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COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: THE EARLY YEARS OF THE UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

GAIL SILVERS STUBBS

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2024

Higher Education Program

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COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: THE EARLY YEARS OF THE UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

GAIL SILVERS STUBBS

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: THE EARLY YEARS OF THE UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

August 2024

Gail Silvers Stubbs, B.A., McGill University
M.Ed., University of Texas at Austin
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Directed by Professor Tara L. Parker

This critical historical narrative sought to understand how secondary and postsecondary educators can best engage community partners in providing access to a college education—and the opportunities associated with it—for students who have been systemically excluded. Based on extensive archival research and 21 oral history interviews with Upward Bound students and staff in the MIT Science Day Camp and the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program from 1966 through the mid-1970s, as well as with those who added to the national perspective, this study examined the original anti-poverty, community action framework of the Upward Bound program. The sensitizing concepts of race and class offered a lens for examining MIT and Wellesley College as racialized organizations, underscoring the deeply rooted, systemic racism and deficit ideology against "the poor" that was in place at all levels of educational institutions—and still exists today.

Findings indicated that the first Upward Bound programs did indeed reflect the community action principles that were part of the original federal proposal and that host institutions, such as MIT and Wellesley College, engaged deeply with the community surrounding the MIT campus. While the findings are based on how one urban Upward Bound program operated and built community, with the "maximum feasible participation" of the racially diverse and low-income students and families in the neighborhood adjacent to their campus, they are more broadly emblematic of how programs were run locally, revealing a counter-narrative to what was expected and required at the federal level. The findings are a testament to the parents, families, program staff, teachers, group leaders, tutor-counselors, and especially the students themselves, who worked to increase opportunities for access to a college education for local students, while creating the shared community and family that was, and still is, the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program. Lessons learned from the rich stories shared by the oral history narrators, enhanced by compelling archival details, led to several important recommendations for practice, policy, and future research.

DEDICATION

For my mother, Marian Carmella Pinto (1936–2016), a first-generation college student who fought hard for her education and made sure that her children had access to every possible educational opportunity.

Graduation Portrait,
Proctor High School,
Utica, NY (1954)

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When I applied to the Higher Education Program at UMass Boston, I never could have known what a significant impact it would have on my life. My heart and mind have expanded in inexplicable ways throughout these last 7 years. For me, the program has been all about learning and growing through relationships, first and foremost with various people and communities, but also with scholarship, literature, and history.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Hasan Sharif held an umbrella to shield Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., from the rain at Parkman Bandstand on Boston Common in April 1965. Dr. King gave his speech that day before about 22,000 supporters, described as a "mile of marchers" after they arrived at the Common from lower Roxbury (Sharif, 2012). Sharif (2012), who had been tasked with driving Dr. King during his week in Boston, remembered the Common address as a call for neighborhood residents to be "agents of change instead of leading lives of passive acceptance within an accelerating worldwide struggle for equal rights and dignity" (p. 3). The day before, Dr. King addressed a crowd at the Patrick T. Campbell Middle School in Roxbury. About racial imbalance in schools and segregation, he said, "This is not a battle of white people against [B]lack people. It is a struggle between the forces of justice and injustice" (Burden Seidel & Tuite, 2013, photo caption 3). As was the case in urban areas across the United States, Boston was considered to be a city divided—those with access to housing, education, and jobs, and those without—which ran clearly along neighborhood lines (Johnson, 2017; Muñoz et al., 2015).

One year earlier, in the spring of 1964, President Johnson launched the War on Poverty with the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964. Meant to address the despair felt by the 35 million Americans who earned less than $3,000 a year (Gillette, 2010), Public

Law 88-452 was an act to "mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States" (EOA, 1964, p. 508). Eliminating the "paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty" by creating opportunities for education, training, and work was the overarching goal of the act (EOA, 1964, p. 508). The residents of Boston who came to hear Dr. King speak in 1965 had yet to benefit from the still fledgling legislation, as evidenced by the "mile of marchers" on the Common to hear him speak about the need for justice and change (Sharif, 2012).

The summer following Dr. King's speech, however, offered an unprecedented opportunity for communities to be "agents of change" by working with higher education institutions to provide access to education to the children in their neighborhoods. Started as a War on Poverty community action program funded by the newly created Office of Economic Opportunity (EOA, 1964), Upward Bound was launched as a pilot program at 17 colleges and universities across the country, serving 2,061 students in that first summer of 1965 (McCants, 2003). Several of the pilots were built on existing programs operated by nonprofit or philanthropic organizations, such as Educational Services, Inc., the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations, and were already rooted in the communities where they operated (McCants, 2003).

What began as that small pilot in 1965 grew into a federally funded college access program for first-generation and low-income students and students of color (McCants, 2003; U.S. Department of Education [DOE], n.d.). College access programs work to close degree-attainment gaps, especially for students who have been historically underrepresented in higher education, and typically incorporate pre-college academic preparation, financial aid literacy, college choice information, and assistance with understanding pathways into and

through college (Perna, 2015). By the time of its 50th-anniversary celebration in 2014, in its role as the first national program of its kind, Upward Bound had helped more than two million students from underserved populations gain access to a college education (Hines, 2014). In 2023, as Upward Bound approached almost 60 years in operation, those original 17 pilot programs had grown to 1,030 institutions, serving 74,294 students, supported by grants totaling more than $380 million (DOE, n.d.).

The primary goal of Upward Bound is to increase the high school graduation rate, college enrollment, and degree completion of participants by generating the skills and motivation necessary to succeed in postsecondary education (DOE, n.d.). Eligible high school students who need academic support to pursue higher education can apply to participate. Upward Bound programs provide academic instruction in math, sciences, composition, and literature, as well as tutoring, counseling, mentoring, cultural enrichment, work-study programs, and financial literacy. The vast majority of programs are designed to offer a summer residential component housed on a college campus and afterschool instruction and programming throughout the school year (DOE, 2014).

The education community widely considers Upward Bound a success, and research findings have pointed to significant positive impacts on the major goals of the program around access, application for financial aid, and degree attainment (Cahalan, 2009). This success, however, comes in spite of the very different program Upward Bound was when it was implemented almost 60 years ago. The current pre-college preparation focusing on academic skill building in individual students is a departure from the emphasis in the early years on providing access to higher education by creating partnerships between colleges and universities and the communities in which they were located. The original focus of Upward

Bound, as framed by the Office of Opportunity, described the programs as “reflect[ing] the interests of the entire community being served” and the participating students as becoming “leaders for change in their communities" (OEO, n.d., p. 11). Similarly, the early call for proposals encouraged innovative ideas that would work given the local context (Guidelines, 1966), and parents, the public schools, neighborhood organizations, and the students themselves contributed to the ways the first programs developed and grew.

Historical Perspective: Community Action

Initially launched as an anti-poverty initiative amid the civil rights movement, Upward Bound grew out of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a signature piece of legislation in Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty. Central to the legislation was the establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a federal agency that was part of the Executive Office of the President (Salett, 2011). The EOA led to the creation of such programs as the Job Corps, the Youth Conservation Corps, and the first work-study programs, all focused on preparing young people for the responsibilities of citizenship and increasing employability (EOA, 1964). The second piece of the legislation turned its attention to urban and rural community action to encourage the development of programs at the local level that “give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty” by “bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work” (EOA, 1964, p. 516). This direct focus on eradicating poverty by empowering the community is what made Upward Bound such a unique college access program (OEO, 1970)—and different from the current version of the program, which shifted its focus from collective community action to a student outcomes-based college preparation program (DOE, n.d.). This goal displacement, whereby policy decisions can “modify, transform, and occasionally even … subvert” program

objectives, can lead to discrepancies between official and operative goals and have consequences for the original problem that the program was created to solve (Scott, 1965, p. 160).

The original emphasis on community action that was written into the EOA (1964) emerged from the Task Force on Poverty, which was led by OEO Director Sargent Shriver. Other members included those from the Bureau of the Budget, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency (PCJD), the U.S. Office of Education, and others who had been involved in the Kennedy Administration and stayed on to work for the Johnson Administration (Salett, 2011). The task force became disillusioned with federal agencies' proposals on how their current anti-poverty efforts could be expanded; instead, the group came to support and recommend the idea of community participation in program planning (Salett, 2011). Title II of the legislation, therefore, called for community action programs (CAPs) to be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served" and "conducted administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency" (EOA, 1964, p. 516). Upward Bound was one such program.

Thus, as a CAP, Upward Bound created the intention to involve high-poverty communities and the colleges and universities adjacent to their neighborhoods in eliminating poverty through access to higher education. This explicit focus on engaging the community in an empowering way to educate students and, simultaneously, lift the entire community in the process, shifted over time to one that centered more on preparing individual students for college, particularly once oversight of the program was moved from OEO to the Office of Education Programs (OE) in 1969 (OEO, 1970). While the first Upward Bound programs

were experimental in design (Groutt, 2003), with the OEO (1966) *Policy Guidelines and Application Instructions (Guidelines)* encouraging creative and innovative thinking on the part of the host institutions, eventually, under the direction of OE, the guidelines became more prescriptive. Providing college preparation through a core curriculum and meeting goals related to individual student outcomes began taking precedence and was emphasized more than partnering with the community to eliminate poverty through education and thereby improving outcomes for the entire community (DOE, n.d.).

Statement of the Research Problem

Upward Bound was the first federally funded, nationally implemented college access program, and it began as a way to address the endemic issue of poverty by creating opportunities for higher education for those who had previously been excluded. While it was intended to stem what OEO Director Sargent Shriver called "one of America's greatest talent wastes" (OEO, n.d., p. 4) by providing a real chance for students with poverty backgrounds to attend and succeed in college, there was also a focus on the "ripple effect" such a program could have on the communities where the programs were located. Not only would students bring back what they learned to their peers in their high schools, but secondary school teachers who taught in Upward Bound summer programs would also incorporate exciting new teaching methods and return to their high schools with a changed perspective on their students' talents and abilities. Most importantly, participation would make these students leaders for change in communities affected by poverty (OEO, n.d.). By contrast, the language used to describe the purpose of the program in its current iteration contains no mention of community involvement or a "ripple effect." Instead, the purpose is to "provide fundamental support to participants in their preparation for college entrance … with a goal of

increase[ing] the rate at which participants complete secondary education and enroll in and graduate from institutions of postsecondary education" (DOE, n.d., para. 1).

Although Upward Bound continues to successfully serve its original goal of providing access to college for underrepresented and minoritized students, its mission is no longer rooted in community action, with an overarching goal of eradicating poverty at the local level with the "maximum feasible participation" (EOA, 1964, p. 516) of those it is intended to benefit. This goal displacement is problematic not only because of the lost opportunity to achieve the "ripple effects" described previously, but also because of consequences related to a diminished relationship between the local programs/universities and surrounding communities. Further, the cultural wealth that students and families could bring if they were true partners (Yosso, 2005) will not be fully embraced. Understanding the historical context and community action focus of the first programs underscores the importance of creating programs today that are most likely to both improve educational outcomes for students (Tierney et al., 2003) and empower communities in the goal of eliminating poverty through education and degree attainment. If we are to understand the nuances of creating and sustaining partnerships between higher education institutions and their neighboring communities, then we must understand them from the perspective of those who developed and participated in the first programs. Exploring and understanding the early years of the Upward Bound program, particularly during the first 5 years while administered by OEO with its community action, anti-poverty focus and into its transition to the Department of Education, is essential to re-centering the goal of generating a "ripple effect" in the community to create opportunities for access to higher education for those who have been excluded.

More than half a century after Dr. King's historic march in Boston, much remains the same: segregated and underfunded schools, lack of safe and affordable housing, unemployment and under-employment, environmental and health disparities, and yet another call for civil rights and racial and social justice, this time sparked by the murder of George Floyd at the hands of the police. There are deep politicized divisions within the United States, making programs like Upward Bound more necessary than ever in addressing systemic racism and issues around equity in education. Given the current national policy focus on neoliberal ideals that prioritize meritocracy and individual responsibility and that position education as a private rather than public good, it is important for those advocates and educators working for access and equity to remember and understand how Upward Bound began. My study, which looked at an urban Upward Bound program in the Greater Boston area, sought to address this need. The following historically framed research questions guided my study:

1. To what extent did the first Upward Bound programs reflect the community action principles that were part of the original federal proposal?
2. In what ways did host universities engage with the communities surrounding their campuses in the early years of Upward Bound?
3. How did local Upward Bound programs embrace the idea of "maximum feasible participation" of the impoverished communities the program was meant to benefit?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this historical study was to illuminate the original anti-poverty, community action focus of Upward Bound during its first 5 years and to examine the

program elements that may have been lost as the program moved from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education in 1969 and beyond. This was essential work given the deeply rooted systemic racism and deficit ideology against "the poor" that has not changed since Upward Bound was founded (Gorski, 2018; Rendón, 2020). Learning from Upward Bound elders and alumni may help current secondary and postsecondary educators as they think about how to best partner with the community in ways that have both breadth and depth—meaning how to work within the federal guidelines set by the Department of Education while also having an impact beyond the individual students in the program.

Significance of the Study

This research study on the community action framework in the early years of the Upward Bound program benefits several audiences, including both practitioners and researchers. It provides Upward Bound administrators, staff, and teachers with a guide for deepening their relationships with families, local community organizations, neighborhood secondary schools, and the students themselves. This understanding enhances their ability to design and implement their local Upward Bound program in a way that prioritizes the needs identified by those who know the students best: their parents and neighbors, community leaders, and their high school teachers. In turn, families and students may benefit from knowing that the community cultural wealth they bring to the program and host institution is valued, respected, and seen as an asset (Yosso, 2005).

The Council for Opportunity in Education (COE), a nonprofit organization dedicated to furthering the expansion of college opportunities for first-generation and low-income students (COE, n.d.) can also make use of this study. As the first federal college access program, Upward Bound paved the way for the additional federal programs now known as

TRIO (i.e., Upward Bound, Talent Search, Student Support Services, etc.) and was the seed that eventually grew into COE. Upward Bound directors have always been prohibited from using federal funds to research their own programs and students and have instead been limited to focusing on the required federal reporting of program outcomes (OEO, 1970). Therefore, a research study of this type potentially offers COE, local program directors and staff, and host institutions information that can be used in advocacy and in strengthening future grant proposals and renewals. Current TRIO grant applicants, including those for Upward Bound, are given extra competitive priority points in renewal consideration if they cite a research study and discuss how they would replicate the study's evidence-based practice in their program. Understanding more about the original focus of the program to help communities break the cycle of poverty may lead to an infusion of those early ideals into their proposals (Federal Register, 2016).

Higher education scholars might find this research helpful in providing a different perspective on Upward Bound—that is, with student participants as the unit of analysis and a focus on large evaluation studies (Myers & Schirm, 1999; Seftor et al., 2009). Gaining a deeper knowledge of Upward Bound's original anti-poverty, community action framework by instead considering campus–community program implementation as the unit of analysis offers some insight into the ways that public education policy is impacted by the prevailing social and political climate. For those studying the current trend toward a neoliberal agenda that does not support the idea of providing opportunity to some students, at what is increasingly seen as the expense of others (Burt & Baber, 2018), a historical understanding of Upward Bound as a community action program offers a foundation for future research.

Relevant Sensitizing Concepts

Though starting with theory is not a prerequisite for conducting a historical research study, considering a conceptual frame helped me think about how to best answer my research questions. Rather than focusing on a specific theory, starting with some sensitizing concepts allowed for an inductive analysis and rich description of findings. Charmaz (2003) indicated that "sensitizing concepts offer ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experience" (p. 259). In thinking about what would help me understand the intent of Upward Bound as an anti-poverty, community action program, sensitizing concepts provided a starting point for building analysis around my findings. Charmaz (2003) went on to say, "We may use sensitizing concepts only as points of departure from which to study the data" (p. 259). Given my broad historical approach, it was helpful to use sensitizing concepts as a lens to aid my understanding of the early community action focus of Upward Bound; the role of higher education institutions and their community involvement; and the shift in emphasis and goal displacement as the program moved from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education.

Victor Ray's (2019) theory of racialized organizations helped me consider the community action principles that were part of the original federal proposal as well as how universities engaged with the communities adjacent to their campuses. Ray's (2019) theory counters the idea that organizations are "race-neutral bureaucratic structures" and calls on scholars to examine "the role of organizations in the social construction of race" (p. 26). He developed four tenets, including: "(1) racialized organizations enhance or diminish the agency of racial groups; (2) racialized organizations legitimate the unequal distribution of resources; (3) Whiteness is a credential; and (4) decoupling is racialized" (p. 27). Although

social movements, such as the civil rights movement, and the idea of community action agencies (CAAs) working to lift communities out of poverty through a program like Upward Bound are factors that could alter the racialization of an institution (Ray, 2019), the backlash can also lead to a reinforcement of structural racism. Taking the idea of altering the racialization of higher education institutions a step further, it is worth thinking about how racialized communities might be altered as a result of gaining access to college and the "ripple effect" of education as a public good (Burt & Baber, 2018; Ray, 2019). While it is essential to consider the role of race and racialized institutions in gaining a full understanding of Upward Bound, examining class is important as well, given the strict anti-poverty guidelines used as criteria for participation in the program.

Gorski's (2011) research on deficit ideology and class discourse was also beneficial when considering my research questions about the community action, anti-poverty focus of the first years of Upward Bound. Gorski (2011) defined deficit ideology as a set of assumed truths that explain and justify outcome inequalities in terms of supposed deficiencies within disenfranchised individuals and communities. It discounts the sociopolitical context of systemic conditions, such as racism and economic injustice, and is used to rationalize existing social conditions by positioning the problem of inequality as located within disenfranchised people instead of considering the oppressive conditions in which they live (Yosso, 2005). Stereotyped images of "the poor" as morally, culturally, and intellectually deficient, and as "other," lead to assumptions about why poor people are poor and to questions about fairness and "meritocracy" related to resource allocation.

Although Upward Bound was an anti-poverty program created as a vehicle for moving youth out of poverty through education, and though participants were chosen based

on strict national income guidelines (Frost, 1966), historically, the program has provided college access to many students, a majority of whom are students of color (Coles, 1998; McCants, 2003). Using a race-conscious lens and thinking about the ways that race and class intersected during the first years of Upward Bound helped “deepen my perception” and served as “points of departure” as I conducted my research (Charmaz, 2003, p. 259). According to Carnevale and Strohl (2013), race does matter: Lower income Black students do not fare as well as lower income whites. White students (45%) in the bottom half of the family income distribution leave college significantly less frequently than Black students (55%) do (p. 36). Further, Black students are more likely to attend schools with predominantly low-income students, while white students more often attend well-funded middle-class schools with “credentialed teachers, state-of-the-art books and curricular materials, laboratories, and technology tools that can facilitate college preparedness and access to highly skilled, well-paying jobs” (Rendón, 2020, p. 33). Additionally, recent research from the Child Opportunity Index at Brandeis University has not only indicated that health, education, and job outcomes vary starkly by neighborhood, but also that Black and Latino children in the United States are much more likely than their white counterparts to live in what they describe as “low-opportunity” neighborhoods (Thornton, 2024). The tension between class and race, and the need to look at Upward Bound with a race-conscious lens are underscored by Johnson’s commencement address at Howard University in 1965:

> For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences—deep, corrosive, obstinate differences—radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual. (Johnson, 1965)

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND CONSIDERATIONS

This historically focused chapter begins with a look at the social and political higher education context during the mid- to late 1960s as well as the history of community action. Attention then turns to the shift in emphasis and goal displacement in Upward Bound. An understanding of the social and political context and early community action programs sets the stage for a deep analysis of Upward Bound. Early documents and information related to the shift in emphasis are used as a foundation on which to build a clear picture of what may have been lost over time.

Social and Political Higher Education Context and History of Community Action

This section focuses briefly on the social and political higher education backdrop during the mid-1960s, before turning to an examination of the anti-poverty and education-related community action programs that eventually led to the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 and Upward Bound. The social and political higher education environment offers important context for understanding how campus culture shifted during the civil rights movement, opening the door for a national program like Upward Bound to take hold and spread to colleges and universities across the country (Hines, 2016). Literature on the history of the community action framework, particularly related to programs designed to open opportunities for education to those who had previously been excluded, provides an

understanding of how and why Upward Bound was created (Clark & Hopkins, 1969; OEO, 1970; Salett, 2011).

Social and Political Activism

In the early to mid-1960s, college students began organizing in protest of persistent racial and other inequities, placing demands on higher education leaders to give them more say in university policies that had a perceived impact on them (Astin et al., 1975; McEvoy & Miller, 1969). This included everything from pushing for changes to the curriculum and questions about university investments and financial interests to demanding a role in university governance (Horowitz, 1986). This newfound political and social activism only existed in pockets at first but became more widespread during the civil rights movement, when the involvement of local community activists broadened support and led students to take direct action to address issues that were important to them. Groups such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were formed and spread on college campuses, and the Free Speech Movement was the outcome of protests over a ban on external political activity at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964 (Horowitz, 1986). Many faculty and students, mostly white and from the Northeast, spent one or more summers protesting in the South and returned to campus newly aware of the lack of access to college for low-income students and for students of color (McAdam, 1988; OEO, 1970). The Black Student Movement that followed again shifted culture and the nature of who was involved in the fight for access and equity in higher education and other civil rights, both on and off campus (Ahmed, 1978; McEvoy & Miller, 1969). To help frame the need for this opportunity for access to college, it is important to consider the number of families living in poverty and who those families were, and to think

beyond that to who was making it to and through college. In 1963, 1 year before Johnson launched the War on Poverty, approximately 19% of the more than 47 million families in the United States (1 in 5 families) had incomes less than $3,000, with Black families among the groups with the highest incidence of that marker (U.S. Census Bureau, 1965). In 1966, 2 years after Johnson gave his first State of the Union speech to launch the initiative, "four-in-ten (41.8%) of African Americans were poor; [B]lacks constituted nearly a third (31.1%) of all poor Americans" (DeSilver, 2014). When it came to access to a college education, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (1999) Statistical Abstract of the United States, while approximately 10% of white people 25 years old and over completed 4 years of college or more, less than 5% of Black people met that same mark. Black workers did not fare well in terms of access to jobs in those years either, with the unemployment rate for Black workers about double that of white workers at the time of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (DeSilver, 2013).

Around that time, college students also began pressing their institutions to provide them with more social service opportunities to support or get involved in the communities surrounding their campuses (Salett, 2011; Tutoring Plus, 1965), often adding improved community relations to their list of demands during periods of campus protest and student unrest (Astin et al., 1975). An example that came to be known as the Columbia Crisis erupted in the spring of 1968 with the groundbreaking for a Columbia University gym in Harlem on land perceived to belong to the Black community (Horowitz, 1986) and which would displace Morningside Heights residents (Astin et al., 1975). In addition, the proposed gym's design called for a somewhat divided structure: one entrance on one side of the gym for the predominantly white Columbia students and another on the other side for neighborhood

residents. Black students, who founded the Student Afro-American Society (SAS) in 1964 (Columbia University Libraries, n.d.) and who aligned themselves with the community over the university, indicated that the resulting structure would be racially segregated and should not be built. The campus Students for a Democratic Society group quickly joined the SAS protesters, and they collectively occupied five administration buildings on campus for a week. They named the university's poor relations with the surrounding Black community as one of the issues at hand (McEvoy & Miller, 1969; Scranton, 1970). This type of encroachment by institutions of higher learning into neighborhoods when expanding their campus footprint, particularly during the period when communities were beginning to organize over their civil rights, underscores the negative feelings and lack of trust that affected potential partnerships with the community. Students who were concerned about these and other civil rights issues used their voices and turned increasingly to organized protests to demand change. In the case of the gym at Columbia University, the plans to build were scrapped but not before the student protests turned violent and ended with 1,000 New York City police being called in, with nearly 700 arrests made and 100 people injured ("University Calls in 1,000 Police," 1968).

By the mid-1960s, with students more aligned with the local community around civil rights issues, protests, as well as general student unrest, had spread across the country (Scranton, 1970). Additionally, as students and neighborhood residents were organizing as part of the civil rights movement, college and university leaders were beginning to think about how to provide more access to students who had previously been excluded. The latter was in part a response to a call from President Kennedy for higher education institutions to use their considerable intellectual resources to help solve the local and national problem of

education in the face of poverty and segregation, particularly the low number of Black students enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities (Lynch, 1965; Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s). Students were also calling for social service opportunities and demanding better community relations (Astin et al., 1975). Given the confluence of these civil rights issues that were on the minds of students, higher education leaders, and community groups, as well as the growing national focus on fighting the poverty that plagued the country, Upward Bound, as a program designed to provide opportunities and a way out of poverty through education, was an appealing idea (Hines, 2016; Salett, 2011).

Anti-Poverty and Education-Related Community Action

To gain some perspective on the economic opportunity focus that led to the community action programs (CAPs) and Upward Bound, one must look back to the late 1950s. At that time, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) wrote *Delinquency and Opportunity*, making a case that delinquency was caused by lack of opportunity, and they proposed local community development programs as a solution. This was a significant departure from the theories and approaches prevalent at that time, which focused primarily on juvenile delinquency as a precursor to adult crime, best handled by incarcerating young offenders in reform schools or juvenile detention centers (Salett, 2011).

Soon after Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) opportunity theory emerged, in the early 1960s, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency (PCJD) was established by the Kennedy Administration to "stimulate experimentation, innovation, and improvement" in programs related to juvenile delinquency (Salett, 2011, p. 70). The committee, created by executive order and said to have been the initial idea of the president's sister Eunice Shriver, included the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health,

Education, and Welfare (HEW), and was headed up by Robert Kennedy (Salett, 2011). In 1962, the first PCJD grant went to Mobilization for Youth, a community-based nonprofit on the Lower East Side of New York (which also received funds from the Ford Foundation and the City), and local neighborhood councils were organized, which then coordinated social services with city and school agencies. Lloyd Ohlin was a main consultant (Clark & Hopkins, 1969). According to Salett (2011), "It was this effort that would form the basis and precedent for so many of the domestic federal initiatives of the next few years" (p. 72).

Much of what has been written about community action as a concept has focused on the Mobilization for Youth example, possibly because it spread quickly beyond its New York City pilot, with 16 similar programs across the country in places like New Haven, Boston, New Orleans, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles, among others (Salett, 2011). Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) was funded by the PCJD soon after to conduct a study and plan a program to control delinquency in the Central Harlem area. HARYOU's approach was similar to Mobilization for Youth's, with its emphasis on "identifying and remedying those pervasive problems in the community which stunted and dehumanized Harlem's youth" (Clark & Hopkins, 1969, pp. 4–5). HARYOU (1964) produced a document called *Youth in the Ghetto* that went beyond the idea of juvenile delinquency based on lack of opportunity in a community (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960) to explore issues of social and political power and the struggle for civil rights. At the document's core was the notion that to achieve positive social change, direct social action on the part of community members would be required. This idea uncovered a tension inherent in the anti-poverty programs being proposed: an expectation that an impoverished community must fight for social change while using federal and local funds to finance their social action. Serious questions were raised

about the inevitable conflicts that would arise between community members and the political structures pushing back against fundamental change (Clark & Hopkins, 1969), and even with the strong backing of President Kennedy, the PCJD had to fight against the traditional bureaucracy to give these programs focused on social change a chance to succeed (Salett, 2011).

