed, they created much interest and with the competent people directing the discussions of many areas much was learned. To learn industry, one must associate with the best of industry."

"I think there should have been more tours, movies, etc."

"Fine for Industrial Arts majors, and should be continued. Could have been better organized."

"Seminar scheduling should not have been on work evenings. Hard to concentrate and hold interest in speaker when tired."

"Should be continued. Should be limited to business and industrial arts majors."

"I would do it over again if the opportunity presented itself."

None seven (7) responses

NOTES