In 1964, the Social Dynamics Research Institute of the City University of New York (CUNY) undertook a large-scale evaluation study of community action programs, sponsored by the Stern Family Fund and published by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (Clark & Hopkins, 1969). Given the diversity of projects being submitted to the Stern Family Fund for review and the lack of clear definitions related to "community action" or "social action" programs, the study sought to develop an inventory of programs in operation or planning stages. The evaluation study also sought to determine how each program defined community action and to establish some objective criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of potential programs. While both Mobilization for Youth and HARYOU had research and evaluation built into their respective designs, those programs were new enough that results were not yet available, and besides, the Clark and Hopkins (1969) study was an independent look at community action programs across the country. The data sources for the study consisted of written proposals and other documents for PCJD projects from 12 urban communities. Civil rights leaders and organizations, universities and community groups, and private institutions were contacted to gauge their level of involvement in the community action programs in their cities, and they were asked to participate in various ways, including responding to questionnaires, being interviewed or observed, and submitting documents. Newspaper reports and editorials were also analyzed. After the study was underway, its

scope was expanded significantly following the passage and implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, when most of the PCJD programs were transferred to the newly created Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

Social Power and Social Change

The conceptual framework, or theory, used to organize and analyze the data and present the findings in Clark and Hopkins' (1969) study was the one used in HARYOU's (1964) *Youth in the Ghetto*. This framework posited that the success or failure of community action programs, and any observable and/or significant positive changes to the lives of people from low-income backgrounds, was related to the amount of social power available. Furthermore, for positive change to occur, the available social power needed to be mobilized through these programs by the low-income individuals and families themselves. The researchers made use of social power and social change theory in developing research questions, the approach, and analysis, and in the presentation of findings; all were determined "by the desire to understand the nature, problems, conflicts, and effectiveness of these programs in terms of the dynamics of power and power conflicts" (Clark & Hopkins, p. 13). One notable weakness is that the opinions and attitudes of low-income residents were not collected in all 12 cities; instead, a small and not necessarily representative sample of program recipients were interviewed, and the findings were inconclusive. The researchers indicated that the responses of the supposed beneficiaries of anti-poverty community action programs are the crucial test of effectiveness and encouraged additional studies that might lead to more conclusive findings.

Given the depth and scope of Clark and Hopkins' (1969) study, it is necessary to give some extra attention to the findings, particularly those focused on community involvement

and the leadership of the programs that were evaluated. The results were divided into three categories: characteristics of relatively effective programs, where the positives were dominant (New Haven, Syracuse, Newark, Paterson, and Minneapolis); characteristics of programs that were unclear at the time, with a balance of positives and negatives (New York City, Washington, San Francisco, and Los Angeles); and characteristics of relatively ineffective programs, where the negatives were dominant (Cleveland, Chicago, and Boston). They found that the best programs were compatible and relevant to a clearly stated purpose and goals, and had strong, effective leadership and board support. Also apparent in the effective programs were involvement or representation of low-income residents of the areas and members of the groups being served in matters of policy or on the staff; an agreement with the local political structure to either support the program or allow it to run without political interference; and some early evidence of positive change in the conditions of low-income individuals and families (Clark & Hopkins, 1969). By contrast, the ineffective programs showed a "lack of an imaginative, dynamic, and creative leadership ... totally dominated either by political control or by traditional social agency control" (pp. 226–227).

The researchers found that the EOA (1964), by not explicitly defining community action, allowed for a broad definition of anti-poverty projects that could encompass both traditional social services and a variety of community action emphases, and this vagueness around the definition of community action was reflected in the program proposals. So, although the EOA called for the involvement of low-income individuals and families in the programs meant to benefit them, and the OEO encouraged this new approach, it did not seem that the theories and purposes outlined in the EOA were put into practice. Individuals interviewed for the study more often *verbally* defined community action in terms of power

and action goals, as well as involving the groups served rather than as traditional social services. In the *actual* operation of the programs, however, the traditional social services approach—that is, providing assistance without involving the groups served in decision making—dominated. Further, they found that no program defined the goals of CAPs, verbally or programmatically, as the genuine elimination of poverty within a community (Clark & Hopkins, 1969).

Findings indicated that in the cities that were judged to be somewhat effective, the involvement of people from low-income backgrounds was an important factor in the program, although maybe not at the policymaking level. In all cases, people living in poverty were involved in the more effective programs as staff. In all but one, however, the participation of those from low-income backgrounds was guided and controlled by leaders who were not from low-income backgrounds themselves and who were not from the impoverished community being served. Although the study did not include information on where the leaders who were not from the low-income community came from, it is likely that they were young, recent college graduate students who were products of the civil rights movement and interested in nonprofit, community-based organizing (M. Milner, personal communication, September 7, 2018). Including people from low-income backgrounds on boards, when emphasized, was in fact found to make the program less effective, possibly because the assigned role of “indigenous” representation made people feel that they were chosen for show rather than as an accepted member of the group, with important contributions to make. Seen as either “controllable” or “alarming and uncontrollable,” the people from low-income backgrounds were not typically taken seriously in the cities studied; thus, while there was usually an attempt to draw them in to the decision-making process, they

were quickly rejected when they challenged the goals or methods of traditional social services (Clark & Hopkins, 1969, p. 246).

Publication of Clark and Hopkins' (1969) study was delayed so as not to influence political decisions that would affect Office of Economic Opportunity appropriations. While the researchers felt that their study findings were highly relevant to those working to strengthen community action programs, they did not intend them to be used to discredit or cut programs, or inadvertently cause a loss of funding by Congress. This was an important consideration because of how quickly programs were being proposed and implemented. In addition, the early PCJD programs had only been in operation for a year or so, with no evaluations yet available, before they were moved under the organization and control of OEO, and there was overlap with some of the newly proposed programs. Finally, there was continued confusion about what community action really meant and whether its ultimate goal was to provide social service to those in need or to encourage social action leading to social change (Clark & Hopkins, 1969).

To understand why community action was written into the EOA of 1964 in the way that it was, taking a step back to look at the group that wrote the legislation is telling. The Task Force on Poverty, led by Sargent Shriver, with input from the Bureau of the Budget, the PCJD, and the U.S. Office of Education (OE), among others, that eventually came to support the idea of community participation in program planning (Salett, 2011).

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

As the Task Force on Poverty came together to think about the nation's problem of poverty, there was some precedent for the idea that programs should be made "with and not for" those for whom they are designed. Dick Boone, a task force member with experience as

one of the PCJD program heads, brought his knowledge of one of the PCJD's guiding principles to the group: that all programs be planned and operated with the involvement of the community (Salett, 2011). This was a controversial issue, and Johnson had to be convinced that Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 should have a community action program focus, with funds distributed directly to, and programs implemented by, organizations that came to be known as community action agencies (CAAs) in high-poverty neighborhoods. Under this plan, CAAs, which were similar to those created earlier under the PCJD, could put forth any project related to the goals of Title II and have it reviewed for funding (OEO, 1970). There was also some allowance for discretionary community action program funds to be allotted by the director, and Sargent Shriver favored using that money on what came to be known as "national emphasis programs," innovative programs that addressed various interrelated anti-poverty issues and demonstrated tangible positive results that could then be expanded nationally (Salett, 2011).

As the Task Force on Poverty worked quickly to draft the language for the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), there was disagreement on how to best incorporate the "with and not for" idea into the document. The controversy surrounding community action programs and community action agencies stemmed in part from the latter representing an idea that was new to many of the members of the group, who were not used to thinking of anti-poverty plans as bubbling up from the community. Instead, they argued that federal agencies already had experience and best understood how to operate these kinds of programs (Cazenave; 2007; Clark & Hopkins, 1969). Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Task Force on Poverty member and Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, and others pushed to expand well-

established job and social service programs, rather than creating something so different and untested as the community action and agency idea (Moynihan, 1969; Salett, 2011).

In the end, the Statement of Purpose for Title II read, "This part is to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs" (EOA, 1964, p. 516). The phrase "'maximum feasible participation' of residents of the areas and members of the groups served" (EOA, 1964, p. 516) was the language inserted into the legislation as part of the definition of CAPs, resulting in continued controversy as well as confusion about what the vaguely defined term really meant. Stan Salett, who first met Dick Boone when serving as an intern on the PCJD, credits Boone with coming up with the term and said it "was a way of underscoring this, in the sense that, 'Hey, this is really serious.'" At the same time, President Johnson wanted the legislation passed through Congress quickly, and as Salett noted, both Johnson and Sargent Shriver wanted to avoid conflict and any opposition that language such as "maximum feasible participation" might bring.

Therefore, although Johnson conceded to the CAP approach and the "maximum feasible participation" language in his haste to get the anti-poverty legislation passed, he, along with the more conservative forces in the country and in Congress, eventually opposed the CAP/CAA structure of organizing low-income individuals and families in their own interests (Salett, 2011; University of Virginia, 1966). Others from the Task Force on Poverty and even from within the Office of Economic Opportunity disagreed on the meaning of the imprecise language, arguing that the problem was not that those with low-income backgrounds have a say in the programs that are built for them, but that they should not have the only say. Shriver, who favored the national emphasis use of CAP funds to bring greater

attention to the work of the OEO, did not stand behind the CAP programs or fight for the CAA structure once Congress started pushing back. He argued that "maximum feasible participation" meant just what it said, that low-income individuals and families should be involved in the development and administration of CAP programs to the extent that was "feasible." In his opinion, CAAs were never meant to have the majority of the control (Cazenave, 2007; OEO, 1970).

The controversy surrounding their community action focus aside, the Title II programs sprang up rapidly as soon as the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) passed and the Office of Economic Opportunity was formed: Head Start, Neighborhood Legal Services, community health centers, and the Foster Grandparent Program all began at around the same time as Upward Bound. These examples, and their design and implementation, help illuminate the federal effort to empower the community and the goals and ideals behind it (Salett, 2011). Head Start in particular stands out as an example of the fast-paced policymaking environment of the time, and a similar model was later used for Upward Bound.

Johnson wanted fast action in launching the War on Poverty and in calling national attention to the urgency of the problem, and Sargent Shriver, whom Johnson appointed to lead the newly formed OEO was committed to working quickly; important policies were made with no time for extended deliberation. It is said that Head Start was the result of a conversation Shriver had with a sociologist at a cocktail party, who wondered if poor children in need and well-educated women who had time available to help them could be brought together in an early childhood development program (Salett, 2011). Shriver knew that the education research and development division of CAPs was providing support to

some early childhood experimental programs, so he picked up the phone the next day and called Stan Salett, who came to OEO after a stint as an intern on the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. Shriver asked Salett to convene a group of researchers and educators to determine if there was support for an OEO early childhood demonstration summer program. While there was not much initial consensus, Shriver pledged $25 million to the project, and the Head Start Program, which still exists today, was born (Salett, 2011). That Salett was a junior staffer did not matter to Shriver, who led the OEO much as he had run the Peace Corps—with very little hierarchy or formal command chain—and asked Salett to run with the idea despite his young age and lack of experience. In much the same way, with the CAP office providing support for some college and university programs in the communities near their campuses, Salett was told by Shriver to pull them together into a second demonstration program, this time for high school students. In the process, Salett was credited with the idea for Upward Bound as well (Groutt, 2003; Hines, 2014).

Head Start is an important example of a community action program because, while it was framed as a national emphasis program, funded with discretionary CAP funds, the OEO administered it in house, on a federal level, rather than dispersing funds through community action agencies. Although a successful model, it put an enormous amount of strain on the lean CAP staff who had mostly been reassigned from other federal agencies, and the workload and fast pace required to get Head Start up and running eventually took its toll. When Upward Bound was created as the second of the national emphasis programs in the War on Poverty, Salett remembered the Head Start workload issues and looked for a way to keep the program nationally focused without adding to the CAP staff burden. He turned to the Defense Department model of contracting out the administration of the program and, with

the assistance of the American Council on Education, found an existing nonprofit called the Institute for Services to Education (ISE) to administer Upward Bound, along with a very small CAP staff and a national program director (OEO, 1970; Salett, 2011). This idea turned out to have a long-term consequence that could not have been known to Salett at the time. Congress eventually questioned the use of government contracts to administer Upward Bound and used it as fodder in the fight to move it and other OEO programs under the control of more traditional departments, with what was deemed to be better oversight. It became one of the deciding factors that led to Upward Bound's transfer to the Office of Education (OE), and subsequent change in emphasis (Cazenave, 2007; Congressional Record–House, 1968; OEO, 1970).

As teams were being assembled to work on different aspects of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) legislation, Salett was assigned to work on education. Not only was his office physically moved to the OE during this period, but he was also joined by two others from that office to co-lead the education group of the Task Force on Poverty: Bill Rioux, OE specialist in school social work, and Carl Marburger, assistant superintendent of the Detroit school system. Frank Keppel, then OE director, and previously Salett's dean at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, supported the team (Salett, 2001). While the Office of Economic Opportunity was later criticized for being experimental in nature and trying to enact widespread social change, a look back at the makeup of the staff who wrote the War on Poverty legislation belies that claim. In reality, participants were from longstanding and traditional federal offices: the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Labor, the Office of Education, and others who put aside hierarchy and control to work toward the common goal of solving the nation's problem of poverty.

Implications for Community Action Programs

The Office of Economic Opportunity, community action programs, and community action agencies were products of the social and political environment of the Great Society and the civil rights movement, and a policy environment that included presidential and congressional support, broad national consensus, and a growing economy that could afford the War on Poverty (Hannah, 1996). Salett said of the War on Poverty and the fast pace of operations within the OEO, “We were at war with tedious and ineffective government responses to the continuing impoverishment of as many as one-fifth of the population of the United States” (Salett, 2011, p. 109). There was a pervasive feeling that they had been presented with a historic opportunity that would quickly pass.

By 1967, however, the tide was already turning on the CAPs and, more generally, on the War on Poverty. Johnson had reluctantly signed off on a community action framework for the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), with which he never completely agreed and later seemed to regret. The president foresaw issues with mayors and other elected officials sharing control with local residents, particularly Black and low-income members of the community (Sanders, 2015), and he predicted correctly that they would not easily relinquish their authority (Salett, 2011). Indeed, Mississippi’s segregationist senators had already inveighed publicly against the power that Head Start had transferred to working-class Black women in their state (Sanders, 2015).

In addition, the relative inexperience of those drafting the EOA (1964) with its CAP focus (Moynihan, 1968) and the unprecedented manner in which the Office of Economic Opportunity CAP staff implemented the national emphasis programs, left the programs vulnerable to intensive negative scrutiny. The programs were funded under the general

authorization granted to the OEO and required no special legislative authority or separate congressional hearings (Salett, 2011). Moynihan's strong denouncement of community action programs as a "colossal, failed social science experiment" and a subsequent memo to President Johnson from the White House counsel summarizing Moynihan's negative appraisal of community action further eroded any remaining confidence and support of the program (Cazenave, 2007, p. 137).

In fact, just as the CAPs and CAAs were getting off the ground, and before any real program evaluation could be done, the 1967 amendments to the EOA (1964), also known as the Green Amendments, significantly changed how CAAs were formed and operated by requiring more involvement of state and local officials (CAP, 1968). U.S. Representative Edith Green (D-Oregon), Chairperson of the House Special Education Subcommittee, was instrumental in getting the amendments passed, arguing that the CAAs should not be able to control funding and implement programs without support and oversight by city and state government. Green pointed out that the CAP/CAA structure, in fact, completely bypassed state and local governments and gave too much power to "autonomous groups." She said, "Congress did not intend to create a new governmental structure of powerful political bodies with the luxury of millions of Federal dollars to spend and none of the responsibilities of raising any of that money" (Congressional Record–House, 1967, p. 31416). Green's thinly veiled racism and classism point to a common trope used by elected officials who feared the gains that Black leaders might have made in low-income communities if given access to resources outside the firmly entrenched political structures of the time. In later testimony to Congress about the War on Poverty and community action programs, she referenced the amendments that had become associated with her name:

> It does not intend, nor do any of its provisions provide that "poor people" will no longer be able to help shape decisions affecting their lives. The opposite is true for the bill specifically provides that community action boards shall insure participation of the poor through giving poor people at least one-third of the seats on such boards. But it also provides that those who are helping to pay the bill—and who also live in this same community—shall have a voice through their elected officials on how their money is spent and how programs can be coordinated with other existing programs. (Congressional Record–House, 1967, p. 31416).

Representative Green's push to regain control and to underscore what she saw as the original intent of Congress was a death knell to community action programs, community action agencies, and to the Office of Economic Opportunity in general. As far back as the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, which funded the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency programs, including Mobilization for Youth and HARYOU, Green fought to narrow the scope of any program that might lead to social change. Her view was that the War on Poverty was meant to help low-income individuals and families with their basic needs, not to spread "revolutionary" ideas or to fund widespread social change (Cazenave, 2007; Congressional Record–House, 1967). Conjuring the fear of urban rebellion with the term "revolutionary," Green made the case that the "urban poor"—a barely coded way of saying Black people—should not be handed federal resources for rebelling against the system. Further, by framing the debate as giving "poor people" power while leaving behind "those who are helping to pay the bill—and who also live in this same community," she exacerbated another fear prevalent at the time: that Black and low-income groups would gain control at the expense of middle-income white people, who in her view

worked hard and were therefore more deserving. Green argued that the OEO did not have enough oversight, spent too much on administrative costs, and was not held accountable. She said,

> As I see it, the Congress clearly intended to attack an economic problem through political means, but it did not intend to legislate a revolution in American politics by establishing another structure of government at the various levels of political action in the United States. (Congressional Record–House, 1967, p. 31416).

When the Green Amendments were passed, they were effectively seen as a "marker of the end of federal support for social protest-focused community action" (Cazenave, 2007, p. 169). Soon after, the OEO distributed a report called *Organizing Communities for Action Under the 1967 Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act*, which detailed OEO procedures that were being quickly established to comply with changes to the law (CAP, 1968). Although Shriver insisted in the report that meaningful participation of low-income individuals and families would not be lost by requiring greater involvement of state and local officials (CAP, 1968), it was clear that the Green Amendments signaled a change in the community action framework before community participation fully took hold in a program like Upward Bound. While Upward Bound was still considered a community action program with oversight from OEO's Community Action Program office, and applications were approved by the local community action agencies, it was a nuanced version of a CAP program with room for interpretation from host institutions.

Change in Emphasis from Community Action to Pre-College Preparation

While the first section of this chapter provided historical context for understanding the development of Upward Bound, this second section examines and provides context for

the dissipation of Upward Bound's original community action emphasis of. Reviewing documents and other sources, including many primary reports and memos published by the Office of Economic Opportunity (n.d., 1966, 1970), provided some framing of the historic opportunity presented by the social and political environment of the Great Society and civil rights movement and how it influenced the design, development, and implementation of Upward Bound while under OEO's administration. An understanding of the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act (CAP, 1968) and of the House of Representatives Congressional Record a year later during the testimony related to the omnibus higher education bill (Congressional Record–House, 1968) adds important context to how the program began shifting and why it was moved, at the insistence of Congress, to the Office of Education in 1969 (OEO, 1970). In addition to exploring the early history of Upward Bound, this section investigates the empirical research focused on early outcomes. Early outcomes are relevant, especially critical findings that were submitted to Congress or widely publicized, because they were used as evidence of poor management of the program by the Office of Economic Opportunity and became instrumental in the resulting move.

Early Upward Bound History

Once the War on Poverty was launched, and with Johnson's continued push to draw national attention to the endemic problem of extreme poverty, Shriver again turned to his staffer Salett, who was responsible for reviewing the funding proposals related to education that came into the Office of Economic Opportunity Community Action Program office. After a pilot summer in 1964, Head Start was up and running nationwide in 1965 as an anti-poverty early education program, and Salett directed his attention to higher education. He had begun hearing from college and university leaders who were interested in doing some

kind of social service in the neighborhoods where they were located and learned about several programs for low-income students operated by nonprofit or philanthropic organizations such as Educational Services, Inc., and the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations (McCants, 2003). Salett said that after the success of Head Start, proposals for pre-college programs started pouring in from the OEO field offices and community action agencies that were being set up all over the country, and it did not take a "genius" to figure out that Upward Bound could be the next community action-focused program to emphasize. He and others began formulating the demonstration design that resulted in 17 initial pilot Upward Bound programs that took place in the summer of 1965, many built on those previously existing programs, and the following year, Shriver authorized $20 million to implement the program nationwide (Salett, 2011).

When Shriver kicked off the Upward Bound program in 1966, he wanted to do it in a way that would "emphasize" the nation's poverty problem and make the newly created Office of Economic Opportunity quickly visible across the country to capitalize on the sense of urgency associated with the War on Poverty. Therefore, Upward Bound, like Head Start, was administered from Washington, with discretionary CAP money controlled by OEO (1970). This meant that, while Upward Bound was a CAP, it was not funded or implemented through the CAA structure. While the point was to demonstrate nationally how this idea could help solve the nation's problem of poverty by increasing access to college, and though it "still satisfied Shriver's and Johnson's need to have action," it also moved control away from the community, according to Salett. Instead, the OEO CAP staff had control over setting guidelines and deciding which local Upward Bound projects to approve. Shriver's opening statement in the OEO's (1966) *Policy Guidelines and Application Instructions*

(Guidelines) for Upward Bound funding focused on engaging higher education institutions in the fight against poverty by developing and nurturing the talent that was lost when young people lacked the opportunity to go to college. He wrote,

> One of America's greatest wastes occurs when capable young people who could succeed in college never attend because of the psychological, social, and physical conditions of poverty backgrounds. This waste is especially cruel when we remember that more than ever before, higher education holds the key to so many jobs in the future.
>
> No one knows how much talent is lost to the nation because of poor performance during the formative years of a youngster's education. UPWARD BOUND is designed to cut into this waste and to see if substantial numbers of potentially successful youngsters can profit from a real chance at a higher education.
>
> We invite your ideas and your proposals on how best to provide that chance. (OEO, 1966, p. ii)

While the language Shriver used was deficit-based, blaming the students themselves for the lack of opportunity to go to college because of "poor performance," and while the framing of "talent lost to the nation" prioritized the benefit to the country, Shriver wanted those applying for funding to contribute their best ideas for Upward Bound projects.

In the first year after the pilot, the *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966) were distributed to colleges and universities across the country inviting proposals for hosting an Upward Bound program. It appears that evaluations of the pilot programs were not used as the basis for drafting the *Guidelines*; instead, applicants were encouraged to propose what they thought

would work best in their local context based on some general principles (OEO, 1966; Salett, 2011). Salett (2011) noted,

> Now at that point, I wasn't big on guidelines. Head Start was beginning to form guidelines …but I thought there was a virtue, since you had these various groups, and individuals, and foundations that had addressed the issue of the lack of low-income student participation in higher education as a broad issue and came up with various models or designs … and I thought that that was really good. Let that go—let's see what those programs could work out to be and then have an evaluation, and so on.

When he was interviewed in 1969 as part of OEO's review of Upward Bound, Salett said that not prescribing the curriculum to be used by the higher education institutions allowed for "an incredible wealth of interest and experimentation in trying out new things" and resulted in "diversity, innovativeness and richness in the curriculum" (OEO, 1970, p. 26).

The *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966) made it clear that although there were linkages with community action programs, Upward Bound would be run by the universities, which would also control the funding received. This was a dilemma for the CAP staff who did not want to lose the "maximum feasible participation" aspect of Upward Bound, but they understood that colleges were unlikely to take administrative directions from a local community action agency. In the deliberations around creating the *Guidelines*, Richard Frost, who was appointed as the first Upward Bound national director by Shriver in September 1965, made it clear that universities might refuse to participate if they felt they could not control the academic integrity of their programs. At the same time, he understood the need to involve the community and pushed to make sure that CAP and CAA relationships with host institutions did in fact link colleges to the low-income residents in the areas served. He wanted the CAP

and CAA relationships to “tactfully link colleges to the poor so that Upward Bound was not “walled off inside institutions, a sort of Hertz rent-a-Upward Bound program” (OEO, 1970, p. 33). Compromises written into the first *Guidelines* included the formation of local public advisory committees (PACs), which would include significant membership of low-income area residents; encouraging CAAs to help recruit student participants; and requiring a CAA checkpoint on all proposals before they would be reviewed in Washington (OEO, 1970). In the end, however, Salett recalled host institutions mostly looking to CAAs to help them identify students in low-income communities, which they did not know much about, but stopped there and turned to CAP to understand the guidelines for getting funded, rather than working with the CAAs to learn about the actual needs of the communities. Therefore, when Upward Bound was launched, there was not much focus on the “maximum feasible participation” of those being served. This was partly because of the national emphasis approach, which put the spotlight more on the OEO and less on the local communities, and also because of the way it was set up, with the funding going directly to the host institutions rather than to a CAA. Although this was done to make it clear to the universities that they would have control of the money and that they held the reins on how the programs would be run, the community involvement piece was arguably an afterthought.

A question that came up fairly quickly once the program was launched was whether the right students were being selected to participate; this gets to the original program goals focusing on helping students who have the potential to succeed in college but lack opportunity and motivation because of their poverty backgrounds. The memo to Shriver from the Community Action Program office outlining the need for a pre-college program underscores the focus on academic potential:

> Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, and others, have repeatedly pointed out that the boy or girl who has the potential to do college work, but who never gets the chance is a resource that this country can ill afford to waste…. An intensive talent recovery program in their last four years in high school could provide the key to a college education for thousands of them—and the opportunity to permanently break the cycle of poverty. (OEO, 1970, p. 29)

Frost, as the first Upward Bound national director, had the responsibility of establishing an official recruitment policy for the *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966). This task required teasing out the nuanced distinction between "underachievers," who were deemed to have potential, and "low-achievers," who might not benefit from the program if they had no chance of getting into college. Given the success of the pilot programs, after which more than 80% of the students who were eligible were admitted to college after just one summer with Upward Bound, there was a call to determine if those participants "had been basically academically able youngsters for whom the summer of 1965 was merely additional academic insurance, or whether Upward Bound had been a lifeline without which they would not have gone to college" (OEO, 1970, p. 26). This issue continues to plague Upward Bound and was the subject of a large evaluation study conducted by the Department of Education to determine the effectiveness of the program (Calahan, 2009; Seftor et al., 2009) as well as the racial and classist undertones surrounding the criteria for who is "deserving" and who is selected to participate in Upward Bound.

As described in the 1970 comprehensive report on Upward Bound contracted by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO, 1970), the original recruitment instructions in the first set of *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966) stated, "Students selected for the Upward Bound project

shall be those who meet and who have potential for successful college work, but whose level of achievement and/or motivation would seem to preclude their success in an accredited college or university" (OEO, 1970, p. 28). Further instructions suggested that participants not be chosen based only on grades and test scores but that selection should use subjective measures such as intuition and personal interviews as well; there was also an expectation that some students of "considerable academic risk" would be selected for participation. The ideal student, Frost said, was one who sat in the back of the class and, "though probably capable on some as-yet-measured standard, had 'turned off' on schooling; the one who was not an obvious 'winner'" (OEO, 1970, p. 29). He was concerned about programs loading up on students whom he termed "winners" in an attempt to make their programs look more successful. The Office of Economic Opportunity created Upward Bound to give low-income students the chance to escape poverty through education, so taking care to select participants who never had the opportunity to develop the skills to succeed in college was paramount.

Frost, who took a leave from Reed College, where he was a political science professor and vice president ("Dr. Richard T. Frost," 1972), for the year and a half when he directed the national program, recommended Dr. Thomas Billings as his replacement. Billings had been a project director of one of the pilot programs at Western Washington State College and had served as one of the first national consultants as Upward Bound was being developed. Not only did Billings have program-level experience with Upward Bound, but he also had been a public school teacher, which led him to suggest that Upward Bound change its attitude toward high schools. He created a national High School Principals Advisory Committee in 1968 in an attempt to include schools more fully. Based on his experience as a teacher and program director, he felt that he had a good sense of the type of young person

who could not only go on to college, but also stay enrolled and graduate, which was essential, in his view if the cycle of poverty was to be broken (OEO, 1970). Billings made changes to subsequent versions of the *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966), taking out the phrase "considerable academic risk" in relation to selection criteria because he felt that some project directors were recruiting students who would not be able to benefit by attending college. Evidence of what he saw as a "'romantic' approach to the program was the lack of 'solid academic emphasis' in some programs in favor of 'fun and games' or 'love them' approach which, in reality, 'cheated' all concerned" (OEO, 1970, p. 38). Some staff members worried that changing the *Guidelines* would encourage the recruitment of the "winners" that Frost had tried to avoid, and whether it was a result of the changes Billings had made, GPAs of the students selected under his direction started to rise. Many project directors reported a "deep feeling that both the program and its students had changed" (OEO, 1970, p. 38).

Billings came on board as the second national director in the spring of 1967 with a keen awareness of the increasing congressional criticism of the Office of Economic Opportunity in general and specifically of Upward Bound. Representative Edith Green, who fought successfully to amend the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) with the passage of the 1967 amendments, also known as the Green Amendments, now turned her sights on Upward Bound. She made it clear that she wanted the program moved under the Office of Education's (OE) control as soon as possible, in part because, according to Frost, "Mrs. Green felt she already had a high school student Head Start program for which she had been responsible, the Talent Search program" (OEO, 1970, p. 36). Talent Search, one of the programs developed under the Higher Education Act of 1965 and administered by the OE, was similar in some ways to Upward Bound but worked to choose talented, high-achieving

students in under-resourced high schools and provide them with college counseling and assistance with college and financial aid applications (Groutt, 2003). It was much more cost effective than Upward Bound, which was time intensive and expensive, could not scale in the same way that Talent Search could, and, importantly, concentrated on what were seen as good college risks (Froomkin, 1968). Green insisted that Upward Bound was inherently flawed and was either recruiting students who were academically strong, in which case they would be better served by Talent Search, or serving students who were not at all academically prepared and therefore not deserving (Congressional Record–House, 1968). She continued with an unwavering focus on gaining more control over who “deserved” congressional support and taxpayers’ assistance, which was fraught with classist undertones, from her testimony before Congress in the fall of 1967 through another round of testimony in July 1968 (Congressional Record, 1967; Congressional Record–House, 1968). In July 1968, Green asked why there were not federal programs for middle-class students who “show initiative, who work hard and who obey the rules” while their parents’ money in the form of tax dollars was going to finance “disadvantaged” students who were on the verge of dropping out (Congressional Record–House, 1968, p. H7408).

While the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) focused primarily on community action programs and making sure that the Office of Economic Opportunity did not bypass state and local officials in awarding funds and approving programs, Representative Green was not done closely scrutinizing the CAPs once the amendments were passed. She then used the omnibus higher education bill, which was before the House in July 1968, as an opportunity to launch “a scathing attack on the Office of Economic Opportunity’s administration of Project Upward Bound” (McNett, 1968, para. 1).

Green felt strongly that the original intent of the legislation was not being followed by Billings or OEO, which had initially been presented to her committee with a stated purpose "to help the underserved student, so that he or she could continue secondary and postsecondary education if that student had the potential" (Congressional Record–House, 1968, p. H7407). There were several points to her testimony, but one of the most damning accused OEO of using taxpayers' money so that "dropouts" could enjoy a summer abroad. She used the term "dropout" in the hyperbolic sense, implying that the students who were being selected for Upward Bound were not strong students academically and were on the verge of not finishing high school. Her criticism was based on a letter from a professor at the University of Oregon who was upset that a small group of Upward Bound students had been chosen to spend their final summer before college visiting various countries in a collaboration with the Experiment in International Living. She saw this as rewarding students for not doing well in school, for not working hard, and therefore for being a potential dropout. Green talked about a high school student who was very poor but had been turned away from Upward Bound because his grades were too good. The student's sister wrote to Green on his behalf:

> What does a person have to do to get into Upward Bound and receive help to go on to college? Does he have to flunk all of his subjects? Does he have to commit burglary and rape and burn down a building? If he had done these things he probably would have been found eligible for government help! (Congressional Record–House, 1968, p. H7408).

Holding up the inflammatory letter as an example insinuating that "delinquents" and "criminals" were being given federal assistance while hardworking, studious students were

ineligible, played to the backlash racism that pitted Black and low-income students against those who were white and middle-class. In addition to her charge that Upward Bound's involvement in the Experiment in International Living was against congressional intent and a reward for "dropouts," Green charged the first national director, Richard Frost, with acting improperly, maybe illegally, for serving as a consultant and site visitor and as an assistant in the Oregon Prison Upward Bound Program. She posited that Upward Bound was a national program to train "revolutionaries" based on an incident with one staff assistant working in Reed College Upward Bound, who shared a pamphlet on bomb making with students in the program. He was later fired, and the program was cancelled, but in her opinion, the damage had been done. Here again, Green's use of the term "revolutionaries" stoked fears of rebellion, ostensibly by the "urban" Black residents of low-income communities, which helped make her case that OEO was at fault for promoting social change. Representative Green also indicated that OEO should not be contracting oversight of the program to an outside agency, Educational Associates, Inc. These charges and the rhetoric about "dropouts" and "revolutionaries" set the tone for her extensive testimony over the course of 2 days, during which there was only modest pushback against Green's charges. Most agreed with her bid to move Upward Bound away from the OEO, which had been positioned as an "experimental agency," only in operation temporarily during the War on Poverty, to what was seen as the more stable, credible, and financially responsible Office of Education (Salett, 2011).

Billings responded quickly to Representative Green's charges with a national press release that refuted each charge in detail (OEO, 1968b). In the press release, Billings indicated that "these charges have done a great disservice to the many dedicated participants

of Upward Bound programs across the country; to teachers, parents, students, college undergraduate tutors and community groups and individuals who have volunteered time and energies to the programs" (OEO, 1968b, p.1). Billings then followed up with a cover memo to Upward Bound project directors and participating college and university presidents and included a packet of information containing a copy of Green's congressional testimony and OEO's response. He indicated that he was "particularly proud of Upward Bound's success record," that they had nothing about which to be "ashamed or defensive," and that he hoped institutions could use the information to answer any questions that arose locally (OEO, 1968a, p. 1).

Early Upward Bound Outcomes

As the Office of Economic Opportunity prepared to hand over the administration of the Upward Bound program to the Office of Education, they felt that it was incumbent on them to thoroughly analyze the program and "to deliver an objective, historical overview" that would help guide an understanding of the factors "which may have contributed substantially to whatever success the program has had" (OEO, 1970, p. 22). To accomplish their goal, OEO contracted with Greenleigh Associates, Inc., who submitted a final report, *Upward Bound 1965–69: A History and Synthesis of Data on the Program in the Office of Economic Opportunity*, in February 1970. The report contained findings from fieldwork in 22 Upward Bound programs at host colleges and universities across the country; looked at all previous research studies; analyzed data available in the Upward Bound data system; and collected extensive information on program operations that were current at the time based on interviews with program directors, instructors, and guidance personnel. A discussion of early outcomes is highly relevant given the criticism of OEO's administration of Upward Bound,

which included everything from the characteristics of the students chosen, the way students were recruited to participate, the amount of family and community involvement, and the leadership styles of the directors at the local level (OEO, 1970).

Hunt and Hardt (1967c; 1968b) conducted two studies on the characteristics of Upward Bound students enrolled in 1967 programs on behalf of the Syracuse University Youth Development Center. They found that Upward Bound students tended to be from families with lower incomes, that were larger, and that were less likely to be intact than families of other American high school students. Nationally, Upward Bound students included significant ethnic and racial diversity, with Black, Native American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican students strongly represented; approximately 50% of all students who participated in Upward Bound were Black. In addition, Hunt and Hardt (1967a; 1967b; 1968a) did a series of program characterization studies that looked at the effectiveness of Upward Bound in generating academic skills and motivation for college success among participants. Looking at the cumulative effect of summer and academic year programs on their sample population, they found a significant increase in motivation for college, interpersonal flexibility, self-esteem, internal control, and future orientation. They also found that Upward Bound students were much less likely to drop out of high school and more likely to apply to and enroll in college than the control group.

There was not much research done on community involvement in Upward Bound in the early years of the program. A Cybern Education, Inc. (1969) study on parental involvement in six local programs revealed some initial findings about Upward Bound directors. In the high-involvement projects, the directors were "native to the project area, dynamic, committed, and were natural leaders" (p. 280); the medium involvement directors

were new in their jobs and said that there was a large social distance between themselves and the students and communities they were serving; the low involvement projects had directors without much leadership focus. While there was some evidence of more involved parents, more parental influence, and a more positive outlook toward parental involvement in general in the programs with strong, dynamic leadership, the researchers recommended a longitudinal study in this area.

Van Houten (1968) looked at the impact of Upward Bound on secondary schools and the community and found that while Upward Bound had a significant effect on the student participants, it had a minimal effect on secondary schools and communities. The researchers surmised that this might have been because of lack of communication among groups involved and the small number of student participants from any one high school. They said that the most important reason for the lack of impact was the "perception that traditional educators have of the Upward Bound program and its sponsoring agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity" (p. 5). The study findings indicated that the high school teachers were "suspicious of the policies of Upward Bound and the practices of many of the teachers involved in the program, and generally, they feel that the program repudiates the long-standing philosophy and pedagogy of the educational establishment" (p. 5). The teachers appeared to feel threatened when students returned from a summer of Upward Bound more confident and engaged, and willing to question their teachers about everything from curriculum changes to teaching styles (Van Houten, 1968).

Notably, most participants found out about Upward Bound from high school staff, followed by other Upward Bound students, and then friends. Only 8.3% of the recruiting came from community action agencies, churches, and other community organizations which

indicated that the community played only a limited role in recruiting students to the program (Cohen & Yonkers, 1969). This finding speaks to Upward Bound's community action focus never being fully realized before being moved from the OEO to the OE, as well as it being somewhat outside the CAA structure because of its federal administration (i.e., from Washington). When student participants were asked to comment on how others reacted to them after returning home from participating in Upward Bound, however, most reported positive and supportive reactions from teachers, parents, and friends (Hunt & Hardt, 1967c). Most of the recommendations from community involvement studies at that time related to better communication and more contact between parents, community members, high schools, and Upward Bound staff. This includes creating input and feedback systems between Upward Bound staff and high schools; giving access to school officials to parents, students, teachers, and Upward Bound staff; the inclusion of principals and Board of Education members on Upward Bound public advisory committees; and including clarification of PAC responsibilities in the *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966). Recommendations also included improving public relations, offering training for project directors, and establishing clear criteria for director selection that took into account community leadership potential and experience working with the low-income student population (Van Houten, 1968).

Meanwhile, Upward Bound received a harmful critique in the form of a report from Assistant Commissioner Joseph Froomkin (1968), who was assigned to conduct an analysis of some federal programs for higher education for OE's Office of Program Planning and Evaluation. Froomkin concluded that Upward Bound should remain a small experimental program unless Upward Bound funding could be tied to the availability of student financial aid. He stated that while Upward Bound somewhat increased low-income students' chances

of finishing high school, he believed that very few would finish more than 2 years of college. This idea was based on data showing that 80% of the students in the original summer pilot program in 1965 enrolled in college, that 50% of those students enrolled in their sophomore year, and that the Upward Bound freshman-year dropout rate of 59% was very close to the estimated rate in the model for students in the lowest socioeconomic group. Froomkin noted that low-achieving "minority" students do not attain significantly higher income levels unless they attain a degree (Froomkin, 1968). Billings and others contested Froomkin's findings as inaccurate, relying on partial data from the 1965 summer pilot only, but the harm was done once the report was widely publicized in newspapers across the country. Billings said it was "certainly one of the most damaging things that happened to Upward Bound" (OEO, 1970, p. 46). Critics of Upward Bound used these findings as more fuel to urge Congress to move the program to the OE, where they felt there would be stronger oversight and better control.

More criticism was leveled at Upward Bound when a Ford Foundation grant financed a book on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which included a chapter on Upward Bound (Levitan, 1969). The data for the chapter, "Upward Bound: Fighting Poverty with a Sheepskin," comprised documents and source materials, including official press releases, the Congressional Record, congressional committee reports, the Upward Bound *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966), Educational Associates, Inc. reports, and Hunt and Hardt's 1966 and 1967 *Characterization of Upward Bound* (CUB) reports (1967a; 1967b; 1968a). Levitan (1969) criticized the data generated and the program's claims of success. He found that Upward Bound was serving only a small fraction of the target population due to limited federal funding and that there was a lack of data to support the need for the costly summer residential program and small classes, which were deemed essential by the Upward Bound

administration to achieve the program goals. Levitan (1969) also reported that the recruitment of "underserved," "high-risk" students who might not go to college without the benefit of Upward Bound was uneven, with some programs focusing on students who have good grades in high school. He noted that the administrative design of Upward Bound was contracted out nationally to a nonprofit and gave local control to the host institution, which cut out the community action agencies. In addition, he felt that there was a lack of information on the effectiveness of PACs in involving CAAs, local groups, parents, and other community members in planning and implementing Upward Bound programs. Finally, he cast doubt on Upward Bound's ability to achieve stated goals that would lead to host institutions adopting admissions standards more favorable to "underserved" students or new curricula and teaching methods, or affect the attitudes of high school teachers, and he thought that the program was too small to generate substantive change (Levitan, 1969). The significance of Levitan's critique of Upward Bound cannot be overstated given that the community action, anti-poverty focus was at stake. The subsequent move from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education was a very real consequence of some of the more critical findings in the research conducted during those years.

Upward Bound's Move to the Office of Education

When Upward Bound was moved from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education in 1969, there was not only a shift in oversight and control, but also an end to the "made with and not for" intent of the Community Action Program that served as its foundation. Upward Bound's initial goal of giving impoverished youth the opportunity to escape from poverty through education with the "maximum feasible participation" of residents of the areas and members of the groups served as well as OEO's singular anti-

poverty focus were weakened by Representative Green and others in Congress and replaced with a more conservative view of who was “deserving” of the opportunity to attend college (OEO, 1970). Framing the OEO as an experimental, untraditional, and politically motivated agency provided Green and others with the ammunition they needed to move the program and reposition it as a social service rather than a vehicle for social change (Congressional Record–House, 1968).Then, not only was there less of a focus on intense community involvement and social action once the backlash from Green’s testimony in Congress caused Upward Bound to be moved from the OEO to the OE, but there was also explicit pushback against it. In fact, the controversy eventually led to the OEO being dismantled when Nixon came into office in 1969, with all of its programs moved to more “traditional” agencies. Salett talked about the process and recalled,

> But under Nixon, two of his earliest appointments, and again, this is lost in history, he brought on Donald Rumsfeld to be head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Rumsfeld brought on Dick Cheney as his deputy. And the two of them began to systematically, and with some force and, in fact, venom, began to transfer all of the elements of OEO, operating elements, to various parts of the Federal Government, thereby disassociating them from the community action participation aspect of their birthplace, so to speak.

Once Upward Bound moved to the OE, there were subtle changes in the type of student recruited—from Frost’s initial focus on the significantly “at-risk” students, who were underachieving due to a lack of opportunity, to students who showed the academic potential to not only *enroll* in college but to *graduate* under Billings, which was also instrumental in shifting away from the original anti-poverty, community action focus. The pilot and first

years of Upward Bound stressed motivation, excitement about learning, and group discussions about cooperative effort, along with a stimulating curriculum exposing students to art, film, music, and other subjects that their under-resourced high schools could not offer (Thompson, 1966). The OEO's initial recruitment publication, *Upward Bound: The War on Talent Waste* (OEO, n.d.), talked about offering students "free time, book discussions or bull sessions, with the students directing the course of conversation" (p. 8). One summer pilot student said of the curriculum,

> Before this program I had never seen a baseball game. I'd never seen a good movie like that of My Fair Lady. I'd never before seen or attended an outdoor concert, which I truly enjoyed. All this really amazes me because I thought I was one who got around. And I can think of other kids like myself, or even worse, who haven't seen or been exposed to anything. (p. 8)

Another student commented, "Nobody ever thought I had an idea worth listening to—so I never told anybody anything before" (p. 6). In contrast to this initial focus on developing a motivation to learn, as the program was moving toward OE oversight, much of the original curricula came to be thought of as "fun and games" and as a disservice to students who needed individual academic preparation to succeed in college (OEO, 1970, p. 38). According to Arnold Mitchem, president emeritus of the Council for Opportunity in Education (COE), and director of the Educational Opportunity Program at Marquette University in 1969 when the OEO handed over the program, the shift to OE oversight was the end to anything interesting and experimental. He said,

> By bringing Upward Bound into the Office of Education, it was the death knell for a lot of the radical innovative avant-garde ideas as it related to curriculums and students

> and relationship with communities. All of that was really—got the back of the hand, right? I mean, OE was not set up or.... It didn't have the philosophical underpinnings to accommodate that kind of activity, those kind of structures, and students lost out because, under OEO, they understood the holistic concept and they were comprehensive or attempted to be comprehensive in serving the whole person, health, blah, blah, blah, connecting it and getting the community involved with the parental advisory councils and all that.

Given the OE's focus on individual academic skill building without regard to what might work best given local context within the community, the move also appeared to signal an end to the innovative and creative applications for funding that were encouraged in the early *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966).

In addition to the move to the more conservative and traditional Office of Education, Upward Bound suffered from a lack of attention and a general waning of interest in community action and the War on Poverty. Although Shriver had positioned Upward Bound as a national emphasis program, it never got the publicity that Head Start had received. While local press was typically favorable to individual programs, Upward Bound only seemed to receive national press when it was negative criticism, related to the congressional testimony (OEO, 1970). Representative Green's hyperbolic rhetoric about mismanagement under the Office of Economic Opportunity, the waste of resources by contracting the program out to the Institute for Services to Education, and the overlap with Talent Search, which was less expensive, was harmful to Upward Bound. Probably most damaging was the image she invoked of Upward Bound as a training ground for "revolutionaries" and a reward for high school "dropouts," which hit a nerve with the general public who began seeing Upward

Bound as a program they were funding with their taxes, while their own children were not eligible to participate (OEO, 1970). In the end, Upward Bound was relegated to being a college preparation program to assist individual students, rather than serving as a community-focused vehicle for social change with a hardcore poverty focus.

Following the first summer of Upward Bound, Richard Frost said,

> "I don't know what the ripple effect will be of injecting this kind of youngster into higher education, but in my judgement it's likely to be substantial…. Higher education has usually limited enrollment to those who were already known to be bright and had the background needed to get in. Few higher education institutions have had the experience in educating the type of youngster who does not have the conventional talents, conventionally measured. How can we educate some of these young people? I am sure that there are scores of ways of educating people that none of us has ever used. Whatever else Upward Bound does, I would hope that it identifies and systematizes many of these ways." (OEO, n.d., p. 2)

With the shift in emphasis from a community action-based anti-poverty program, the possible "ripple effect" on the communities of low-income students who had never had the opportunity to attend college was never fully realized. A return to the intensive community involvement with which Upward Bound began could potentially change that and reconsider what the "ripple effect" could be.

With a clear understanding of the historical contextual factors and considerations that led to the creation, implementation, and early focus of Upward Bound nationally, in the remainder of this study, I carefully consider a case of a local Upward Bound program that began in 1966, the first year of the federal program. As with many of the first programs

across the country, the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program was a continuation of a 1965 program for neighborhood children, designed to improve their academic skills and motivation to further their education, which was already up and running and known as the Science Day Camp.

CHAPTER 3

BEFORE UPWARD BOUND: MIT SCIENCE DAY CAMP

In April 1965, just across the Charles River from the Boston Common where Dr. King gave his speech about the racial imbalance in schools and segregation and called on neighborhood residents to be "agents of change instead of leading lives of passive acceptance within an accelerating worldwide struggle for equal rights and dignity," (Sharif, 2012, p. 3) plans were well underway at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) for a 1965 pilot summer school, known as the Science Day Camp (Lynch, 1965). Similarly to what was happening in other places across the country, faculty and students at MIT were inspired by the civil rights movement as well as by a letter sent to colleges and universities by President Kennedy asking for their involvement in helping more Black students gain access to a college education (Lynch et al., 1965; Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s), and the Science Day Camp was an early attempt to engage with the racially diverse and low- income community adjacent to the MIT campus. The camp, organized by both the MIT Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity and the student-led Social Service Committee, was designed to support "local children from poverty areas" and to "motivate and prepare these children for successful college work, [and] to widen their horizons" (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 5). The camp curriculum included courses in biology, physics, measurements, and cities, offered by almost 40 MIT faculty members who volunteered their time to supervise a project-based course,

give a demonstration, or otherwise engage with the students in what was deemed an experimental 5-week program; and 10 MIT undergraduate students were hired as full-time staff, "requiring the talents of a teacher, athletic director, and camp counselor all rolled into one" (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1965a, p. 2).

That first summer, the Science Day Camp served 31 middle school boys from the low-income neighborhood in Cambridge adjacent to campus known as Area Four who were chosen with the assistance of the Cambridge Neighborhood House, the oldest settlement house in the United States ("Oldest Settlement House," 1973, p. 30). Area Four, often described as "the Port," was a diverse community with a large immigrant population from the Caribbean and various countries in Europe, as well Black Americans from Boston and the South (Boyer, 2015), and many of the neighborhood residents lived in one of two integrated Work Progress Administration (WPA)-era federal housing projects, Washington Elms or Newtowne Court. Although the boys were still in middle school when the Science Day Camp began, they would eventually go to one of two public high schools in Cambridge situated on the same campus: Cambridge High and Latin, which was predominantly white, and Rindge Tech, which mostly enrolled Black male students. Within Cambridge High and Latin, there were different tracks, with the low-income students and students of color often placed in the non-college-prep courses. While there was no mention in the documents found in the MIT archives that any attempts were made to balance the Science Day Camp boys by race or ethnicity, it is clear from talking to study participants, that the group consisted of both Black and white students.

The goal of the Science Day Camp, further articulated in a news release at the culmination of its second summer in 1966 (and first under the organization of, and with

federal funding from, the recently nationally launched Upward Bound program), was to "assist in developing the learning abilities of the boys to the extent that they will be able to enter college" (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a, p. 2). Like many of the first Upward Bound programs across the country (McCants, 2003), MIT's was built on the foundation created by the Science Day Camp, which already had a structure, student and faculty support, and one year of experience under its belt. Newly inaugurated president Howard W. Johnson, who was invited to make remarks at the 1966 camp graduation ceremony, commented to the diverse group of 100 family members and friends who gathered to celebrate their sons' accomplishments, "The remarkable thing is that learning should be combined with fun" (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a, p. 2). That was the case for these students, who, in addition to participating in academics, athletics, various field trips, and special events throughout the summer, were treated to a flyover of the parts of Boston and Cambridge that they were studying in their Cities course. The course was created by renowned urban planner, professor, and chair of the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity Kevin Lynch (Brodey, 1966b).

Figure 1

Closing Exercises of the MIT Science Day Camp, August 25, 1966

Cambridge Chronicle

and The Cambridge Sun

Cambridge, Mass., Thursday, August 25, 1966 Founded 120 Years Ago 10 Cents

VALEDICTORIANS AND FRIENDS: Congratulations were in order at the closing exercises of the M. I. T. Science Day Camp for Cambridge boys. Left to right: Howard W. Johnson, President of M. I. T.; Roy Lans, Steven Donohoe and Wayne Scott, valedictorians of the Science Day Camp; Richard Adelstein, student co-chairman of the Camp; Dr. Warren M. Brodey, faculty director; and Charles Donohoe, representing the parents at the closing exercises. (Larry - Stuart Deutsch).

Note. Source: *Cambridge Chronicle* archives.

MIT's History of Involvement in Social Service in the Community

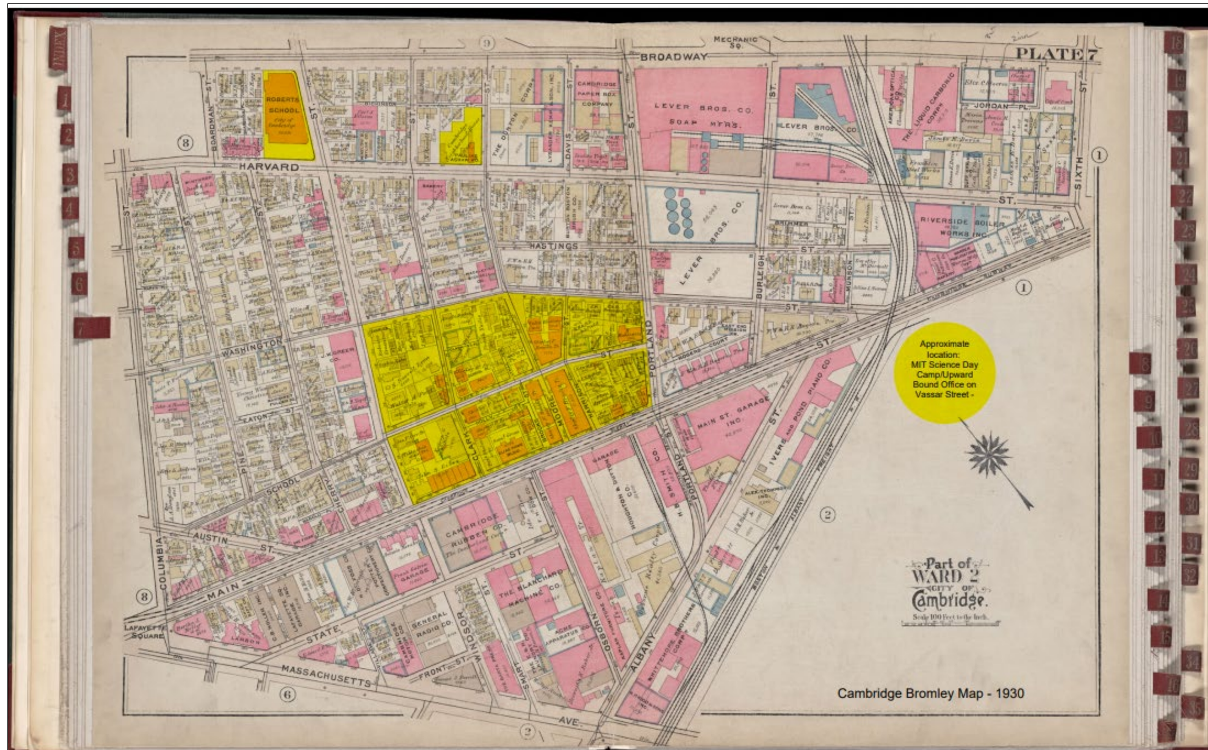
To fully understand how the Science Day Camp and subsequent Upward Bound program came into existence at MIT, it is necessary to look at the institution in the context of the 1960s and the civil rights movement. Similarly to the vast majority of higher education institutions at the time, MIT was a predominantly white institution, with very few students, faculty, or staff of color. In 1968, when the MIT Black Student Union was formed, the group noted that while "about 11% of Americans were [B]lack, each 1,000-member class at MIT had perhaps a half a dozen [B]ack students" (Waugh, 2018, para. 2). The lack of diversity in

the faculty and staff was even more extreme, with only a “handful” of Black professional staff and the appointment of the first Black faculty member in 1956 (who subsequently left in 1960) and two more following in 1962 and 1964 (MIT Black History, n.d.). As mentioned previously, the elite campus was situated adjacent to the low-income and very diverse Area Four of Cambridge. So, while there were a variety of committees on campus related to social service and community involvement that began during that timeframe, it is significant to point out that the students, staff, and faculty who were proposing and implementing community-based programs in a predominantly Black and/or immigrant-origin neighborhood were overwhelmingly white.

Although there were many ongoing debates on MIT’s role in and responsibility to the community—and though faculty, students, and the administration had varying and often conflicting views on the purpose of and priorities for social service activities—two MIT committees focused on social service in the community and were instrumental in getting the Science Day Camp, which eventually led to Upward Bound, up and running on campus: the student-led Social Service Committee (also called the Social Action Committee; Tutoring Plus, 1965), and a Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity (sometimes called the Faculty Committee, the Faculty Committee on Education in the Face of Poverty and Segregation, or the Lynch Committee; Lynch, 1965). Insight into the committees’ makeup, charge, scope, and purview, as well as a look at the history of Tutoring Plus, the first community-based program that relied on MIT students from the Social Service Committee, is necessary to understand how the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound engaged with the local community.

Figure 2

Map of the Neighborhood Known as Area Four, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Note. Highlighted areas: Roberts Grammar School (top left); the Cambridge Neighborhood House (top right); the area where the federal housing projects Washington Elms and Newtowne Court were built in 1938 as part of the Work Progress Administration (WPA; bottom left); and the approximate location of the MIT Science Day Camp/Upward Bound Office on Vassar Street, which is just on the other side of the railroad tracks, parallel to Albany Street and just below Main Street. Source: Cambridge Public Library. (n.d.). Online atlases: 1930 Bromley atlas (Plate 7). https://www.cambridgema.gov/cpl/Services/cambridgeroom/researchyourhouse/Atlases

Action Was Too Strong of a Word for MIT

The Social Service Committee was founded in the spring of 1964 when two groups of MIT students seeking social service projects in the community became aware of each other and joined forces. One began to honor the memory of assassinated President John F. Kennedy, and the other was started due to frustration about the lack of service opportunities for students on campus (Tutoring Plus, 1965). While the committee was originally called the “Social Action Committee” by students, recalled the group’s vice president Michael Efron

(MIT Office of Public Relations, 1965a), it was rebranded as "the Social Service Committee at some point because action was too strong a word for them, them being the administration [chuckle]." This is notable because it reflected MIT as a conservative system and structure, one that might take on the role of providing some assistance to the community but stopped short of promoting social change. It also foreshadowed what would later become the national debate in Congress led by Representative Edith Green (D-Oregon) that changed how community action programs were defined (Green Amendments, 1967) and that fervently argued against encouraging social change (Cazenave, 2007; Congressional Record–House, 1967).

Under the auspices of the Social Service Committee, and before the idea for the Science Day Camp emerged, Tutoring Plus, a tutoring program in Cambridge's Area Four, got up and running (Tutoring Plus, 1965). The "Plus" refers to the program's "approach to the whole personality of the child (not just the studying) plus the simultaneous approach to the whole community" (Tutoring Plus, 1965, p. 5), which was not only more meaningful for the volunteers, but also had a bigger impact. Notably, the idea for Tutoring Plus is attributed to the Area Four children themselves, after a group of teenagers met with some older neighborhood college students. They were said to have questioned why some made it to college while most of the others had not even finished high school, and they wanted "a friend who could understand them, listen to their problems, advise them, scold them when necessary, refer them to helpful agencies, and also assist them with their academic endeavors" (Tutoring Plus, 1968, p. 6). Tutoring Plus was also deeply connected to neighborhood community organizations, such as the Cambridge Neighborhood House (Tutoring Plus, 1968), and had an active parent committee as well as a steering committee of

educators, headmasters, business leaders, and social service agency representatives (Tutoring Plus, 1968). As Tutoring Plus grew, so did the Social Service Committee, which became a clearinghouse of sorts for all MIT student social service projects (Tutoring Plus, 1965). So, in 1965, when the first Science Day Camp began under the direction of the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity, not only did it have the support of the Social Service Committee, but it also benefitted from close cooperation with Tutoring Plus (Tutoring Plus, 1965).

Including Parents as a Cardinal Rule

Michael Efron, the same MIT undergraduate student who was vice president of the Social Service Committee, was instrumental in developing Tutoring Plus and later the MIT Science Day Camp, of which he became student director. Efron struggled at MIT for the first couple of years but said, “I was a junior and I finally began accepting the fact that I was smart and maybe I did belong at MIT.” In retrospect, he was not sure what motivated him to do this but felt that he did not know the Cambridge community at all at that point and began walking around the east side of campus near Kendall Square, which was very desolate at the time, with a big road running through it. He recalled,

> So, one day I walked across that wide road and just kind of wandered around and was amazed that within a couple of blocks from the campus was this public housing project. And I wandered around the public housing project [Newtowne Court and Washington Elms].… And it was not a typical housing project because it was integrated. It was about 50-50 white and Black, which is pretty unusual in public housing. And so, I was intrigued, and there was a house on the other side of the projects where a lot of kids were hanging out, and I came back to school being

> puzzled by the whole thing and interested. And the second time I went back, I walked into that house. It turned out to be the Cambridge Neighborhood House, one of three settlement houses in Cambridge.

In the Cambridge Neighborhood House, Efron met Elsa Baldwin, who was the director, and they began discussing the idea for Tutoring Plus. He ended up promising and delivering 60 tutors, primarily from his MIT dorm, Baker House, while Ms. Baldwin named the high school students (all boys) who would get the tutoring. Efron noted that Baldwin ran many programs at the Cambridge Neighborhood House and said,

> One thing that was a cardinal rule with her was that every program she ran had to have a parents' committee. And the parents had to be involved in the decision making and the running of every program out of that settlement house. And so, she started it and put together a parents' committee for Tutoring Plus.

Efron said he remembered a couple of the parents with whom Baldwin had worked. He laughed when he recalled, "They were used to running committees and making decisions about the programs that their kids were in, they had no need of me." His role with the parents was instead to give them feedback from the tutors on how their children were doing in the program, which he did by visiting them in their homes. This early lesson on involving parents and the community was an important one for Efron, one that later influenced how the Science Day Camp and then Upward Bound were structured. Not long after Tutoring Plus started, and because of his work in the Cambridge community and on the Social Service Committee, Efron was invited to join the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity at MIT.

Education in the Face of Poverty and Segregation

The second of the two committees that was important to the development of the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound was the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity, which was appointed in 1964, during the same timeframe that students launched the previously described Social Service Committee. Chaired by Professor Kevin Lynch, the committee's charge was to "consider how MIT might help to solve the local and national problem of education in the face of poverty and segregation" (Lynch, 1965, para. 1).

Though the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity was not charged until 1964, the idea that institutions of higher learning had some responsibility to use their considerable academic resources to help solve some of the nation's most persistent problems came earlier. In an undated cassette tape of an interview between Efron and Marshall Milner conducted sometime in the 1970s, who later became assistant director and then director of the program, Milner asked how Upward Bound started at MIT. Efron said,

> [MIT's involvement in the community] started in 1961. President Kennedy wrote a letter to all colleges and universities across the country asking them to study and explain why they had such a low percentage of Black Americans in their undergraduate body. That letter was received sometime in 1961 by Jim Stratton, who was then president of MIT. Stratton looked at the MIT undergraduate student body and saw, in fact, that it was a true statement, and set up an ad-hoc faculty committee to undertake a study of why that was so. And the most key thing, historically, in terms of developing the MIT Upward Bound program, was putting together that faculty committee. The person who was made chairman of that faculty committee was Kevin Lynch, professor in City Planning. (Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s)

In the spring of 1965, Lynch’s Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity released a report to the faculty, which included recommendations, an extensive review of the national push for anti-poverty education programs, a description of the social service programs beginning to take shape at other Boston-area universities, and a summary of the current student projects at MIT. It also included a detailed proposal for the Science Day Camp (Lynch et al., 1965). Because of his involvement with Tutoring Plus, Efron was invited to serve as a student member of the faculty committee. He recalled,

> I come along and start this volunteer program [Tutoring Plus] without talking to administrators in particular. It was really created between Elsa [Baldwin, director of the Cambridge Neighborhood House] and I, and then I get invited to this faculty committee who want to do something.… And so, they came up with a sketch for [the Science Day Camp]. I went and ran it by Elsa [Baldwin] and said to her, "How would you put this together?" Some of the design came from her, more of the design came from the faculty committee. And we started with 32 kids.

Because some of the design for the Science Day Camp came from Baldwin, someone with extensive experience embedded in the community and guided by a “cardinal rule” of involving parents in any program related to their children, a parent committee was already in place when the Science Day Camp was launched.

While Lynch’s (1965) memo announced that they had organized the Science Day Camp as a forerunner to their proposal, which had a teaching staff of undergraduate students and volunteer faculty ready to go, he also put out a call for help moving forward. At the end of the summer, maintaining contact with the children they had begun to work with as well as expanding recruitment would require a group of MIT faculty and undergraduate students

willing to put forth effort on a regular basis to teach and tutor on Saturdays and after school during the fall and spring terms. He further invited faculty to visit the camp once the dust had settled and the initial operations were smoothed out. He noted that "any action by the Institute will depend primarily on the sustained commitment and support of the faculty and the students" and that with such support, the faculty committee was confident that financial and administrative backing would follow (Lynch, 1965, para. 2). In considering why the faculty committee had the Science Day Camp ready to go as their report was released, Efron said,

> There was a proposal for starting an MIT Science Day Camp. Now, the reason they wanted to do that is because for 2 years, they had been talking theoretically about all the possibilities MIT might get into in terms of increasing the pool of minorities who could come to MIT, and they had gone through reams of data that they had accumulated, and talked theoretically about all kinds of possible programs … and the Science Day Camp was to be the program that these faculty could immediately get involved with and stop thinking theoretically about the issue and begin doing something … that was going to serve the immediate neighbors of MIT. (Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s)

Given the faculty committee's focus on recommending projects that they felt the faculty and MIT students could support, which would therefore result in longevity and institutionalization, it makes sense that they would have the Science Day Camp ready to go as a "demonstration" of sorts. Faculty and student counselors were already lined up for the first summer, and Lynch invited the larger faculty to visit the program and see for themselves what they were trying to set in motion. The faculty committee was also very aware of what

was happening nationally and at area institutions from their initial research and knew of the potential for federal and foundation funding if the Science Day Camp succeeded and their larger proposal was accepted. Although strictly an MIT program, the summer school mirrored the 17 “demonstration” pilot Upward Bound programs happening that same summer (McCants, 2003) to the extent that many of the first students mistakenly recall being part of the national Upward Bound pilot.

There are many elements of the report that spoke to MIT’s developing philosophy regarding social service to the community. A significant amount of space was dedicated to background information on “poverty and cultural isolation” and the widening gap between the poor and well-off, stating that “isolation and poverty are particularly visible because of their disproportionate incidence on the Negro” (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 1). The MIT report also began touching on one of the underlying goals of the national Upward Bound Program: to increase the motivation of underserved children to engage in school and access higher education (OEO, n.d.). “Good teaching,” the report read,

> can change motivation and open the door to job opportunity and the limitless world of science and art. In most poverty areas, North and South, our schools are often devices for locking the door: for extinguishing motivation, confirming prejudice and isolation … for presenting our culture as something inexplicable or boring. (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 2).

The committee called on MIT to break open this cycle early—that children’s “hopes and creative fires are smothered early … put out by tension and neglect at home, by a father’s joblessness, by surrounding violence, as well as by the routine at school” (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 2). Linking any proposed MIT involvement to community action was described as

essential in the report; public and private welfare services, political activism, and, in a nod to Lynch's urban development expertise, physical and economic planning, must be interwoven with educational reform because "these children must be able to see a ladder of opportunity rising out of the ghetto, whose every rung is within easy reach of the one below" (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 2). So, while many worthwhile programs took hold and flourished as a result of the early work of the faculty committee, it is easy to connect the language in the report to what some faculty and administrators saw as the paternalistic overreach of an elite institution trying to fix the "poverty problem" (Steinberg, 1970). Despite potential claims of paternalism, MIT felt a responsibility to contribute, and criteria were suggested to guide the Institute in any action, which included effectiveness and a promise of real accomplishment in breaking the cycle of "poverty and segregation" (Lynch et al., 1965, p. 3).

In asking Michael Efron to think back on when he was an undergraduate and to elaborate on MIT's possible motivation to get involved in social service in the Cambridge community, he posited,

> I do think that the motivation of the faculty members had a different slant than the motivation of the administration. The administration, I think, was—now, I didn't know this back then, I think I understood this later on—MIT was looking to expand. It was bursting at the seams. And taking over property in Cambridge was certainly going to be hard in terms of Cambridge politics. And so, the administration was certainly interested in something that would balance out MIT's expansion into Kendall Square and up Mass Avenue. And Harvard had the same problems with Cambridge politics because Harvard was also looking to expand. So, I got a little bit involved with Cambridge politics. Cambridge politics wasn't Democrat versus

> Republican. There were no Republicans. And Cambridge politics was kind of weird because you had very rich people who had housing around Harvard Square, and then you had a whole lot of poor people throughout Central Cambridge, and the middle class were all involved with the colleges and not particularly involved with the town. So, you had a middle class that didn't care much about Cambridge politics; it cared about the universities. And so, it was a whole real town–gown split that drove Cambridge politics.

This is important because MIT's expansion would disproportionately impact the low-income neighborhoods around Kendall and Central Squares, and providing social service to the community would likely shift the focus and be seen as balancing out what the institution was gaining. Despite this dichotomy, the administration felt compelled to mention possible negative outcomes of providing official institutional support for social service projects, listing three reasons why MIT might not wish to assume financial responsibility: (1) the programs were directed by the community, and therefore MIT funds might have been used for programs inconsistent with MIT standards and objectives; (2) it might have caused difficulties for MIT if they sponsored programs that were political in nature; and (3) since other college students, secondary school students, and community volunteers would be involved, MIT's money might not have been spent solely for MIT student support (Mammen & McDowell, 1966). In the end, though, they determined that the needs were clearly demonstrable, while any objections were merely hypothetical; so, they urged MIT to assume financial responsibility for student volunteer activities as soon as funding could be located (Mammen & McDowell, 1966).

The Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity was aware that foundation and federal funding could be obtained for the Science Day Camp and felt that MIT itself should also make a financial contribution (Lynch et al., 1965). This turned out to be a good strategy later on because it allowed MIT to have some control in keeping children in the program once they began, even if slight gains to their family income crossed over the strict federal funding guidelines for Upward Bound (Frost, 1966). Since the overarching goal was to break the cycle of poverty, introducing a child to the program and then dropping him when his family began to achieve that goal seemed counterintuitive. In a letter to then new MIT President Howard W. Johnson, describing the Science Day Camp, and inviting the president to speak at the closing exercises, Warren Brodey, MD, faculty director of the program, mentioned the "low-income trap—if you get more, you lose it," (Brodey, 1966, p. 2) as an important reason to maintain program funding outside the Office of Economic Opportunity. MIT's strong reputation and significant resources gave them the freedom to work with some children within the federal funding structure and some, still in serious need of support, through foundation and institutional funding (Brodey, 1966). The faculty committee noted that "a temporary effort will only serve to ease our guilt feelings and the results for a child who is first stimulated and then dropped back into his old routine may be tragic" (Lynch et al., 1965 p. 3). They were looking to take any action to a large scale, reaching as many children as they could and engaging them for as long as possible.

In terms of funding for the first summer of the Science Day Camp, which was slated to begin soon after the faculty committee report was released to the broader MIT faculty at the end of May 1965, the program's $15,000 budget was made possible by an anonymous gift to MIT, and the faculty volunteered their time, according to an official news release

(MIT Office of Public Relations, 1965b). Michael Efron recalled differently in the 1970s, however: “And the money—those were rich days at MIT. The money was found, there was $30,000 surplus sitting in the Educational Resource Center” (Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s). By the end of the year after the first summer, however, the $30,000 was gone, and the MIT Science Day Camp was $5,000 in debt. Lynch, Eugene Bell, and the other faculty got together to figure out how to get more money.

Launched Nationally as a Community Action Program

At that time, Upward Bound had just launched nationally as a community action program as part of the War on Poverty, and the Office of Economic Opportunity (1966) released the *Policy Guidelines and Application Instructions (Guidelines)* after a successful summer of 17 pilot demonstration programs at colleges and universities across the country in 1965 (McCants, 2003). The MIT Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity applied for federal funding for the Science Day Camp under the Upward Bound grant and was initially turned down. Efron suggested that the original denial was most likely because the MIT proposal did not meet any of the national guidelines outlined in the call for applications (OEO, 1966):

> Now, at that point, Eugene Bell, and Kevin Lynch and all the faculty get together and they decided they have got to get some more money … [and] they applied to the Feds for it. And there was this new pilot project that was coming out of Washington that year; it had just been funded by Congress … and it was called Upward Bound, and it was part of the War on Poverty…. We applied to that, and we met almost none of the guidelines of that federal program…. The program called for working with sophomores, juniors, and seniors—all our kids were eighth graders. The guidelines

> called for a residential program—we were a day program. The guidelines called for kids below a certain federal poverty line—we had never asked the kids what their family income was, and we had no idea how many of the kids were below the line, even though we suspected most of them were because most of them lived in public housing—but we had never asked…. In some ways, we were way ahead of the guidelines, that is, we were working very closely with the parents' committee that we shared decision-making on, and back then in those days, there was a tremendous demand on community participation in running the program. Well, that had all been put together. In the sense of taking kids who may not otherwise go to college with the intentions of eventually going to college, we certainly were philosophically in the same place there, even though we were starting with much younger kids.

Yet, despite being outside the guidelines, MIT, perhaps coincidentally, met the community involvement criteria at a deeper level than what OEO CAP education director Stan Salett described was happening on the national level. Efron, instead, recalled a sense of the importance of participation of the community and involving the parents in decision making in efforts involving their children, and that the MIT pilot met the spirit of the guidelines, if not the detail. Efron also remembered being "amazed with MIT's contacts in Washington, and not being surprised that they could go down there and have things changed," meaning that they ended up receiving Upward Bound funding despite not meeting the guidelines of the grant. He said,

> We got originally turned down, and everybody was very depressed. Kevin Lynch was really unhappy because there was no longer any loose money running around MIT, and it looked like things had just come to an end. Certain people at MIT went down to

Washington, and I'm not sure who they were, I suspect Jerry Wiesner [then provost] was one of them. And 2 months later, the decision was reversed, and they gave us $5,000 more than what we had asked. (Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s)

The fact that MIT had pull in Washington was not at all surprising, and it is certainly likely that Provost Weisner played a role given that, in 1961, he took a leave of absence from MIT to serve as special assistant to President Kennedy for science and technology and as chairman of the President's Science Advisory Committee (MIT Libraries, n.d.). The fact that the decision was reversed even though MIT's iteration of the program met few of the guidelines is also not surprising. Given that 1966 was the first year of the national Upward Bound program after the "demonstration" summer across the country meant that things were still very much in the early stages of development, and the OEO chose to encourage applicants to propose what they thought would work best in their local context based on some general principles rather than prescribe the guidelines outright (OEO, 1966; Salett, 2011). The official MIT press release at the end of the second summer of the Science Day Camp noted that it had been "subsidized in part by the Office of Economic Opportunity under Project Upward Bound, directed [nationally] by Dr. Richard T. Frost. Other grants have been made by the Permanent Charities Fund of Boston, the Charles E. Merrill Trust of New York, and under Title I of the Office of Education" (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a, p. 2). By then, the camp had already doubled in size and was under the MIT faculty direction of Dr. Brodey, with Michael Efron and Richard Adelstein, another undergraduate student, as student co-chairmen (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a). Although Lynch remained very committed to his work related to social service to the community, including serving on subsequent MIT committees (MIT Committee on Community Service, 1968), he was never

involved in later iterations of Upward Bound to the extent that he was during the first 2 years of the Science Day Camp when he designed and taught the Cities course.

Science Day Camp

The MIT Upward Bound program, still operating as the Science Day Camp in those first few years, was unique in its structure and faculty focus. That more than 40 faculty members volunteered their time and expertise and developed a project-based curriculum that was delivered in small teams overseen by MIT undergraduate students deserves attention and explanation. In 1966, the second year of the Science Day Camp but the first year with Upward Bound funding, 70 students, predominantly from the Area Four neighborhood adjacent to MIT, participated. A report submitted at the end of the summer indicated that 73% were from low-income families and 40% were students of color (Brodey, 1966b). While Michael Efron indicated that students were not asked about their families' income in the first summer of the Science Day Camp, and though there was no evidence that racial balance was a consideration in that first year, the statistics in the summer of 1966 report were most likely due to the federal reporting requirements that came with OEO funding. Of the 31 boys who had attended the pilot during the previous summer, 30, plus 10 new boys, participated in a Saturday program over that winter, and then the community agencies, churches, and elementary schools who knew the neighborhoods surrounding MIT were asked to nominate an additional 30 boys who were not likely to succeed without some type of educational assistance. Boys who were known to have educational difficulty and poor motivation but had shown some "glimmer of interest in learning" were accepted (Brodey, 1966b, p. 1). This aligned with the national Upward Bound criteria, which suggested that they were "looking for the feisty, edgy, not always cooperative youngster who has talent that would be missed,

or misdirected, unless he gets some special attention” (OEO, n.d., p. 10). Science Day Camp Faculty Director Warren Brodey, who is a psychiatrist and turned 100 years old in January 2024, reminisced about creating a personal and warm program to meet the goal of motivating students:

> The Science Day Camp was my attempt to develop a school that would be personal as much as possible, and as warm—and they wouldn't have used those words in those days—but warm in a personal way. And get honored, and the kids—their way of life, and their interest, and was much in contrast to the rough [public] schools where it wasn't really a matter of honoring—"kids don't matter,” “teaching them doesn’t matter”—"there was so much to teach” [of the required curriculum] and “blah, blah blah,” such as you understand. That is, you have a curriculum, you have certain things they have to learn and so on. I was not interested in that. I was interested in creating the amount of information that the youngsters wanted and needed to learn, thus far, and that they had to follow our program.

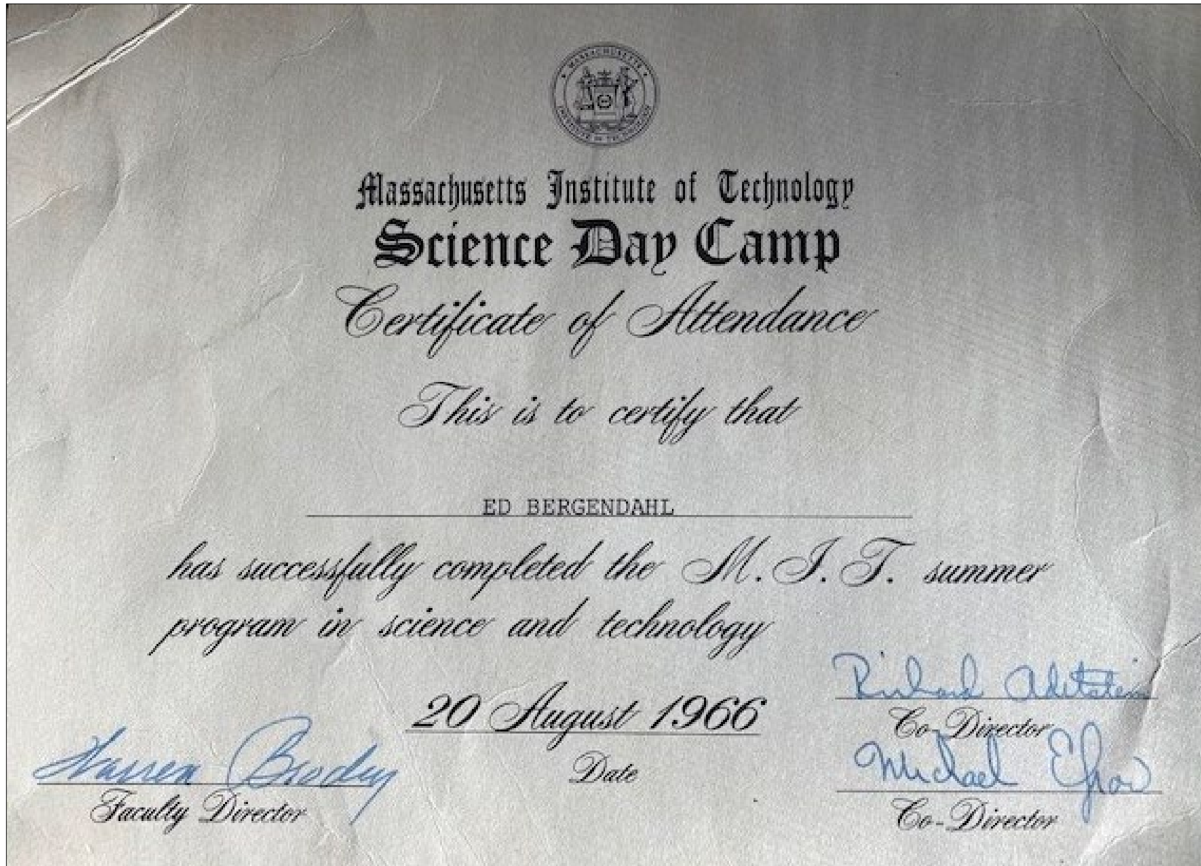
Brodey’s memories of working to create a warm and welcoming environment for the boys, one in which they and their experiences would be honored, met the Office of Economic Opportunity’s early program goals of motivating students and showing them that they mattered and were capable of learning. This contrasted with the prevailing attitudes in the public secondary schools, where students were expected to conform to the curriculum at hand without regard to individual interests or needs (Van Houten, 1968). It was determined that the Science Day Camp would only admit boys “since the dilemmas of education, employment, and social role are most severe for them” (MIT Social Service Committee, 1966, p. 3). While Upward Bound favored the residential model that allowed participants to

spend the summer on a college campus, MIT chose a day model, thinking that it was important to keep connected to the boys' families (Brodey, 1966a). Here again, the boys' parents and community were considered in the planning and implementation of the program, rather than capitulating to the standard guidelines of the national program.

Parent and community involvement was an important aspect of the early Science Day Camp. Four meetings, all heavily attended, were held during the planning for the first summer after the pilot to discuss the teaching and the role of the parents themselves (MIT Social Service Committee, 1966). During the summer, there was a large parent outing, along with two additional smaller parent-class outings, and a parent–teacher night to review the work done in each class (Brodey, 1966b). At the closing exercises at the end of the summer, an audience of more than 100 parents and friends were on hand at Kresge Auditorium to cheer on their boys as they received certificates. In addition to short speeches by three camp valedictorians outlining their accomplishments, Charles Donohoe, serving as a parent representative, "urged other parents, especially fathers, to give active support to the program as an investment in the future of their sons" (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a). In an attempt to ensure that MIT president Howard Johnson was aware of the importance of parents and the local neighborhood associations as well as the public school system to the success of the Science Day Camp, Brodey added a postscript to his invitation to Johnson to speak at the closing exercises: "P.S. The Cambridge School System, the Cambridge Alliance (an alliance of community centers) and the parents will welcome your specific reference to their help in formulating and carrying out the program" (Brodey, 1966a).

Figure 3

1966 MIT Science Day Camp Certificate


Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Science Day Camp
Certificate of Attendance
This is to certify that
ED BERGENDAHL
has successfully completed the M.I.T. summer program in science and technology
20 August 1966
Date
Faculty Director
Co-Director
Co-Director

Note. Certificate for Edward McCarthy (last name Bergendahl during the program), signed by Faculty Director Warren Brodey and MIT undergraduate Student Co-Directors Richard Adelstein and Michael Efron. Source: Edward McCarthy.

There was a parent advisory committee helping with camp activities, but in the beginning, it was the MIT undergraduate student group leaders who were charged with relating to their assigned boys and the boys' families. "The group leader is our primary emissary and gives continuity," said Brodey, in his letter to President Johnson (Brodey, 1966a, p. 2). While "the power of parental involvement" (Brodey, 1966a, p. 2) was deemed essential to the success of the program, building trust with parents was not always easy.

During the first and second summers, lessons learned from Tutoring Plus helped the Science Day Camp staff understand that they had to earn the parents' trust, not take it for granted. While most of the parents had agreed to have their boys tutored in Tutoring Plus, they made it clear that "they do not want their values subverted by 'college kids'" (Brodey, 1967a). This again points to the community action framework that underpins Upward Bound, particularly during those early years, and it illustrates MIT's attempt to honor that ideal.

Figure 4

Unnamed Group Leader and Science Day Camp Students

Note. The group leader and students are sitting on a wall at MIT where they often met in the morning to start their day. Source: *MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook*.

You Get Into Their Lives, and You Meet Their Parents

No discussion of the Science Day Camp would be complete without some additional details about MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron. His self-described undergraduate experience was not a happy one, and feeling as if he did not know anything about the city beyond the confines of MIT, he began spending hours walking around in the housing projects and impoverished neighborhoods adjacent to campus. From those days when he first met Elsa Baldwin at the Cambridge Neighborhood House and procured tutors for Tutoring Plus, to his service on the faculty committee, and then setting up the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound, Efron is a throughline evidenced by his unwavering commitment to the children and community in the Area Four neighborhood of Cambridge. According to Richie Adelstein, whom Efron recruited as an undergraduate leader and who later became co-student director, there would not have been a Science Day Camp without Michael Efron and his exploration of the neighborhood surrounding MIT. Adelstein explained,

> But all around [MIT] were slums. So, if you walked, which nobody ever did, except people like Mike Efron, if you walked from MIT to Lechmere, which was actually a store then, as well as a stop on the train, there was a department store there, you went through East Cambridge, which was not exactly impoverished, but was sort of lower working class. It was largely white, and it bordered on this slum, like from Broadway up to Central Square, behind MIT. Some of it was public housing, which was dreary but tolerable, and some of it was decaying, Boston wooden-frame two- and three-flat houses. And Efron spent hours and hours out there. He was in the schools. He was in the kids' houses. He got to know their families. And he would talk about them. I was 18, he would talk about them as if they were—as if we were older than they were, [as

> if] we were no longer children. And he talked about them with what I thought at the time—and nothing's ever changed my mind—with uncanny psychological insight. So later on, for example, before I ever saw any of the kids acting out, he would say, "Oh, there's … ," say, Ray Pina [one of the original Science Day Camp students], and "Ray Pina is filled with rage." Well, I'd never heard anybody say that an 11-year-old kid was filled with rage, and here's Efron, at this moment, 21 years old, and loves Ray Pina, and says, "Ray Pina is filled with rage." What he said, I don't know if he said this personally to me, but this is what I heard he said, "We can help these kids. We can get into their lives and really help them." I think, again, I'm 74 years old, and some of that seems terrifically naive, I don't know if we could help them, we certainly helped me, and we helped the group leaders and all of that, I don't know how much good we did for the kids.

Adelstein also described his recollection of Efron's philosophy for the Science Day Camp and the role of undergraduate leaders:

> The other part of it Mike [Efron] said was, "You don't just see your kids on Saturday morning. You get into their lives, and you meet their parents, and you go and see them on Thursday afternoon and help them do their homework. If they have a basketball game, you go and see them at the basketball game." He set the gold standard for that, he did it week after week after week, and we group leaders tried, I tried more than anybody, and I couldn't match his commitment.

Students felt that commitment as well, and Alvin Riley, a Black student who lived in the Washington Elms housing project and began attending the Science Day Camp in 1966, a year after his older brother Reginald joined in the first summer, remembers the impression

Efron—who, like all the MIT students, faculty, and staff during the first several years of the program, was white—made on him. He said,

> My father died, and because even though the project was, at this time was multiracial, it was really something, it was a big thing because Mike Efron—you know how white people do when someone dies. And so, when my father died, I was somewhere and I came back in the house and Mike Efron was in the room, my brother's bedroom, talking to him, and as a white guy, that was a shock to have a white person in my house, other than a bill collector…. I would say Mike Efron would be considered one of the role models because I remember him specifically on those two occasions of recruiting and also when my father died and finding him in my brother's room in Washington Elms and Newtowne Court.

That Riley remembered how Efron made him feel, recalled that Efron cared enough to visit their home, and considered him a role model speaks to the power of the mentorship Efron provided to many of the boys.

Efron not only worked with Baldwin to find students for the Science Day Camp, but also recruited faculty to teach in the program, resulting in 40 or so who agreed to teach for a week or more during the Science Day Camp summer session. Adelstein said,

> Efron would go and knock on doors of professors that he knew that he thought would be sympathetic to this, and he said, "I'm going to bring 30 kids, 11-year-old boys, from the neighborhood, and I want you to teach some science to them. You can do it for three Saturdays or one Saturday, or 10 Saturdays." … The kids were unruly, and the group leaders were undergraduates, for heaven's sakes. We were kids too, just older than these kids … it's like herding cats to get them to go from one place to the

> other. And then you get them in a room, a laboratory, or you'd get them in a place where … [a] mechanical engineer can make a machine work for them.

In Adelstein's memory, none of this would have happened without Efron. He was not only able to venture into the neighborhood adjacent to campus and assist Elsa Baldwin recruit students to join the Science Day Camp and subsequent Upward Bound program and convince his fellow students to sign on as group leaders, but almost single-handedly enlisted enough faculty to pull off a successful, if somewhat chaotic, summer program, which is an undeniable achievement.

Most of the first students were recruited by Efron or Baldwin. One student, Dennis McCarthy, joined the program only after his older brother Ed left Cambridge to participate in A Better Chance (ABC; https://abetterchance.org), an educational opportunity program that he learned about by reading a flyer in the Science Day Camp office. When Ed left, Dennis remembered being offered to take his brother's place in the MIT program. The brothers, who went by their stepfather's last name Bergendahl during those years, also lived in the Washington Elms housing project. Dennis remembered his early involvement this way:

> And I remember being over the Neighborhood House, which is a settlement house across the street from the housing project, and once they gave me a test, and all of a sudden I was in demand. I must have taken about 30 or 40 aptitude tests, [and] a couple of IQ tests. I was always scoring really high, so they were always coming down there. Now, I mean, I had no problem with it. They'd give me a couple of bucks, a bag of candy. I was doing well. I was a 10- or 11-year-old, and they were going to give me all these things. And all I had to do is basically answer some questions. I do remember them. I took an awful lot of aptitude tests in my day, and I

was very young at the time, so they must have saw something in me that I just was never able to actually put to use, sadly. It might be how I ended up in the program [recruited through the Neighborhood House], is that they just kind of shuffled me along behind him [i.e., his brother Ed McCarthy]…. It's quite possible that's how I got shuffled into the [Upward Bound] program.

Dennis's older brother Ed remembered spending time at the Neighborhood House as well. He said,

> So, what happened was, in my recollection, was that at the Neighborhood House—I would go there often to play basketball. They had an outdoor basketball court, and I practically lived there because I didn't want to be in my house, I wanted to escape.… I was out playing basketball one day, and this lady who worked at the Neighborhood Center came out and asked me who I was because she didn't know everybody's name, and I told her and she said, "Well, they're starting this new program, and it's going to start this summer, and I was wondering if you'd be interested in joining." And I think I was probably one of the last kids because they had pretty much filled most of the spots, but I didn't know anything about it. And so, I said, "Yeah, I'd love to have something to do and meet some new kids that were sort of like me and not total monsters."

Alvin Riley, the student mentioned previously who remembered seeing Michael Efron in his brother's room when his father passed away, also remembered being recruited by Efron. He said,

> We were recruited by MIT students.… They'd just walked into projects, spot kids, and that's one thing about living in the projects as a child, you're never at loss for a

> playmate.… I think it was Mike Efron and they just came into projects and started asking kids about this, that, and the other thing, about school, and then they would tell us about the Science Day Camp and stuff like that. And we applied, and my brother went the year before—I'm not sure what it was called then. It may have been called the Science Camp at that time.

Riley also remembered the Neighborhood House and Tutoring Plus as well, recalling,

> And during my high school years, we really got into tutoring … [and] there was also the time too where Tutoring Plus was an organization as well, that we were a part of. We used to go to Tutoring Plus through the Neighborhood House, which is one of those Red Feather Societies. They used to have these settlement houses across—at least Massachusetts. But it was right across from the projects, and I say “projects” because there are two projects … Washington Elms and then there was Newtowne Court right next door to each other.

The settlement houses, such as Cambridge Neighborhood House, were important to the community as places where not only the children could safely play sports, watch movies, and attend events, but also the parents, particularly the mothers, could feel safe. In 1973, after nearly 100 years of service to the community, including everything from a day nursery and kindergarten, library, reading room, and classes ranging from sewing to woodworking and economics, the Neighborhood House burned as a result of arson and had to be torn down (Cambridge Women’s Commission, n.d.). While the programs and services eventually moved to another settlement house nearby, the loss of the Cambridge Neighborhood House, where the Tutoring Plus program was born and where the first students were selected to participate in the MIT Science Day Camp, was felt deeply by the community.

Figure 5

The Cambridge Neighborhood House Fire, 1973

Note. After the fire, the Cambridge Neighborhood House was demolished, and the activities of the organization were relocated to the Margaret Fuller House. Source: *Cambridge Historical Commission Survey File for 79 Moore Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

"I Doubt It"

In the Science Day Camp, the boys were split into groups of four to seven and assigned to an MIT undergraduate leader, who was tasked with developing a close relationship with each boy, his family, his school, and his neighborhood. In addition to the classes, there were labs and seminars with small-group learning activities, such as model building, electronics, go-cart building, chess, and history, that were responsive to the

students' interests and the group leaders' hobbies. Athletics, weekly field trips to places like Old Sturbridge Village, Franconia Notch, and Gloucester Harbor, and daily swimming were interspersed between the classes (Brodey, 1966b). In their newsletter, the boys wrote about some of the field trips, which often entailed driving somewhere outside the city, and how much fun it was to get lost while looking for a certain pond or other location that the group leader had in mind (MIT Science Day Camp, 1966c). The group leaders had a wide berth in choosing activities and taking responsibility for the boys, who described being picked up at their homes in one of the "beach-wagons" available to the leaders and dropped off at home whenever they were done. Student Ray Pina wrote about his group's field trip to Nantasket Beach in the student newsletter *I Doubt It*:

> Tuesday night [MIT undergraduate student group leader] Don Royse's group went to Nantasket Beach. When we got there the first thing we did was go on the Gongo Cruise. When we went on the ferrest [sic] wheel our stomachs were up-side-down. We were about to go on the roller coaster but the man in charge said that [Science Day Camp student] Steve Hogan was too small. So, we went in the Skee-Ball place. We played that for almost the rest of the night. [Science Day Camp student] Tom Crossman got his mother a knife. I got my mother glasses. While I was on a ride, I split my pants. Don bought us a snack on the way back. When we got back it was 12:05 A.M. We thanked Don and when we got home, we went right to bed. (MIT Science Day Camp, 1965,) p. 3)

Group leaders, deciding on their own not only to drive a group of middle school students to Nantasket Beach, but to bring them home after midnight, is evidence of the high level of trust that the parents placed in the program. It was also clear that a sense of community was forged

among the students, who chose to do something else together when one of their campmates was too small for the roller coaster, rather than making him wait alone for them to finish their ride.

Figure 6

Group Trip to Mount Monadnock, July 1965

Note. Left to right: student Ed McCarthy; student Tom Crossman; group leader Don Royce; student Ray Pina; student Steve Hogan. Source: Ed McCarthy.

Sometimes a "field trip" was just bringing the students back to the group leader's dorm room. Student Alvin Riley described why something so seemingly simple was meaningful to him:

> [Group leader] Bob Sheldon used to take us even on campus—sometimes we went to his room. He was grad student, so he was in Grad House…. It was just an experience that we would have never had living in projects and being poor and everything, you just would never see the inside of a dorm room and didn't know anybody who had in those days … and it was important.

Other times, group leaders brought their group to see something they were involved in as part of their own studies at MIT. Student Ed McCarthy recalled,

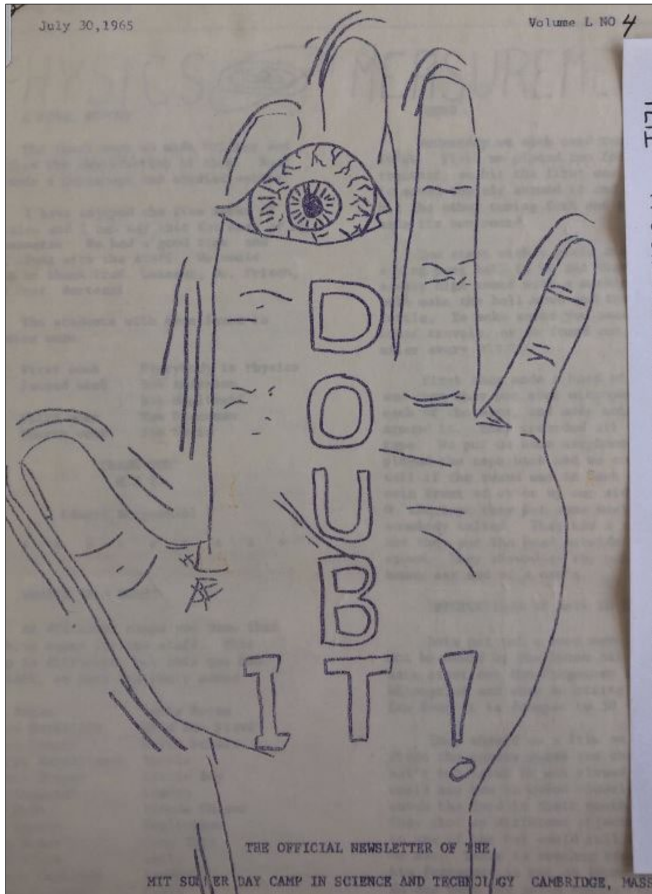
> The tutor then took me in, and he was a TA for Dr. Edgerton [electrical engineering professor], and he said, "Well, I'm going to take you in and show you some of the stuff." So, we went to his office in his work area, and they had a picture of a milk drop that was frozen in time, like a bullet going through a balloon, and these are all photographs that Dr. Edgerton had taken with a stroboscope, which he was famous for reinventing and make it into a more scientific tool which helped with photography. And I was really pretty interested in photography, so I found that really fascinating. And then he started talking about how he was a good friend of Jacques Cousteau and the two of them invented sonar. I was like, "Woah!" [chuckle] Yeah, it was amazing.

McCarthy said his mother would leave him to care for a younger sister with an intellectual disability, which meant he would "miss 30 or 40 days a year" of school and was "way behind in math and things like that." So, getting access to the program and tutoring allowed him to catch up academically. Beyond that, meeting the professors of his tutors and learning about their research sparked McCarthy's interest and led him to an eventual career as a high school science teacher, whose motto became, "Science is fun." He said, "And that's how I taught.

Everything was experiments. All we did was experiment, and I tried to lecture as little as possible. I want[ed] them to experience what I experienced."

Figure 7

Cover of the July 30, 1965, Issue of "I Doubt It," the MIT Science Day Camp Student Newsletter



Note. Source: MIT Science Day Camp. (1965).

Outside of the courses, students gave feedback on what they liked to do and might enjoy doing, taking the initiative to form a planning committee of their own and reporting back to the staff. "We have come up with some pretty good plans for extra enjoyment that should please everyone," said Richard Harding, one of the original 31 Cambridge boys, who

was editor of the student newsletter, *I Doubt It* (MIT Science Day Camp, 1966b, p. 4). It was clear that care was taken to create a learning environment that was relevant to the boys and included their interests and preferences. Involving them in the planning and encouraging feedback engaged them and gave them a sense of belonging to the extent that they formed a student-led planning committee in the second summer of the Science Day Camp and began taking responsibility for their own learning.

Since Science Day Camp faculty were chosen based on their interest in participating, not on any evidence of their experience or ability to teach middle school children, Michael Efron noted that the courses could be uneven academically and were not equally successful, in his opinion. He said,

> The Biology and the City Planning courses for the kids were wonderful and the other two were mediocre at best [chuckle]. I remember fighting with some families about keeping their kids in the program because the kids wanted to drop out. And me persuading the parents anyway, if not the kids, that they should keep going.

Efron added that part of what made the Science Day Camp so special, despite the uneven teaching in the classroom, was the community that was formed. He said,

> I have this image from Eugene Bell's [Biology] course that first summer…. He took the kids in a boat around the far side of Martha's Vineyard into this land at low tide, and we explored the biological life there…. And I remember us running back to the boat as the tide crept up to our ankles. [laughter] Yeah, those kids were very close to each other, and I felt very close to them.

Efron’s memory of the biology course field trip underscores an important aspect of the Science Day Camp and its curriculum: Not only could learning be fun, but having shared

experiences like these created a welcoming community and solidified the students' bonds with the program and with each other.

Secondary Type Thinking

The Cities course in particular stands out as an exemplar of a faculty member creating a course with a relevant curriculum that fully engaged the students and helped them to begin thinking critically about the city in which they lived. Professor Kevin Lynch was a nationally recognized urban planner who had published a well-known book called *The Image of the City* a few years before he developed the Cities course for the Science Day Camp. The book was the result of a 5-year study of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles on how observers take in information about a city and use it to make mental maps (Lynch, 1960); that book, along with his site-planning book are still used today to teach graduate urban planning and architecture students. As the chair of the Faculty Committee on Educational Opportunity, he put his money where his mouth was in volunteering to teach the Cambridge boys. In the Cities course, the boys "studied their own neighborhood, photographed it, saw it from an airplane, modeled it ideally, and tried to understand in what ways its people and institutions are responding to [a] current crisis" (Brodey, 1966b, p. 4). Student Ed McCarthy remembers getting on a plane for the first time during the Cities course. He said,

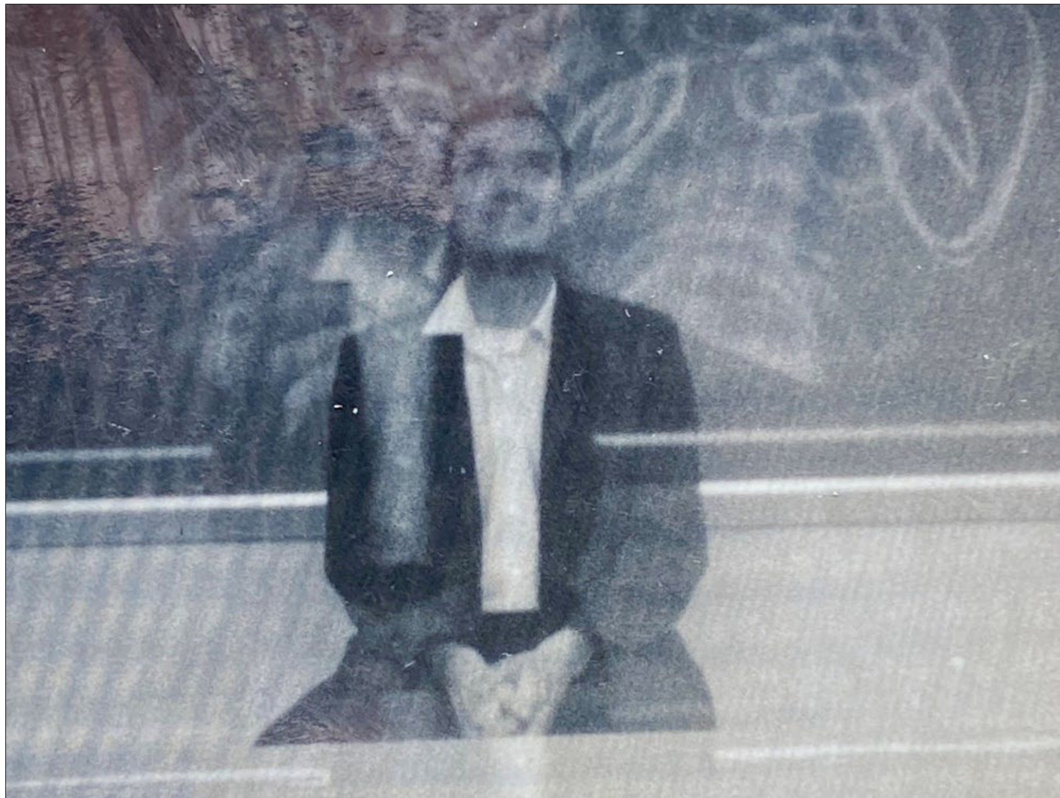
> We flew over Fenway Park. Yeah, I remember that [chuckle]. Yeah, we did. I don't remember what airport it was, but it was a little tiny plane, the first time I'd ever been in a plane, and it was amazing. And you got … an overview of everything and what the city was like, and you could fit in like, "Okay, that's Revere," because back then it was a big amusement park where the beach was there—Revere Beach—and then there was all amusement things that are all gone now, but you could actually see that

from the plane. Yeah, they took us on it, it wasn't a real big one, but I do remember flying over Fenway.

The Cities course gave the boys an expanded understanding of their environment and helped them place their lived experience into the broader context of the surrounding area. Having the opportunity to view it all while they flew in a plane for the first time showed them that they mattered and deserved to have learning experiences such as this one.

Figure 8

Professor Kevin Lynch, Teaching His Cities Course to Science Day Camp Students



Note. Source: Edward McCarthy.

The boys wrote about the Cities course in their newspaper, in particular a scavenger hunt through Cambridge and Boston in which teams competed for points that would lead to small prizes such as a flashlight. They had to draw a neighborhood map of their part of the city, memorize as many as they could of 40 objects, and study the city by taking photographs and later naming them. Professor Lynch even had to be called in to make a final decision on whether one of the groups earned a half or full point for one of the tasks, with the boys eager to have him break a tie (MIT Science Day Camp, 1966c). Student Ed McCarthy recalled,

> One of the things that we did [in the Cities course] … was a scavenger hunt throughout the city…. There were all these objects on tables, and they were from the community … and then we were supposed to go out in the community and find those objects. It was a lot of secondary type thinking. You had to figure out, "Okay, alright, this is a boat oar, so where would boats be?" First, we had to figure out what the thing was, and some of the stuff we didn't really know, so we didn't have the kind of experience that told us what it was. But a boat oar, we kind of figured that one out. But I do remember—and the competition was that whoever came back first with all the objects won, they got a prize or something.

Here again, Professor Lynch built the curriculum in a way that required the boys to not only engage in what McCarthy deemed “secondary type thinking,” but also pushed them to think critically about their surroundings and gave them tools to expand their understanding and perspectives on their place in the city. The Cities course exemplifies how the involvement of MIT faculty in developing and overseeing the curriculum in the early years of the Science Day Camp contributed to engaging and motivating students.

Figure 9

Science Day Camp Cities Course Final Projects, July 1966

Note. Source: Kevin Lynch papers, MC 208, series 2, box 2, MIT Science Day Camp. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT Libraries.

Evaluation of the Science Day Camp in those early years was essential to future planning and to retaining and expanding institutional and federal funding support. While some of the undergraduate group leaders and faculty wished they had more time for planning and orientation to the program, rather than being "plunged into the experience," their evaluation reports were "warm, intimate, and reflect a comprehension of the boys and their families and a sense of having learned," which was taken as a suggestion that the summer did provide a rich and meaningful experience for the students (Brodey, 1966b, p. 5).

It Gave Us a New Community

During the first years of the Science Day Camp, the boys described a feeling of belonging at MIT and learning and finding mentors that extended well beyond the program. Some of the boys from 1965 and 1966 camps recalled finding a new community at MIT and

on campus that took them out of the housing projects where they lived and kept them occupied and out of trouble. Tom Hutchins, like many of the first participants, joined the program after graduating from Roberts Grammar School, which was near the Cambridge Neighborhood House and adjacent to his residence at the Washington Elms housing project. Tom had a self-described difficult home life, and he remembered lashing out a few times at one of this eighth-grade teachers, who finally sat him down and said, "Hey, look, Tom, you can fight me all you want but where's that going to get you? I'm here to help you, I'm not here to make your life miserable." Hutchins said that the teacher made the class wear ties to school every day, and if they forgot, he had a drawerful, and "he would give you this huge, huge, huge white tie, and everybody knew that if you had the white tie on, you didn't bring one to school." Hutchins was fairly certain this particular teacher recommended him and some others for the Science Day Camp, and he remembered the teacher saying, "This will be great for you, Tom, you know, give you something to do." Hutchins remembered,

> I never was in trouble, thank God, but growing up in a housing project, you can get in trouble if you want to. I think MIT Upward Bound saved me that way, in a sense that it gave me something else to do, and I wasn't looking for something to do, so to speak.

Hutchins found community on MIT's campus and saw it as a safe place to spend time away from his difficult home life. He felt accepted to the extent that he thought of himself as an MIT student. He said, "We were accepted just like we were students, only… we carried an ID around in case somebody asked us who we were and stuff like that." He talked about interacting with professors whom he considered mentors,

> Those two guys [i.e., Professor Alan Lazarus and Professor Harold Edgerton] stick out in my mind as people that I looked up to that I thought were really good people…. One of the things that MIT Upward Bound did give us was it gave us a new community. We actually became part of the MIT community and interacted with students, professors. We ate lunch in the cafeteria, we went swimming in the swimming pool. There's a group of us that actually hung out at MIT afterwards because I lived walking distance, five minutes to MIT.

Hutchins developed strong ties at MIT, well beyond the community within the Science Day Camp, and felt like he belonged enough to take every opportunity he saw to make connections and get involved. He said, "I took full advantage of it, and I met a lot of people, and actually a lot of people that helped me out through my life that probably kept me out of trouble." Hutchins and some of the others in the program also learned how to sail, which for him became a lifelong interest. He stayed connected throughout the years and said that the sailing coaches, who had no affiliation with the Science Day Camp, helped him during that time and later in his life as well. He not only talked about the coaches but about developing relationships with their families and with MIT students and faculty who sailed regularly. The MIT Sailor Master and his wife Helen were examples of those who stepped up as role models and mentors to Hutchins at a time when his own family fell short of that responsibility. He noted,

> Well, I can give you an instance about Jerry [the MIT Sailor Master]. Jerry had a wife, her name was Helen. They lived down in Quincy, and they lost a son to polio years ago, and his wife, Helen, every time she'd come to the boathouse she'd bring me stuff and she'd kind of taken a liking to me, and actually, when she thought I was not

> being a good person, she would call my mother and tell my mother, "Hey, you need to talk to your son." And Jerry, he would tell me the way things were. He would tell me, "Hey, look … you don't quit." I can remember him saying that to me. "You don't give up. You keep trying. If you get it wrong, you try it again." But those people had an influence on my life…. So, it became like a whole new community that I was able to embrace, and I could do just about anything I wanted to do over there.

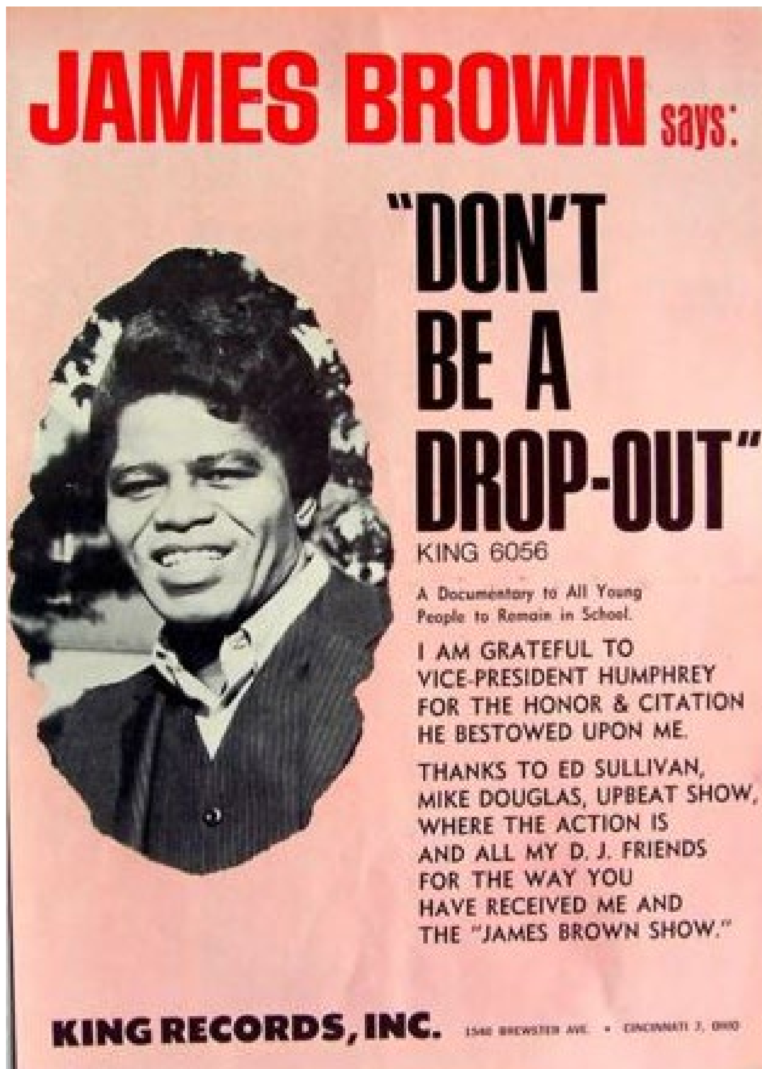
Many of the students who were part of the original group talked about feeling like they were part of MIT in a similar way to what Hutchins described—like they were MIT students and part of the community. Dennis McCarthy, the student who took over his brother Ed's spot when Ed left for another program, said, "I spent so much time at MIT I should have gotten a degree. God. I was over there all the time." It was a strong testament to the sense of belonging created by the MIT undergraduate student group leaders and faculty running the program that these seventh- and eighth-grade boys who lived predominantly in public housing in a low-income neighborhood of Cambridge felt welcomed on an elite college campus like MIT. The boys not only engaged in the Science Day Camp, but also perceived themselves as participating in campus life beyond the boundaries of the program. Like the overwhelming majority of students, faculty, and staff at MIT in the mid-1960s, Tom Hutchins and the McCarthy brothers were white, which may have contributed to their feeling a sense of belonging and as if they fit in on campus to the extent that they might be mistaken for MIT students. In fact, Hutchins was comfortable enough to sneak into buildings on campus and leave windows unlocked so he and his friends could get into events without paying. He described feeling welcome on campus:

> Well, the best I can describe it as, when I was a kid, younger before I went to Upward Bound and I went to MIT, we would sneak in. When I was growing up, James Brown played at the Armory, which is on Mass Ave, which is part of MIT. And I knew ways of getting in places without a key—in a bathroom window—and so I'm over at the Armory … with Gary Mello [another Science Day Camp student] … and go by the bathroom window, and of course, that day I [had] unlocked it [chuckle]. And we opened the window, and I jumped in the bathroom with Gary, and guess who's in the bathroom but James Brown [laughter]. And we stood right in front of him. He was doing his hair in front of the mirror, and at that time he was doing a song about, "Don't drop out of high school," or something like that. And he started talking to us like, "Hey kids, what are you doing here? And you shouldn't do things like that, and you know my new song?" And he said, "You don't want to do that, you don't want to drop out of high school. You need to get an education." I remember that so well. And he said, "I'll tell you what I'll do." He said, "Here's a couple of tickets you guys can stand and watch." So, we did.

It turns out that Hutchins and Mello stumbled into James Brown's November 12, 1966, concert at MIT just weeks after "Don't Be a Dropout" was released in October, and that show was his first performance of the song (Setlist.fm, n.d.). Though his memory of the timing was slightly off (both students were part of the Science Day Camp in the fall of 1966), the feeling of being welcome and comfortable enough on campus that sneaking in was no longer required is what matters.

Figure 10

James Brown's Acknowledgement of His Vice Presidential Citation, 1966



Note. James Brown met with and received a citation from Vice President Hubert Humphrey for his 1966 hit, "Don't Be a Drop-Out," which promoted a national stay-in-school initiative. Source: DJ D-Mac and Associates.

Even the president of MIT made the Science Day Camp students feel welcome and understood that they were still children deserving of the opportunity they were being given, despite them not always being on their best behavior. Steve Ferguson, a student who attended the Blessed Sacrament School near Central Square, described himself as having a difficult

upbringing. He said, “Yeah, I had a lot of anger issues the way I grew up. [Having teachers and coaches who were mentors, and Upward Bound] stopped me, when I said it kept the lid on from exploding because so many of my friends were like really angry.” When he joined the program and started spending time on the MIT campus, he remembered his first encounter with President Howard Johnson, who coincidently had the same name as Howard Johnson’s, a popular restaurant chain that was easily identified by its orange roof. Ferguson said,

> The other thing that I always remember is meeting Howard Johnson, the president—he was pretty funny as well. We used to cap him on his name and say, ‘Where is your orange roof? How come you don't have orange hair?’ And stuff like that. But he was really funny. He would drop in every once in a while. And I remember the first time I ran into him. It wasn't a good thing. I was running down the hall, and they used to have the safety showers up in the hallways, and it was a showerhead with the round ring. And I was running down there, pulling them, and setting off the showers. And I ran into him the first time. And he looked at me and he goes, “You must be one of the science kids.” And I go, “How'd you know?” “Because” [chuckle]. He says, “My [MIT] students wouldn't be doing that” [chuckle]. So he walked me over to the office with building 20C 006 [the Upward Bound Office]. And walked me and he goes, “This one of your kids?” He goes, “Give him a bar of soap, because he was looking to take a shower” [laughter]. Yeah, Mr. Howard Johnson. I'll always remember his name.

Not everyone felt completely welcome, however, even when they were on campus for program activities. Student Alvin Riley, who would have stood out more on campus as a

Black boy in a predominantly white space, particularly given the social and political context during the civil rights movement, described it this way:

> Part of [not feeling welcome] is because this best friend and I, and this white kid … we learned the campus so well that we hung out on campus. They used to show movies on Friday night, first rate movies for 50 cents, so we would go to the movies and stuff like that…. There were times that even when we were on there for Upward Bound [campus police] recognized us, at least the three of us, they recognized [us] because we were on campus when Upward Bound was even closed. And so, we were there, and that's how people viewed you…. It played an intimate role in my life and, as a child growing up … once I remember, MIT has its own bank, and at one time the bank was downstairs, and so the [Science Day Camp] group leader took us downstairs. And they had all this money, hundreds [of] thousands of dollars. They let us put our hands through the window, just to touch it, just to touch it. And I was like—I had never seen that kind of money all in one place. But for the most part, people felt like we shouldn't be there, and so when we were on campus, even if we were just walking through from the Infinite Corridor [the main hallway at MIT that connects many campus buildings], the campus police would stop anybody that looked really young, not college age, they would stop us.

While Riley did not feel completely comfortable on the MIT campus at large and felt that there were those, especially the campus police, who perceived him and his friends as not being there legitimately, he had a very strong sense of belonging in the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound, noting that he was known as "Mr. Upward Bound" by his friends and that he spent so much time in the Upward Bound office on the edge of campus that if his

mother ever wondered where he was, she would just say, “call Upward Bound.” For him, the office was a sanctuary and safe space within a not-so-welcoming institution.

Community in the Early Years

The first years of Upward Bound at MIT, with its genesis in the Science Day Camp and a strong dose of Tutoring Plus, can be characterized by a deep connection to the neighborhood surrounding the campus. With the early students recruited mostly through Elsa Baldwin of the Neighborhood House in Cambridge or by MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron, who would wander around the two adjacent federal WPA-era housing projects, Washington Elms and Newtowne Court, talking to young people and inviting participation, this was a grassroots effort to help the boys of Area Four, a low-income neighborhood in Cambridge adjacent to campus. The Science Day Camp was set up from the start with a strong parent committee based on Elsa Baldwin’s philosophy of including them in every program run out of the Neighborhood House. Once MIT started receiving federal funding under the Upward Bound program in 1966, the institution acknowledged the need to include parents to meet the community action spirit of the Office of Economic Opportunity’s guidelines; and by that time, parental involvement was already in place as a foundational element of the program. In addition to the significant involvement of undergraduate students hired as counselors in the program, those first 2 years were marked by substantial faculty involvement, with a curriculum that was completely developed by faculty and taught with the assistance of the counselors. The “community” that began to emerge at that time consisted of the boys, their families, their neighbors and the Neighborhood House, the MIT undergraduate counselors, the Science Day Camp faculty, and other campus students, faculty, and staff. While each of the boys experienced the program and how they fit into it differently, they

were welcomed and given the opportunity to engage with the campus in ways that were rich and meaningful in their lives. The boys considered themselves the “original” Science Day Camp kids and took that as a point of pride as Upward Bound grew and developed.

Transitional Years

Learning Should Be Combined With Fun

In the first two summers of the Science Day Camp in 1965 and 1966 (with 1966 being the first summer when the program received federal funding under the Upward Bound grant), the camp was led by MIT undergraduate students, with strong faculty committee oversight, and a faculty-designed curriculum that focused on motivating and engaging the boys in learning by demonstrating to them that “learning should be combined with fun” (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a, p. 2). Although the Science Day Camp was generally considered by the faculty committee and MIT administration to be successful, questions began to emerge about how to best sustain and grow the program. One substantive issue was whether the faculty, volunteering their time for a couple of weeks at a time, could really help the boys improve their academic skills, in addition to motivating them to continue their education beyond high school. Professor Eugene Bell, who had been teaching biology in the Science Day Camp and part of the initial faculty committee, suggested that while the “faculty are more experienced and deserve preference” in how the Science Day Camp was run, “course content is the biggest problem. It is easy to interest the children, but to interest them in what they need help in is a problem” (Gustavson, 1965, p. 2). As various models were debated on campus, Warren Brodey, was brought on as the first MIT faculty director of Upward Bound, which still carried the Science Day Camp name through 1967. Brodey submitted several reports that outlined the reasons why the program should move from a

volunteer faculty model, in which the faculty developed and delivered mini-courses for 2 weeks based on their own research and interests, to a project-based year and summer focused on dividing the students into teams based on their interests. The idea was to help the students take more ownership of their learning and do their own goalsetting for the program. This is the model that was put into place for the summer of 1967, which can be considered a liminal year for the program as the Science Day Camp began to move away from the MIT student- and faculty-driven model, which was specific to MIT and institutionally focused, toward one that was more aligned with the ways that Upward Bound was developing nationally.

In addition to the Saturday sessions that made up the school-year portion of the program, a "Better Grades Study Hall" began meeting regularly beginning in January 1967, using classroom space at the Roberts School, a neighborhood school that many of the boys attended for their elementary and middle school years. The study hall was designed to assist the boys in improving their grades and met once a week to offer "remedial" classes in French, English, and Algebra. This effort seems to have been largely organized by parents, who took the lead on recruiting volunteer teacher teams from among MIT professors' and graduate students' wives and coordinated by "a very able community aide (a parent from the community who works 15 hours per week)" (Brodey, 1967a, p. 4). While attendance was voluntary and small, it seemed that the students with the most school difficulty were not the ones attending. Dr. Brodey, who was a psychiatrist by trade and who thought a lot about motivation, learning, opportunity, and intelligence, observed that their schoolwork was "habitually memorized; [the] time and effort put into getting a small amount of work done is surprising." He recognized that outside the classroom, the boys were "better thinkers" (Brodey, 1967a, p. 4) and made sure that attendance in the study hall was not a condition of

enrollment in the Science Day Camp. Although he dedicated his life to scientific pursuits, he believed deeply in favoring an "aspect of love instead of precision" and noted that "precision can be loving too—but it's often not." The difference was very important in his mind. The recognition that the boys were motivated to learn in different ways and that there were many opportunities to learn outside the classroom was important, and removing barriers to participation, such as not making study hall attendance mandatory, indicates that the program valued the boys as individuals with different interests, learning styles, and needs.

Figure 11

The Roberts School, April 1967

Note. Source: Tom Hutchins.

About half the boys were also receiving tutoring in their homes through the Contracts to Encourage the Full Utilization of Educational Talent (CEFUET) program of Cambridge neighborhood Area Four. CEFUET was a federal plan, which had a connection to Tutoring Plus (MIT Office of Public Relations. (1966b). The tutors were largely volunteer MIT students, and they not only helped with schoolwork, but also were available to each family and boy regarding their interests. The tutoring was supervised by a staff community coordinator, who was described as taking a major interest in the work. While he was not mentioned by name, it is likely that this staff person was Michael Efron, the MIT student who created Tutoring Plus with Elsa Baldwin of the Cambridge Neighborhood House in January 1964, and who was co-student director of the Science Day Camp (Brodey, 1967a). Student Dennis McCarthy, who remembered being invited to replace his older brother Ed McCarthy in Upward Bound when Ed left to attend the A Better Chance (ABC) Program, said of the tutoring he received,

> Over at MIT, they had several other programs for us, and one of them was—it was kind of like a big brother thing, and I had a few of these guys come over [to his home]. They were tutors, students that would help me out with schoolwork and stuff, and they'd act like a big brother. I had one teaching me to ride a motorcycle, I had another one teaching me to play guitar.

Having the opportunity to receive tutoring from various, often overlapping and community-focused sources was important given that the public schools were not known for giving students individualized attention at that time. Possibly more important was the focus on the "big brother" aspect of the programs, centered on students' and their families' interests, rather than narrowly focusing on academics. For a student like Dennis McCarthy, who was

left in a self-described difficult family situation when his older brother Ed left home to participate in the ABC program, having a tutor who played a big brother role was key.

A Ripple Effect in the Community

Dr. Brodey indicated that there was an increasing closeness with the families of the boys during this time because of the community aides mentioned earlier, as well as the MIT undergraduate group leaders and other staff (Brodey, 1967a). In addition to the community connections being strengthened through the aides and the use of the Roberts School for tutoring, he also remembered a strong relationship with families that was forged through the parents' group:

> We had a community branch that we worked on. And we had the parents' group. And the parents' group was very important because we felt that if we didn't help the parents' division—and kids as special kids, that there wouldn't be as much change as necessary. And so, we really did have a parents' group which was very important. Some parents didn't have any idea of what it all was about until we tried to teach them. And then we realized that some of them really were—didn't honor what we're doing—but mostly they did. And there were particular parents who didn't really like it at all—the interfering, but that was not the usual thing.

Parental involvement was an important throughline in the development of the Science Day Camp, Upward Bound, Tutoring Plus, and other MIT tutoring programs, and there was often overlap among the parents who were involved in various committees for programs in which their children were involved. This helped create a network of understanding and support for the programs in the neighborhood. When Brodey pointed to parents' involvement as being instrumental in promoting "as much change as necessary," he invoked one of the original

goals of the Upward Bound program, which was to create a “ripple effect” in the community (OEO, n.d.). The first national director for Upward Bound, Richard T. Frost, said, "I don't know what the ripple effect will be of injecting this kind of youngster into higher education, but in my judgment it's likely to be substantial” (OEO, n.d.), and the first national brochure went on to suggest that students who participated in the program would bring back what they learned to their friends, families, and high school classrooms, and would “make these students leaders for change in their communities” (OEO, n.d.). Parental and neighborhood involvement in the Science Day Camp indicated the strong support the boys had to become the “leaders for change” that would have a “ripple effect” on their community (OEO, n.d.)

Plans for the summer program in 1967 continued to evolve into a project-based model, with group leaders serving as “project leaders” and boys choosing their area of interest in biology, cities, planning, drama, electronics, photography, astronomy, auto rebuilding, and rocketry. The faculty seemed to have been relegated to more of a consultant role, with two being assigned to each project leader. Projects were to be developed cooperatively by the leaders and the boys, and the budget, including stipends for the students, was divided up for supplies and transportation based on the project and what they produced. This again seems to have been an attempt to have the boys take more ownership of their learning and to teach them what goes into planning, organizing, and moving a project forward.

Brodey ended his May 1967 Science Day Camp report by noting that the Cambridge Public Schools were beginning to show increasing interest in the program and that there was even a proposal from the schools to start an Advancement School, serving some of the same children enrolled in the Science Day Camp and others like them (Brodey, 1967a). While

there were no details in the report about what an "advancement" school would entail or even what was meant by "increasing interest in the program," the mention of interest in what MIT was doing from the public schools that enrolled the majority of the Science Day Camp students was an important development.

They Are Capable of Passing

Around the same time, MIT Faculty Director Warren Brodey brought in Roger Lehecka, an Office of Education Title I consultant, to evaluate the Science Day Camp and to record and systematize new materials and teaching methods being developed at the camp (Brodey, 1967b). Lehecka was a student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and was uniquely qualified to review the MIT program given that he was instrumental in launching the Upward Bound program at Columbia University a couple years earlier, during his undergraduate years there. After reviewing 3,000 pages of notes and conducting 40 hours of taped interviews with 35 MIT professors who taught in the program and many Science Day Camp students and parents, he concluded that little demonstrable progress had been made with the original model toward helping the boys reach their goal of going to college (Brodey, 1967b). A key finding of Lehecka's work was that the Science Day Camp lacked focus, with some seeing it as a program to excite children about learning, others as a college prep program, others as part of the civil rights movement, and still others as a purely personal experience—and that there was a pressing need for a definition of purpose (Lehecka, 1968). He went on to say that he was not just theorizing, that these decisions strongly affected the children in the camp:

> A kid can be told he is capable of going to college and that is why he was chosen for the camp. If he begins to believe this, it is the obligation of the program staff to work

> with him towards this—not towards "richer personal experience," nor political activism, nor a dislike of school if these prevent his achievement of what has been promised. While priorities seem to restrict one's activities, they actually liberate them from confusion. (Lehecka, 1968, p. 6).

Lehecka recommended that the Science Day Camp align fully with the national Upward Bound focus and that this should be the understanding of everyone involved. This meant that it was essential to help the children do better in school and build the academic skills required to get better grades, which would in turn help them get into college (Lehecka, 1968). While motivating students to go to college is part of Upward Bound's philosophy, it was a false distinction to separate that from teaching basic subject matter. In fact, Lehecka (1968) said, "Making this distinction ignores the fact that for a kid who has been failing in school the most motivating thing imaginable might be for him to see that he is capable of passing" (p. 9). The report indicated that the needs of the kids must be centra—"not the interests of the MIT professors, not the interests of the group leaders, not the whims of the kids" (p. 9). He suggested that it was possible to have a Science Day Camp curriculum that was interesting to the students while also helping them in high school and college; and to develop it, collaboration between MIT faculty who had taught in the camp, the undergraduate group leaders, and high school teachers was necessary (Lehecka, 1968). The report points to the fact that Upward Bound could not operate successfully in a vacuum, with the MIT faculty being the sole arbiters of the curriculum, and that the involvement of the Cambridge Public Schools and high school teachers would be essential in moving the program forward. Recruiting teachers from the local high schools to teach in Upward Bound was another idea that the Office of Economic Opportunity put forth as contributing to the "ripple effect" in the

community. OEO posited that teachers would come back to their high school classrooms reenergized by the innovative teaching and curriculum in Upward Bound and that their enthusiasm would spread to other students and teachers in their schools. As one Upward Bound teacher commented in the first national brochure, "Watching them switch on their potential is one of the most exciting things that I've seen in my teaching career—I will never return to the rote, stereotyped method of teaching again" (OEO, n.d.).

At the end of the summer, both the boys and undergraduate group leaders were asked for their appraisal and suggestions. The boys were clear that while they wanted the professors back, they wanted to use the subject material given to them in the Cambridge schools, and they wanted help getting better grades. Parents were also consulted at parent meetings, at outings, and at the closing exercises, and agreed with their children on the importance of working with the boys on their day-to-day Cambridge school material (Brodey, 1967b). Brodey, upon learning that Upward Bound is still going strong at MIT, almost 60 years after he directed the program, said,

> That's very beautiful to hear. I feel so old, almost 100. I'm 98 [he turned 100 in January 2024]. And so, you have a funny memory at 98, you don't remember a lot of details, but you do remember a lot of the feelings and sort of the feeling of wonderment that you had the opportunity to touch base with these kids who were meant to be intellectually and socially advanced. And so that I remember very well.

The outside evaluation was key in settling some of the questions surrounding the Science Day Camp and how to best develop MIT’s program. Lehecka spent the time conducting 40 hours of interviews not only with faculty, but with the students and their parents as well, which is evidence of a balanced approach that paid serious attention to the community-based

aspect of the program. The work done at that time was foundational in building a strong program that could stand the test of time.

Will the Upward Bound Program Be for Real This Summer?

With the Title I evaluation (Lehecka, 1968) in hand, along with clear evidence that the Science Day Camp model of bringing MIT faculty in for a week at a time lacked the cohesion and focus necessary to help students build basic skills—and in light of the failure of the summer of 1967 project-based Science Day Camp to achieve its goal of motivating the boys to take responsibility for their own education—MIT brought on a new program director in March 1968, Louis Menand, III. Operationalizing the recommendations of the Title I evaluation (Lehecka, 1968) was a big undertaking, one that would signify the end of the Science Day Camp at MIT and recognition of the program moving forward as Upward Bound in 1968. Dr. Menand came to MIT at just the right time to put in motion this shift toward the national model and was uniquely qualified in that he was arriving at the institution after a 2-year stint working as a consultant on Upward Bound for Educational Associates, Inc., in Washington, DC (Menand, n.d.). This meant that he was a regional director of sorts who traveled extensively to visit and evaluate various Upward Bound projects across the area and therefore had a solid understanding of the range of possibilities that might get the MIT program on track toward meeting both the OEO's and MIT's goals. He was hired by and reported to a new iteration of the faculty committee in an administrative appointment, with the plan that he would take some time to get Upward Bound organized and up and running throughout the spring and summer and then "be brought into other MIT activities related to community and campus affairs with the view that some of these areas might develop into concrete assignments for [him] by next fall" (Fein, 1968, p. 1). Menand, who had a doctorate

from the Maxwell School of Public Administration at Syracuse University, was politically connected and well suited for the role and became a celebrated and beloved figure at MIT. He transitioned to a full-time assistant to the provost a year after joining MIT as director of Upward Bound and went on to serve three consecutive administrations in senior leadership positions, starting with President Howard Johnson's administration, while Jerome Weisner was still the provost, and continuing when Weisner moved into the president's role, and beyond (Wright, 2008).

Figure 12

Louis Menand, III

Note. Source: Wright, S. (2008, February 5). *Louis Menand III, political scientist and former key administrator, 85*. MIT News. https://news.mit.edu/2008/obit-menand-0205

While Menand did not waste time getting acquainted with MIT faculty, administration, and the Science Day Camp students and staff since he had only a few short months to get the summer program up and running in mid-July, he found that “the boys have been reluctant to sign up for this summer without a fuller understanding of what the program will entail and for this I don’t blame them” (Menand, 1968a, p. 1). He wrote monthly reports on his activities and preparations, which began with two group meetings with the 75 boys who were involved in the camp at that time, as well as many individual meetings with them. He noted in his first report that “all seem interested to know that this Upward Bound program this summer will be for real” (Menand, 1968a, p. 1). This was most likely a reference to the liminal nature of the previous 1967 summer, when the program shifted to a project-based model and when things felt up in the air and unsettled. He felt that the boys made important suggestions and appreciated the opportunity to weigh in, given his understanding that there had not been group meetings in a long time. He wrote, “I will not dwell at all on the background of the present status of the Camp for that would serve no useful purpose. My thinking and that of the undergraduates and of the boys is on the future,” before turning to reporting on a list of the subjects that were the focus of his first month (Menand, 1968a, p. 1).

Frog Eyesight and Hallway Deals

Some of the more important pieces of the fledgling program that Menand picked up included a work-study “apprentice program,” the parents committee, and the need to create MIT faculty and advisory committees on Upward Bound, develop relationships with the Cambridge Public Schools, hire prospective teachers for the summer program, and put together the details of the 1968 summer (Menand, 1968a). According to early participants’ memories, the apprentice program was started as early as 1965, during the first summer of

the Science Day Camp (which did not receive OEO funding until 1966). Student Ed McCarthy recalled,

> Another thing that they did, which was really important, I don't think it happened until the end of '65 maybe, is that they helped us find jobs on campus, and a lot of them were like little part-time jobs. I worked for this professor … and he would give me a list of little cards, like postcard-type things, and they were already filled out, and what I had to do was to go through these science manuals and look up articles that were on frog eyesight. And this guy was like a leading professor for frog eyesight. Jerry something [i.e., Professor Jerome Lettvin]. We didn't have a lot of contact, but he did show me some things that were amazing, like he had these little electrodes stuck in the brain of the frog—and the frog was still alive of course—and he would put things in front of the frog, and he would then get an oscilloscope or something and see how the frog's brain responded. And I know that guy was actually pretty famous too.

Figure 13

Jerome Lettvin, Professor of Electrical and Bioengineering and Communications Physiology

Note. Source: Finn, E. (2011, April 29). *Jerome Lettvin, MIT professor emeritus, dies at 91: Dynamic cognitive scientist made key contributions to neurophysiology and vision science*. MIT News. https://news.mit.edu/2011/obit-lettvin-0429

McCarthy went on to talk about his part-time job working with MIT faculty by evoking "the Barracks," or Building 20 on Vassar Street at MIT where the Science Day Camp and later Upward Bound was housed at the edge of campus, and how supported he felt in that space:

> I don't know if every kid had this kind of experience [of getting part-time jobs working for MIT faculty], but it could have been somebody in charge that knew that I wanted to work and I needed money and so forth. I don't know how that all happened,

> but it all happened together, you know what I'm saying? Yeah. So obviously, somebody—I think a lot of it is connected to that little room [i.e., the Upward Bound office], that center that we had, and whoever was running that.

McCarthy's view that these seemingly disparate opportunities were connected to the little room in the Barracks was echoed by many participants who felt like they were always welcome in the Upward Bound office and that their individual needs were een and addressed with care.

A couple months after Menand arrived at MIT, he began looking for ways to support the apprentice program in an official way, and he secured a grant of $800 from the provost to pay the boys for their jobs. By that time, details had been worked out to make sure that the program met both federal and MIT work and safety requirements, and a handful of boys who were 16 or older had been placed and were deep into their lab experiences. It is unclear how boys who held jobs before this timeframe were placed, but it seems likely that those placements were the result of "hallway deals" between MIT faculty and Science Day Camp staff or group leaders, according to Poppy Milner, who was later hired as the college counselor in the program. In a memorandum to Professor Robert Mann requesting additional funding to pay for the apprenticeship program, Menand wrote,

> This development is one of the more interesting spinoffs of an Upward Bound program, and I know nothing like it in any of the 275 projects across the nation. It provides MIT with an opportunity of maximizing its efforts with the Upward Bound students, and it provides the boys with invaluable experience and learning abilities. Our retention rate among the boys placed is high. (Menand, 1968d, p. 1)

He continued by noting specific students and their accomplishments. He said of Sam Lau, "Sam's experience with computer operation has had a marked effect on his future plans and his self-estimation…. He is beginning to learn programming" (Menand, 1968d, p. 2). Of Eddie Chambers, who was working in an oceanography lab, he said, "Ed is in his sixth week with the lab and his supervisors have been delighted with him. He is a very bright boy who is in a business track in school. I am hoping that this experience will help him to set his goals higher, to college" (Menand, 1968d, p. 2). Dave Delano and Steve Donohoe were placed in a wind-tunnel lab, and Menand reported, "Dave and Steve have been learning a tremendous amount of applied math that has pushed their math knowledge on through Algebra II and toward calculus. They have picked up a lot of basic physics. It has been, so far, a fine experience for both youngsters" (Menand, 1968d, p. 2). Not only did the apprentice program give students valuable skills and access to MIT faculty and researchers, but it was another way that their experience was expanded beyond the boundaries of the Upward Bound program. By working to institutionalize the apprentice program, which by his own admission was unlike anything he had seen in the 275 Upward Bound programs across the country, Menand demonstrated that he understood the value of local context and that programs could be unique based on what worked for the institution and community while remaining aligned with the Office of Economic Opportunity's national model.

"A Space to Grow"

In the late spring and early summer, Menand turned his attention and focus to preparing for the 1968 summer program. He spent his time making staff appointments, meeting with the teaching teams, and making final arrangements for the program opening slated for July 1 (Menand, 1968b). Planning teams, which included MIT faculty,

undergraduate students, recent graduates, high school teachers, and staff, met to work on curriculum and course planning and to gather materials for use during the summer. An athletics program was put together and meals for the students arranged (Menand, 1968b).

Menand reported that a big focus of activity during that timeframe centered on interviewing staff and making summer appointments. Two MIT faculty members and two Cambridge and two Newton high school teachers were hired. The group leaders as well as a head group leader with experience from the previous summer were chosen, and a teacher from the community Student Art Center was engaged to conduct an art workshop (Menand, 1968b). He indicated that attempts to hire staff that were representative of the student population being served was "disappointing." He wrote,

> The Science Camp in 1967 had only one Negro staff member in an enrollment 45% Negro. So far, three Negroes have been appointed. It is hoped that at least two more undergraduate Negroes will be found and one of the science teachers still to be appointed. In pursuit of [B]lack staff applicants, I have been in touch with members of the MIT community, the MIT Black Student Union, the Cambridge Schools, colleagues in Roxbury, the Institute for Services to Education …, and with the Southern Educational Program. (Menand, 1968b, p. 2)

Despite Menand's significant efforts, increasing the size of the staff that was representative of the boys in the program was no easy task given the limited number of Black teachers in the high schools during that timeframe. It is important to note, however, that as the Upward Bound program grew and developed, diversifying the staff remained an important goal, both to foster a sense of belonging and to ensure that students could see themselves reflected in the curriculum and teaching styles. Hiring a teacher from the Student Art Center was another

example of Menand's care in understanding and engaging the community. The center, which still exists today, was founded by a group of parents in 1937 and had its first home in the basement of the WPA-era federal housing project, Newtowne Court (Community Art Center, n.d.). The Student Art Center has long served the children of both Newtowne Court and Washington Elms, where many of the Upward Bound students lived.

Menand spent some time thinking about and reporting on the boys who would be part of the program, now in its fourth summer. He noted that of the 75 boys on the rolls over the winter, 65 intended to participate, which to him had both positive and negative connotations. On the positive side, it was clear that the program had a very high retention rate, but consequently, that meant that there was little opportunity for recruitment of new students. At the time of his report, there were 30 applications for 10 open slots, and they were still hoping to expand the pool from which their final selections would be made. While both Black and white students participated in the Science Day Camp, there was no evidence that an attempt was made in the first few years to balance the program racially, and as noted previously by Michael Efron, they did not even ask students their family income to determine if they met the federal criteria related to poverty measures. Menand, however, began thinking about how to recruit more Black students to the program. He wrote, "One problem is in the graduate levels and in the number of Negroes. We are attempting to expand the number of Negroes in the program and are in touch with social agencies and others who can be of assistance" (Menand, 1968b, p. 2). He went on to specifically name two Black students who would not be in attendance during the summer of 1968, albeit for good reasons. He said,

> Oswald Martin has been selected to attend the Yale Summer High School special program for Upward Bound boys. He was recommended for this by the Project. Alvin

> Graham has been selected by ABC [i.e., A Better Chance] to attend Dartmouth [College] this summer and then go to Kimball Union Academy in New Hampshire as a full scholarship student for the next two years. (Menand, 1968b, p. 2)

In the same way that Menand worked to expand the number of Black teachers and staff in the program, he worked to increase the number of Black students entering the program and was intentional in his efforts to grow the pool of applicants.

Despite the attention Menand gave to meeting one of the original MIT goals of helping more Black children get to college in response to the 1961 letter from President Kennedy that led to the appointment of the Faculty Committee (Efron/Milner, ca. 1970s), as well as the national Upward Bound goals, he also did what he could to assist all students, given their individual circumstances. One example is Steve Ferguson, a student whose eighth-grade diploma was being withheld at the Blessed Sacrament School near Central Square until he attended summer school to make up some subjects that he had failed during the school year. He remembers being recruited to the program by MIT undergraduate Student Co-Director Richie Adelstein, with the understanding that Ferguson would complete his middle school summer work via Upward Bound instead and earn his diploma at the end of the program, assuming he could pass the required tests. The agreement meant that Ferguson had to concentrate on making up his middle school work and miss out on some of the “fun” activities planned for the 1968 summer program. He recalled what actually happened:

> I was kind of like the bad boy, my grades were good and with little effort, but I always had that non-discipline factor, that's something that always stuck with me I guess. And for me, many years later, looking back, I think it's just not having a male figure in the house. I was off on my own trying to figure things out and sometimes

not for the good. So up until the seventh grade, I had a love-hate relationship with the nuns [i.e., his teachers at the Blessed Sacrament School], especially the seventh-grade nun … but in the eighth grade, I had my first mentor, Sister Margaret … and she was absolutely amazing. She was so positive, funny and [the] first time I really felt caring—caring about me. So, I did everything I could for her. I mean I was an absolute angel for her. And as far as studying, I was even doing homework for her just because I liked her so much…. And she had my back.

Ferguson continued to say that the while the seventh-grade nun tried to have him held back and required him to attend summer school to get his middle school diploma, Sister Margaret advocated for him and introduced him to Upward Bound Student Co-Director Richie Adelstein. Ferguson recalls her saying to him,

> “I would like you to talk to this gentleman, he says that there's a program at MIT.” And she said, “I think you'll absolutely love it. It has to do with science, and I know you like science.”

So, although Steve recalls the seventh-grade nun being against it, a plan was made for him to complete his middle school work during the summer Upward Bound program. He said it got interesting when he actually got to MIT and they showed him the makeup work that would be required of him. He recalled,

> Well, they showed me what I had—I had to take two exams—midterm and a final. So, I looked at the midterm. It was American history. And I'm looking, and I said, “Well, you know something? I think I know all these questions.” And they looked, and they said, “Well, listen, you're going to spend the whole summer doing this.” And I said, “But I know these questions.” And so, the very first day I took the midterm,

> and I got like a high 90. Because I always did know it, but for some reason the seventh-grade nun wasn't having it…. And Dr. Menand looked at me, and I remember looking at him, and he goes, “You did what? Yeah, you got like a 90-something.” So, I remember him and Rich Adelstein looking at each other…. So, then they looked at the final. And I looked at those. I said, “You know something? I know these too.” Now they were looking at me. Then I explained what was going on at the school. So, I took the final exam. This is all within like first showing up the very first day. And I passed that as well. And I always remember Dr. Menand saying just, “Listen, don't say any of it. You passed, so enjoy the summer.” And I did. I ended up going back at the end of August to the convent in Cambridge, knocking on the door to get my diploma…. So that was my first mentor [i.e., Sister Margaret], and she saved me. I'll always remember her. She's the one that got me involved with the Science Day Camp. So, I'll always treasure her.

The story of how Ferguson ended up in the Upward Bound program illustrates how important it is for students to have a mentor who cares for and advocates for them and believes that they are smart and capable of doing good work—and, inversely, the negative impact a teacher can have on a student when they create unnecessary barriers to their progress and success. It is also an example of how kindhearted Menand and Adelstein were in helping Ferguson to meet the unreasonable requirement placed in front of him and to still have a fun, engaging summer in Upward Bound.

Menand ended his final report before launching the 1968 summer program with an overview of the staff orientation, which included, among other things, a film on Upward Bound produced by the Office of Economic Opportunity and a talk by MIT Professor

Zacharias (Menand, 1968b, p. 3). The film was most likely the 1968 Academy Award-nominated documentary *A Space to Grow*, which captures the essence of the first Upward Bound programs at several institutions in Chicago (Kelly & O'Donnell, 1968). In it, high school teachers and college professors signed on to work with disadvantaged students in a summer residential program, inspiring them and taking the time to get to know them as individuals. The film's narrator describes a special kind of teacher who genuinely likes the students, believes in their ability, and respects and values what they are and what they can become (Kelly & O'Donnell, 1968). Screening the film appears to have been a nod to Menand's connection to the OEO, the political and social nature of Upward Bound, and the national program goals. Showing it during the orientation for teachers and staff sent a clear message about the importance of getting to know their students as individuals, liking them, and believing that they were capable learners in need of an opportunity. On the other hand, the talk by Professor Zacharias continued to assert the role of the faculty and MIT's preference in including their perspective when providing service to the community.

They're Not Good Enough for Us Now

While the date is not entirely clear, it appears that the summer program of 1968 culminated in a field trip to New York City to see a revival of *West Side Story*, which was part of the Lincoln Center Festival '68, running from June 24 through September 7 (Ovrtur, n.d.).

Exposing students to cultural activities that they may not otherwise have had the opportunity to participate in was a clearly stated goal of the national Upward Bound program, and Menand was known for his love of music, particularly opera (Wright, 2008).

This trip, though, exceeded all possible expectations in the eyes of the boys and, for some, gave them the gift of a lifelong enjoyment of the theater. Student Tom Hutchins reminisced,

> At the end of the year, they took all of us … didn't tell us what we were doing, just said, "Be there 4:30 AM, have your parent sign this, or your mother sign this thing for release." I didn't wake up, I missed the bus, but they took care of me, they flew me down to New York instead…. A day in the life of New York, and we went to Harlem, we did a lot of things … and at the end of the day, they took us to dinner, and they took us to a play at Lincoln Center called *West Side Story*. And it was the first ever experience I had to see a musical…. [If] Upward Bound didn't introduce it to me, I probably would've never got into it, but I enjoy musicals and that's because of MIT Upward Bound. We saw that, and then at night … we got back on the buses figuring we're going to go all the way back to Massachusetts on a bus, and we didn't. They took us over to—I want to say LaGuardia. I remember getting on a Northeast Airlines plane … the yellow belly. Yellowbird they were called, and flew back to Boston, had a bus pick us up at Boston and took us home at 1 o'clock in the morning.

Having the opportunity to fly home from New York City was another first for many of the boys on the end-of-summer trip. Student Alvin Riley said,

> Yeah, yeah. We went on field trips. And one of the things—I think we had become Upward Bound in those days—it was through Upward Bound that I experienced my first flight. They rented a bus first, and we went down to New York City. And we saw a play, I believe it was *West Side Story*, and then at the end of the evening, we boarded a Yellowbird and flew home, and that was a thrill, but that was my first time ever on a plane, was through Upward Bound.

Student Steve Ferguson, while recalling the New York City trip, remembered being mistaken for the actors when in the bathroom at intermission, which was not surprising given the fact that it was a big group of low-income boys, many of them Black, who were dressed more for a day of sightseeing in the city than for an evening at Lincoln Center. He also clearly remembers how Menand treated them when they were turned away from a restaurant near Lincoln Center:

> And we all showed up at Lincoln Center. There was like 10 buses and we're all coming off the buses dressed up in our sneakers and dungarees and everything, and people are showing up in mink coats. So, we're sitting up in the audience with these people and they think we're part of the show because I'm in the bathroom, and I'm listening to the people there say, "Hey, listen, listen they got the actors sitting out with us" [laughter]. It was hysterical. But later on, as we're leaving, went to go to eat … we tried to get into this restaurant and basically they wouldn't let us in. They almost had the police show up. And Dr. Menand was with us until one of the people that was inside I guess, was an MIT grad, he came over and said, "That's Dr. Menand he's with MIT." And then all of a sudden they wanted to let us in and Dr. Menand said, "If we're not good enough to go in there, no, forget it." So, we all ended up getting hotdogs at the hotdog cart and eating it out front there and Dr. Menand sitting with us, and he goes, "They're not good enough for us now, we're not good enough for them." So, we wiped out the hotdog cart, and he called us buddies because it was like 80 of us eating hotdogs out in front of the Lincoln Center there.

Figure 14

“West Side Story” Poster, from the 1968 Revival at Lincoln Center, New York City

Note. Source: Ovrtur. (n.d.). West Side Story *Lincoln Center revival 1968*. https://ovrtur.com/production/2894301#photos

The care that Menand and the Upward Bound staff showed to students was clear in their memories of this trip. When they flew student Tom Hutchins to New York City when he overslept and missed the 4:30 AM bus, rather than making him sit it out exemplified that care. When Menand made the students feel that they were too good to eat in the restaurant that tried to deny them entrance was another. Showing them that they deserved the luxury

and excitement of flying home in a Yellowbird was yet another. Up until this time, while the boys went on many field trips, they were mainly local and in small groups at the discretion of the group leaders. The trip to New York City set the tone for the importance of shared experiences that exposed the students to cultural activities that they may not have had the opportunity to participate in. This memorable trip was a "last hurrah" of sorts for the Science Day Camp, which had already moved firmly toward the national Upward Bound model under Menand's leadership.

Possible Wellesley–MIT Cooperative Program in Upward Bound

Once the 1968 summer program was over, Menand turned his attention to planning for the school year ahead and beyond. The biggest item under consideration was a possible cooperative venture between Wellesley College and MIT. Wellesley first engaged with the MIT Upward Bound program the previous February by hosting 11 boys each Saturday, and based on an evaluation of the success by the participating boys and Menand, the program expanded that fall to include 30 11th- and 12th-grade boys "for a day learning and recreation—provided by their regular MIT student group leaders, Wellesley students and members of the Wellesley faculty" (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968, p. 2). Much in the same way that MIT students calling for more involvement in the community became a driving force in Tutoring Plus and the Science Day Camp, Wellesley students were asking for opportunities for social service, and a rapidly growing group of students signed on as volunteers in the program, with the entire senior class actively showing interest in participating (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968).

Menand indicated that the Saturday Program at Wellesley proved to be a "very successful venture" and that "the [Upward Bound] students have operated the Wellesley

College radio station, have played the Wellesley faculty in basketball, have worked in drama, and have done a little specimen collecting in Wellesley bogs and fields" (Menand, 1968b, p. 3). An October 1968 *News From Wellesley* article titled "Upward Bound Expands" included an outline of the Saturday schedule:

> The boys will come by bus where they will be served milk and donuts, arriving about 9 a.m. There will be instruction in math for the first hour and in English for the second. They will have lunch in the dormitories where they will be received by student hostesses and shepherded through the cafeteria lines. The afternoon program will be entirely led by students. Interest groups will pursue such activities as drama, art, current events, photographic development, electronics, auto-mechanics and operation of the Wellesley College radio station WBS. Following this, the boys will play tennis, baseball and other outdoor sports when weather permitting and make liberal use of the gymnasium facilities. Before leaving the campus by bus about 5 p.m., they will gather at *The Well* for hamburgers. (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968, p. 2)

Both Menand's report and the *News From Wellesley* credited Michael Efron, who had since graduated from MIT and become assistant director of Upward Bound, with putting together an excellent program. Efron worked with an Upward Bound student council of six boys elected from a group of 75 to involve them in the planning (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968; Menand, 1968b). Efron took the time to build in a structure of student involvement and held an election so the boys could choose who was representing them, which evidenced the care taken to ensure that students had a say in how the MIT program might change and develop with Wellesley's involvement.

Figure 15

Unnamed Upward Bound Student at the Wellesley College Radio Station as Part of the Saturday Program, 1968

Playing a recording at Station WBS

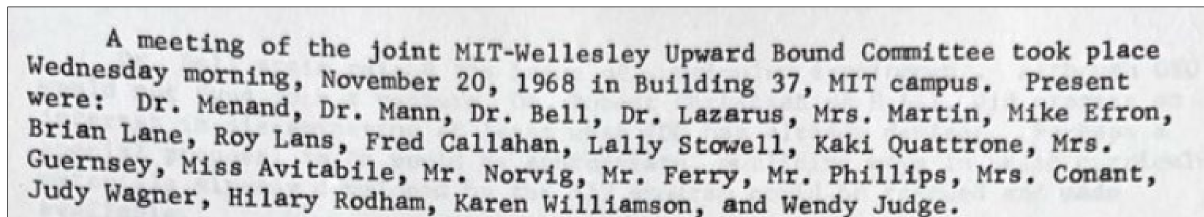
Note. Source: Bulletin of Wellesley College. (1968, October). Office of the Provost, Records of Special Assistant to the Provost, 1953–1981, AC 78, Box 14, Folder 597. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In May 1968, a couple months after the first small group of MIT Upward Bound students successfully spent their Saturdays at Wellesley, and amid the planning for expansion of the program, Wellesley's Black student group Ethos called for "some significant approaches by the college toward greater service to the Black community and to the admission of more Black students" (Menand, 1968b, p. 4). In response, President Ruth Adams appointed a faculty–student committee to deliberate the group's demands. Not surprisingly, Michael Efron was invited to join the discussions related to possible programs and, in particular, to discuss a possible Upward Bound summer program for Wellesley

(Menand, 1968b). This was around the same time that Wellesley and MIT began a cross-registration program, with around 85 Wellesley students signing up to take courses at MIT that fall and about the same number of MIT students traveling to Wellesley to take courses there (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968). So, it is not surprising that President Adams turned to MIT for advice when Wellesley College students pushed the administration toward service to the Black community. Even later to get involved in social service to the community than MIT had been and given the isolated nature of the college in the affluent town of Wellesley, opening their campus to the boys in the MIT Upward Bound program on Saturdays was an easy way for them to get their feet wet and show their students that they were listening.

Figure 16

Excerpt from the Notes of the First Joint MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Committee Meeting, November 20, 1968



A meeting of the joint MIT-Wellesley Upward Bound Committee took place Wednesday morning, November 20, 1968 in Building 37, MIT campus. Present were: Dr. Menand, Dr. Mann, Dr. Bell, Dr. Lazarus, Mrs. Martin, Mike Efron, Brian Lane, Roy Lans, Fred Callahan, Lally Stowell, Kaki Quattrone, Mrs. Guernsey, Miss Avitabile, Mr. Norvig, Mr. Ferry, Mr. Phillips, Mrs. Conant, Judy Wagner, Hilary Rodham, Karen Williamson, and Wendy Judge.

Note. At this meeting, MIT and Wellesley College students, administrators, faculty, and staff were in attendance, as well as Upward Bound student and parent representatives. Source: MIT–Wellesley Committee. (1968, November 20). Office of the Provost, Records of Special Assistant to the Provost, 1953-1981. AC 78, box 14, folder 597. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT Libraries.

Upward Bound Fruitful for Teaching, for Learning

In a memo to Wellesley College President Ruth Adams, Menand outlined the possibilities for Wellesley's involvement in Upward Bound, ranging from a completely

independent program for students from a different community not currently served by one of the eight Upward Bound programs in the Greater Boston area, to administering a separate program while cooperatively sharing its campus and facilities with MIT for the summer session of the project, to the one they eventually landed on: “the development of a single MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program with a single Director and a single staff and program” (Menand, 1968c, p. 1). Menand went on to lay out the educational benefits for Wellesley and its students:

> The benefit to Wellesley College of such a program as Upward Bound rests in great measure on how the program is perceived by the faculty and students. I know that you do not think of yourselves as “landlording” a compensatory education program by merely renting out some space for the summer. Beyond that, however, do lie resources within an Upward Bound operation which can be fruitful for teaching, for learning about potential college students whose cultural and personal outlook is strikingly different from the typical Wellesley recruit, and for providing a way by which the students and faculty learn about public education and about the social forces of the poor in America. (Menand, 1968c, p. 2)

By carefully setting the stage with President Adams about the benefits of a single joint Upward Bound program, Menand made a point of acknowledging that Wellesley students and faculty had much to gain, as long as it was clear that the campus was fully engaged in building and developing the new iteration of the program and not just offering up space to MIT.

As Menand continued laying out some of the possible details of the joint venture, his deep history with the Office of Economic Opportunity and alignment with the goals of

Upward Bound as a community action program were evident. He suggested that adding a parallel group of Cambridge high school girls to the boys already in the MIT program would be welcomed by parents who had long asked about their daughters having the same opportunities and advantages as their sons. Serving girls from Cambridge would build on the gains made with the boys in the program and would provide support and engender communication between the boys and girls in the same community—the work that had been done to build relationships in the schools would be multiplied with double the participation. Here again was an example of his openness to embracing the local context of what the community was asking for and what would work best for students and families. He knew that OEO's preference was not to have siblings in the program and to spread out to areas not already covered to maximize impact but instead chose to honor what the community was asking for to maximize community participation.

He reiterated that Upward Bound was funded from the annual appropriation to the OEO's Community Action Program and said, "This has meant that during the past three years, Upward Bound colleges and universities have by law, by Upward Bound *Guidelines*, and by urging of many educators worked intimately with the communities from which the students come" (Menand, 1968c, p. 3). Programs were required to have a public advisory committee, with at least one third of the members coming from the poverty community served by the project, and many programs, including MIT's, had added parents' committees. While OEO clearly placed control in the hands of the host institutions, with committees playing only an advisory role, the OEO also stressed the importance of true community representation. Menand recounted, "In my experience with many, many colleges the overwhelming impression is that where the advisory committee is well set up in the first

place the benefit to the students and to the college is very great indeed" (Menand, 1968c, p. 4). He made a final point about community relations to President Adams by listing some of the elements of community involvement in practice resulting from student issues and needs, including developing relationships with public school staff, working with families, the courts, churches, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Vista Volunteers, community action agencies, and so on, before turning to costs and other details of a joint proposal (Menand, 1968c). Here again, Menand drew on his personal experience with OEO and on his growing knowledge of the Cambridge community and public schools that the boys come from. He then emphasized the importance of engagement and relationship building with parents and local community organizations in laying out the foundational elements of a strong program.

A committee came together in November 1968 to further discuss and plan for the joint Upward Bound program, which included faculty, staff, and students from both institutions, as well as some parents and a few of the Science Day Camp boys (MIT–Wellesley Committee, 1968). Menand talked about a visit to the OEO in Washington the week before, along with Michael Efron and Mrs. Conant (from Wellesley). He indicated that the reception from Dr. Billings (the national Upward Bound director) had been generally favorable, although issues emerged that would need to be worked through by the committee as they wrote the grant application for the joint program. The first was the issue between Upward Bound and the town of Wellesley, with both the relative isolation of the campus and the "tenor" of the community raised as potential problems. Wellesley was a predominantly white, affluent community, with no comparable experience of hosting a diverse program for high school students in their town; Wellesley College was similarly an overwhelmingly white institution. Intentional thought, care, and commitment needed to be secured from both the

college and the town to ensure that students would feel welcomed. The isolated nature of the town needed some serious consideration as well, given that the boys currently lived in walking distance of the MIT campus and had easy access to the program, the MIT campus, their neighborhood, and the larger community. At Wellesley College, it would be more difficult for the students to engage in activities beyond the campus and the small downtown.

There was also an important discussion about which school system the girls should come from, with OEO favoring an area not already covered by an Upward Bound project, such as Somerville. The consensus of the joint committee, however, was to stick with Cambridge for the girls as well as the boys. In their view, this would not only avoid the potential difficulties of having to deal with a brand-new school system, but "most important of all, permit an intensification of the already impressive relations developing between MIT and the Cambridge community and schools" MIT–Wellesley Committee, 1968, p. 1). In another nod to the importance of developing strong relationships with the parents and community, the joint committee decided that they should look at each applicant and decide on their own about accepting siblings, even though the OEO, in an attempt to spread the impact of program participation more broadly, suggested that siblings should not be taken into the program. The conversation turned to parent involvement and how to bridge the distance between Wellesley and Cambridge and keep relations close during the summer. The meeting minutes noted that "parents should be invited not only to visit but also to participate in the program, although not so often as to be viewed as 'inspection.' Indeed, in both this discussion and that of Upward Bound–Wellesley town relations, the boys warned against such overplanning that the group couldn't enjoy *itself*" (MIT–Wellesley Committee, 1968, p. 1). At the end of the meeting, a working subcommittee agreed to meet 2 days later to get to

work on the proposal, given that they had only 1 month to write and submit the grant application. The fact that Menand had such strong relationships within OEO and was able to bring Efron and a Wellesley representative to Washington to discuss the details of a joint program gave the committee a leg up on understanding what OEO would consider when reviewing the application. That there was some concern about the isolation and "tenor" of the town of Wellesley gave the planning group a clear idea of what they would need to consider in making this a viable program that would receive funding. Finally, knowing OEO's preferences related, for instance, to not accepting siblings gave them the information they needed to make a strong case for the instances when they veered from the norm.

Some of the Liveliest Talks Take Place at Night

Around the same time, toward the end of November 1968, Menand held two meetings with a small group of parents. There were three main issues on the agenda: first, to review the 1968 summer program and the fall semester Saturday programs at both MIT and Wellesley; second, to discuss the possible new program coming in the summer of 1969—the co-educational, residential joint program with Wellesley; and third, to think about ways parents wanted to be involved in the program (Stowell, 1968). Menand opened the meeting by emphasizing the active role of the student council in planning and running the summer and fall programs, and he talked about the main goals, which were to help the students learn to question, think for themselves, and express their ideas and feelings. These goals would be accomplished through math and English classes, interest area workshops, tutoring where needed, and informal group and individual counseling (Stowell, 1968).

The meeting turned to a discussion on the proposed summer program at Wellesley, with Menand sharing with parents that the two strongest recommendations from both the

boys and staff were that the program should be residential and that it should include girls. In response to a parent question about the pros and cons of such a program, the pros clearly outweighed the cons. First, a residential program would allow faculty and students to get to know each other and share learning experiences in ways that are not possible in a day program. Menand noted that, in many residential Upward Bound programs, “some of the liveliest talks take place at night” (Stowell, 1968, p. 2) and that evenings were the best time for studying and projects. Second, boys and girls learning, working, and socializing together is not only more fun, but healthier, more challenging, and can be more productive, and, in fact, the majority of Upward Bound programs were co-educational. Third, the setting at Wellesley was more conducive than MIT’s sprawling campus for the faculty and students to feel part of a group. On the cons side, and not something that Menand took lightly, was that a residential program would separate the students for 6 to 8 weeks from “important family and community relationships” (Stowell, 1968, p. 2).

There was widespread agreement with the pros as well as discussion of the potential for some weekends at home and some shared parent–student activities to mitigate the cons. The discussion was a good segue into the next issue on the agenda—parent involvement—and Menand stressed why it was so important to the program (and to their boys). He talked about the resources, skills, interests, enthusiasm, and ideas that parents could bring to the program in important ways; that it would be meaningful to many students to see their parents actively involved, noting, “Students care when parents take an active concern even if they don’t show it!” (Stowell, 1968, p. 2); and that parents could play a key role in bridging the “distance” between Wellesley and their Cambridge community. A brainstorming session followed to list the possible ways parents could be involved. In addition to many suggestions

around visiting, assisting, and transporting, there were some specific asks around curriculum planning, including requests for more intensive work in helping students develop reading and writing skills and a strong focus on helping students learn to concentrate, develop good study habits, and organize their work and time (Stowell, 1968). These suggestions mirrored the recommendations made by both the boys and their parents to Roger Lehecka, the Title I consultant from the year before: To have a chance to get into college, the boys needed to be able to do well and improve their grades in high school (Lehecka, 1968). In his meetings with the parents, Menand referenced other Upward Bound programs and what seemed to work best, focusing on why it would be good for their children to be part of a cohesive group experience in a co-educational, residential program. At the same time, he made sure the parents understood the importance of their role and involvement and that he understood that family and community relationships were paramount.

"Get Together"

As the planning for a joint MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program continued through the 1968–1969 academic year, so did the school year programs at both MIT and Wellesley. Some boys went out to Wellesley on Saturdays, some stayed in Cambridge, but they all made use of the MIT Upward Bound office in Building 20 on Vassar Street (the "Barracks") during the school week (Bulletin of Wellesley College, 1968; Menand, 1968b). A new student-run weekly publication, *Get Together*, replaced *I Doubt It*, the MIT Science Day Camp student newsletter, another signal that the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program was kicking off as a new entity. Upward Bound student Brian Lane invited others to work on the *Get Together* staff, and Earl Coleman, one of a few students who came to the program from Boston rather than Cambridge, contributed to and edited a literary supplement

to the newspaper (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969b, July 15). In a segment entitled "What's it all about?" the newspaper staff surveyed staff and the boys on their feelings toward Upward Bound:

> The boys in the program also have something definite to say. "U.B. to me is a program that helps you become aware of yourself" says Roy Lans. "It's given me a chance to show what I can do." Wayne Emerson says "It means getting help through high school and getting a better job and education." Wayne also says "I like being on the Student council" but "I don't like being non-residential and non-co-educational." Tom Moore says that U.B. means "getting a good education." Tom also has his dislikes: "I don't like interviews." Ned Eccles says "I like Upward Bound, it gets away from the cities" but he doesn't like the food. "I like something different than hamburgers." Louis Rivas said "I don't like the math. It's not well planned" but he says it all by adding "Upward Bound is the greatest thing that ever happened to me." (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969a, p. 4)

Assistant Director Michael Efron, who stayed on with the program after graduating from MIT in 1965, told the interviewers that Upward Bound was "a chance to work with guys personally and educationally" and that "this kind of thing is my thing" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969a, p. 4). The literary supplement is full of student poetry and stories, some funny, some sad, about life, politics, religion, racism, the police, yearning toward the future—all reflective and heartfelt. This poem by student Jackie Dickerson, with its lines about a "mass of water" being changed and a "time of history," perhaps unintentionally, invokes the Office of Economic Opportunity's idea of Upward Bound creating a ripple effect in the community.

All for Me
Jackie Dickerson

A mass of water,
Changed by me,

A place in time
I wish to be,

A midsummers dream
Only for me.

My dreams, my dreams
Are all for me

A time of history
I'll make today

Come, follow me
We'll make the way

For hate will change to love
And seen as good as angels above

My dreams, my dreams
Are all for me. (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969b)

Community During the Transition Years

The years of transition from the Science Day Camp to Upward Bound at MIT were defined by tension between the faculty, administration, and undergraduate students as they wrestled with the best way to provide service to the surrounding community and who should be responsible for offering it. While that was being debated, the Science Day Camp was being evaluated by a Title I consultant who found unequivocally that while the camp was meaningful and engaging to students, it was not in any way meeting the Office of Economic Opportunity's underlying goal of preparing students to successfully enter college. As they settled on a shift to align with the national Upward Bound guidelines, they brought in Louis

Menand, III, with his OEO experience, to direct the program, and he quickly got to work making connections with the schools and community, recruiting and hiring staff, meeting with parents and students, and setting a strong foundation on which Upward Bound could continue to grow and flourish. After his first spring and summer at MIT, Menand worked with President Ruth Adams of Wellesley College and set in motion a new joint program that would be both co-educational and residential. The "community" that first formed among Tutoring Plus and the Science Day Camp between the boys, their families, the MIT group leaders, and faculty continued to develop and flourish during the transitional years, layering in budding relationships with the public schools, community organizations, and professional staff, and then expanded even more to include Wellesley College students, staff, administrators, and faculty. While there were points during these years when it was unclear whether the program would even continue—from the MIT side because of the administration's discomfort hosting a program without significant faculty oversight and from the boys, who were unsure about signing on to a program that had not been finalized—they were important years that began to set the stage for the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program.

Although the program was changing by more fully aligning with the national model, the strong connections that continued to build with the schools and the focus on involving students and parents in the plans for how to best move forward added to the foundation of the community action principles that were part of the OEO's original anti-poverty community action framework. This foundation was integral to MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound and was intertwined with all the other evolving program elements such as the strong academic curriculum. This served them well in the transition from OEO to the Office of Education and

allowed them to maintain their strong community focus, which may have otherwise been diluted with the change in oversight.

CHAPTER 4

MIT–WELLESLEY UPWARD BOUND

Summer Program at Wellesley College

Pull the Thing out of the Fire

While Dr. Menand made significant progress moving the program from the faculty- and student-run, institutionally focused program to one more closely aligned with the national model, the real transformation of the MIT Science Day Camp into the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program occurred as he took on the role of assistant to the provost and brought on John Terry, who had 2 years under his belt as the Upward Bound director at Union College in Schenectady, New York, to replace him as the director. Menand knew Terry from his Office of Economic Opportunity days of working regionally with Upward Bound projects, and Terry had the experience MIT needed to move from an all-boys day program to a residential co-educational model that aligned with the national program. Terry explained,

> They were looking for somebody who had Upward Bound experience, who had residential Upward Bound experience, who had urban experience, and who had residential urban experience with co-ed programming. I hit all those. And they, I think, were honestly, truly looking also for people who were committed to the fundamental original principles of OEO and the Upward Bound program, which was

> to work with youth who were dropouts or potential dropouts but particularly youth who didn't have aspirations beyond high school or any academic kind of programming, and mostly … if they had aspirations, they would have been unrealistic because they didn't think they had the capacity. The Upward Bound model that I always operated under was that one, that we were looking for not students who were outstanding, high performing but low-income, minority, or underserved white students, but for students who had some other things that might make them be really effective and helpful. I think what they were principally looking for was somebody that could pull the thing out of the fire.

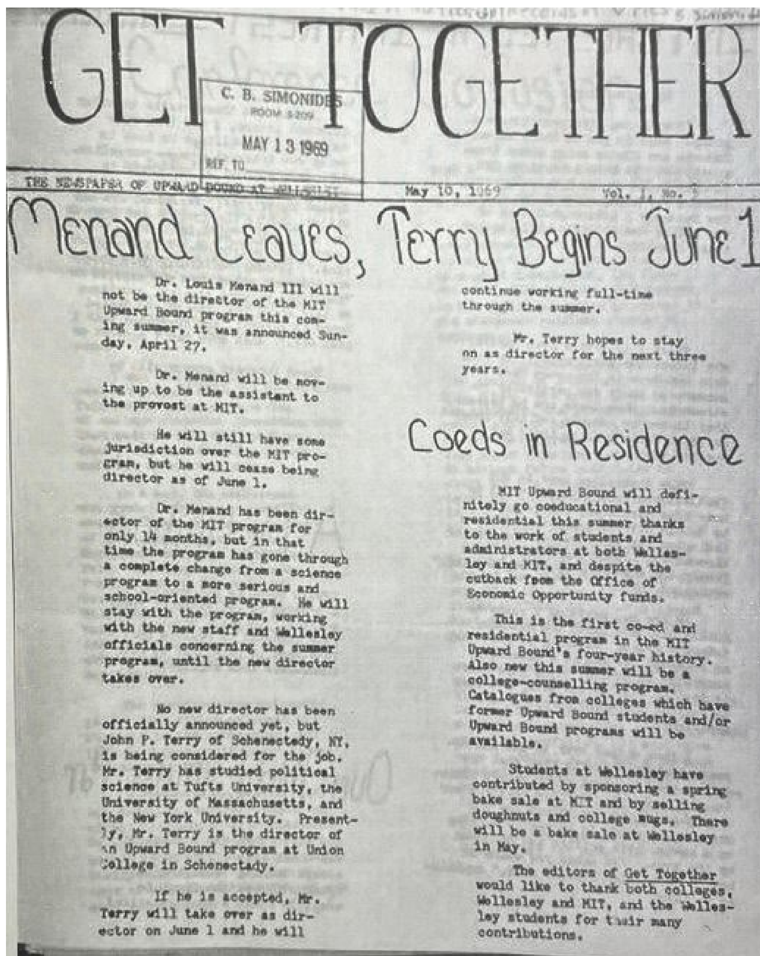
Terry's arrival, with his residential, co-educational, Upward Bound experience and his firm belief in the goal of motivating students and treating them like capable learners who, if given the opportunity, could make it to college, helped Menand and MIT "pull the thing out of the fire" by building in some clear structure from the start.

Terry arrived on June 1, 1969, with a little more than a month to officially launch the summer program set to take place at Wellesley College from July 7 to August 15, and with the week of June 30 set aside for staff training and orientation (Menand, 1969, June 16). Seventy Cambridge boys and girls were set to be residents at Wellesley, from Sunday evening through Friday for 6 weeks, which appears to be a nod to the parents' concern about having their children away from home for so long, without the benefit of family and community time (Stowell, 1968). A few important details that Menand shared with Provost Wiesner about the 1969 summer included that the OEO grant for $80,000 was approved; that along with MITs matching contribution (and covering the cost of the students who did not meet Upward Bound criteria—referred to by Menand as "non-OEO youngsters"), Wellesley

was providing significant goods and services, including room and board; and that Wellesley faculty, staff, and townspeople had pledged their support in funds and services (Menand, 1969). He also noted that Terry had already begun forging relationships with the Cambridge schools and had arranged for some of the summer program classwork to serve as credit for students who would have had to attend summer school at the high school to make up for failed courses during the previous academic year (Menand, 1969). Having some key details already in place indicated that Menand and the joint planning committee listened to the parents and chose to have the students go back to their homes and community on the weekends. It is also important to note that MIT matched the OEO funding (along with significant in-kind contributions from Wellesley), which allowed them to be flexible in whom they accepted into the program, such as the students from Boston or students who did not meet some other strict eligibility criteria outlined in the grant.

Figure 17

"Get Together," the Upward Bound Student Newspaper, May 10, 1969



GET TOGETHER

C. B. SIMONIDES
ROOM 3-209
MAY 13 1969
REF. TO

THE NEWSPAPER OF UPWARD BOUND AT WELLESLEY — May 10, 1969 — Vol. 1, No. 3

Menand Leaves, Terry Begins June 1

Dr. Louis Menand III will not be the director of the MIT Upward Bound program this coming summer, it was announced Sunday, April 27.

Dr. Menand will be moving up to be the assistant to the provost at MIT.

He will still have some jurisdiction over the MIT program, but he will cease being director as of June 1.

Dr. Menand has been director of the MIT program for only 14 months, but in that time the program has gone through a complete change from a science program to a more serious and school-oriented program. He will stay with the program, working with the new staff and Wellesley officials concerning the summer program, until the new director takes over.

No new director has been officially announced yet, but John P. Terry of Schenectady, NY, is being considered for the job. Mr. Terry has studied political science at Tufts University, the University of Massachusetts, and the New York University. Presently, Mr. Terry is the director of an Upward Bound program at Union College in Schenectady.

If he is accepted, Mr. Terry will take over as director on June 1 and he will continue working full-time through the summer.

Mr. Terry hopes to stay on as director for the next three years.

Coeds in Residence

MIT Upward Bound will definitely go coeducational and residential this summer thanks to the work of students and administrators at both Wellesley and MIT, and despite the cutback from the Office of Economic Opportunity funds.

This is the first co-ed and residential program in the MIT Upward Bound's four-year history. Also new this summer will be a college-counselling program. Catalogues from colleges which have former Upward Bound students and/or Upward Bound programs will be available.

Students at Wellesley have contributed by sponsoring a spring bake sale at MIT and by selling doughnuts and college mugs. There will be a bake sale at Wellesley in May.

The editors of Get Together would like to thank both colleges, Wellesley and MIT, and the Wellesley students for their many contributions.

Note. Source: MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound. (1969, May 10). *Get together* [Newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 3]. MIT Office of the President, Records of Vice President Constantine B. Simonides, Urban Affairs, Education, Science Day Camp, 1968-1969. AC 276, Box 13. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT Libraries.

They Are Going to Blow the Whole Summer

The first summer in Wellesley got off to a shaky start, however, and although Terry was quoted in the Upward Bound newspaper as saying, "I think that this is a terrific program" and "I think that we have a great collection of kids and staff," he also said, "All of us have to get a little more serious of why we are here," that "some students aren't aware of

the seriousness of the program," and "if they don't start getting serious, they are going to blow the whole summer" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969b, p. 1). The headlining *Get Together* article indicated that "Mr. Terry is the new program director and he had much on his mind as the week came to a close, a week filled with turmoil and campus unrest [within the Upward Bound program], ending with a very sincere threat from the staff to stop the program altogether and go back to Cambridge right away" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969b, p. 1). Upward Bound had the Wellesley Campus to itself for the summer, and "turmoil" and "campus unrest" in the program during the first week was attributed to the original Science Day Camp boys, who were used to having more control over how things were run and pushed back on the new structure being "imposed" by Terry and the staff. The article went on to say that the disruption ended with a threat from the cooks to quit and summer probation for many of the students. Cutting class also emerged as a problem, with Terry taking a firm stand that if it did not stop, it would result in "social probation" and could result in students "getting kicked out of the program" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1969b, p. 1). Terry recalled,

> Those were tough years. I received terrific support from MIT and from Wellesley because of Louis Menand's position [in the Provost's Office], and because [Jerome] Wiesner was the president…. They were very interested in promoting and having MIT doing something that gave it the kind of character that they thought it should have for the sixties and beyond. I mean, we had a very, very, very strong Faculty Steering Committee.… And we met annually with the president of MIT and the president of Wellesley. I had to do my reporting. I really learned a lot about how to stand up and report and not be intimidated by certain people because I came from a

> background similar to the students I was working with. I would say that it was really super good. And Wellesley was incredibly patient.

The patience displayed by Wellesley College was key as Terry and the staff tried to stabilize the new program, but Terry recalled how difficult it was to gain control of some of the students, who were taking advantage of being in their new environment in the small town of Wellesley. He continued,

> But the first year at Wellesley was almost a horror show. It was, well, a lot of the students, a lot of the boy students were very, very adroit at stealing bicycles and picking locks. We had more bicycles. We had problems with some of the people downtown because students were going into like some of these little boutiques and intimidating. It was pretty rocky.

There were definitely growing pains in those first couple years, and despite having the backing of Menand and Wiesner, Terry noted that he had to learn to "stand up" to the MIT Corporation with its strong faculty control. Notably, Terry identified with the Upward Bound students, having come from a similar low-income background as the students being served and believed that they were worth standing up for.

Figure 18

John Terry and Unnamed Student (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *MIT-Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook.*

These Originals

Particularly during that first summer, there was tension not only with the town of Wellesley, but also among Terry, the staff, and the original boys from the Science Day Camp days. Terry recalled an agreement that all the first boys could continue with the program, which at times was not easy. He said,

> But you had this enclave of these originals. And the agreement was these originals didn't get thrown out, and that was fine with me because they shouldn't have been. But they had an attitude, as they would say, and their attitude was "This is our program. And we get to do what we want."… So, it came to the point where I had one

> of these meetings and said, "If this doesn't change, you're all going home." A couple of those guys, students, say, "Well, no, you can't do that because this is our program." I said, "Okay," this is what I was waiting for. I said, "Okay, you want to bet?" and they said, "Yeah, we'll bet." I said, "Okay I'm going to tell you something and this is what you need to know." I had an attitude myself, I think, probably at that point, but I knew how to deal with those kids. I said that "If you think this can't happen, then you're wrong, and I would really advise you and counsel you that you're wrong, because all I have to do is pick up the phone and call the buses and you're out of here. And that's what I'll do if this doesn't change."

Terry did not shy away from asserting his authority as director, and he worked hard to hold the students accountable and responsible for their own actions, despite the pressure from the original boys, who felt strong ownership of the program. Given that the boys started out in the Science Day Camp in 1965 and 1966 with very loose oversight by faculty and organized by undergraduate students with a lot of self-directed access to the full MIT campus, it is not surprising that they chafed under the new structure and felt like they had lost something in the deal.

Figure 19

John Terry and Upward Bound Students at the Cambridge Buses That Drove Them to and From Wellesley During the Summer Program (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *MIT-Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook*.

Mahjong and Dominos

Around that same time, as John Terry was working on putting some long-term structures in place for the joint MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, Michael Efron was setting up a student council to give the boys and girls some say in how the program was run and how to handle situations when rules or community norms were broken. He held a meeting at the end of the first week of the summer program with the students on the council along with the Upward Bound secretary, Martha Hamilton. He discussed the structure of

Upward Bound nationally and in the MIT–Wellesley program and the role and power of the student council. He said that the council would be a partner in decision making and that they would submit recommendations to the director and associate director on pending issues, including student behavior (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound. (1969c). Most importantly, Efron stressed that the student council would be elected by the students in the program and that council members would not only report back to the larger group of students about how decisions were made, but also take suggestions on what students would like to see in the program. One example of this was the opening of a student lounge in the dorm at Wellesley that would be financed and run by the students. This idea came to fruition and was a place to go for something to do in the evenings and a space to learn about each other's cultures. G'Tanya Small, who went by Gerri when she was in the program, joined Upward Bound after learning about it from some friends. She talked about sharing space during the summer at Wellesley College and living with a diverse group of students:

> You know, when I was thinking about it, the mini college experience, one of the things the director worked very hard on was to make sure that we had a diverse group of students in the program, and at the time, I was like, "It didn't really matter," but I felt that it did. I can remember, we used to have, it was a large, I call it a living room, and if you walked into that living room, you would see Asian American students sharing with African American students how to play mahjong and the African American students were sharing how we play dominoes.... I think that was very important. That you saw different cultures, you know, it wasn't all the same.

Having a casual space to relax and get to know each other outside the classroom was important, and because the students themselves suggested, executed, and funded the plan

through the student council, it indicated that they felt a sense of responsibility for contributing to how the program was run. Getting a student council in place right away helped mitigate some of the initial negative reactions to the structure that was being created and gave back some control to the students by way of their elected representatives. One of the drawbacks of being in Wellesley was that there was not much to do in the evenings once the academic program and recreational activities were done for the day, so it is not surprising that one of the first things the students did when given the opportunity was to create a space to relax, play games, listen to music, dance, and build a sense of identity as the new, residential, co-educational Upward Bound program. Not having much to do in the evenings was not the only issue that was raised related to bringing a group of low-income and racially diverse high school students to live in the affluent and predominantly white town of Wellesley. In fact, it was discussed early in the planning stages as a potential problem that would need careful monitoring and attention by the staff.

Eight Black Families Lived in Wellesley at That Time

In the very first meeting of the joint MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound committee, the issue of relations between Upward Bound and the town of Wellesley was flagged as a possible concern given the isolation of the campus and the lack of diversity in the town (MIT–Wellesley Committee, 1968). While this indeed proved to be true, given John Terry's memories of bicycle thefts and intimidation by some of the boys when they went into town, some of the participants had very different memories about feeling supported by each other and by the program when they were not treated with respect or made to feel welcome in Wellesley. Because the first summer in Wellesley also coincided with the program being co-educational, there was a unique opportunity for the students to come together and get to

know and trust each other in this new setting, removed from the neighborhoods and schools in Cambridge. Student Alvin Riley noted,

> In the early days, it was somewhat tense in the Wellesley community because it was something like eight Black families lived in Wellesley at that time. It was 1969 but was also the year that [MIT–Wellesley] Upward Bound went coed. It was the first 30 girls, the first time we had girls in the program was 1969.

Riley pointed out what had been one of the initial sources of concern with idea of hosting Upward Bound in Wellesley, with its well-off and overwhelmingly white population; there were only a few Black families who lived in the town, and they were certainly not low-income families. In student Steve Ferguson's memory, coming together and supporting each other in the face of a racial incident in the town solidified the group and started to build trust between the boys and girls who were together in the program for the first time. He said,

> Yeah, we just became a cohesive group. It took a couple of weeks, but after that, there was just no difference, and then once we got to trust them and they trusted us and everything, we were just kids from Cambridge. A couple of things that happened, and I think this just kind of cemented our relationship with them. Some of the girls went to downtown Wellesley and I guess some of the locals down there started harassing them. So, the next time they went down there, some of the boys joined them, me included. And when we get down there, I can always remember, one of the kids coming up and saying, "Oh, the [Ns] are back." So, you know, the N-word. So, I went over there, and I said, "What'd you say to her?" So, I pushed him, and I said, "Why don't you say it again?" And then they kind of backed down. And so, we ended up going back to the dorm and the Wellesley cops showed up and they said, "One of

> your kids assaulted one of our kids." And so, I forget who it was, one of the counselor guys told them the story. He goes, "Well, listen, they came over and they said the N-word, and so we weren't having that." And so, they talked and then the cops left, so we were okay, but I think at that point when the girls saw that we had their backs, we all became tight. We became really close, all of us. So, I think it was just a matter of gaining trust, and to me that was kind of like a defining moment where they said, "Yeah, we know. We're going to look out for you as well."

While the Upward Bound and Wellesley College staff and administrators supported the students in confronting blatantly racist behavior by some locals, and though it helped create trust and cohesion among and between the original and new Upward Bound students and the program staff, it was clear that these were high school students, away from the watchful eyes of their parents, and experiencing the freedom of being away from home for the first time. Several students told similar stories. Alvin Riley said,

> At Wellesley, because the campus was so beautiful, very well kept, but there was some hostility at first … some of the rules that we broke when we went to the Howard Johnson's in "the Ville" as they call it out there. And so, we went there, and it was all-you-could-eat pancakes and we ate all the pancakes and then some of us decided not to pay. And then the next day, John Terry called an all-program meeting and he said he had been consulting with lawyers and stuff like that because the Town of Wellesley— they knew where we were from because you would not see a group of Black kids together. And they all knew that they had to come from the campus. They had to be from Upward Bound—and it wasn't just Black kids. It was Black kids, white kids, all of us went in there and we ate pancakes on pancakes, on pancakes until

> they said we have no more. And then we said, “Well, geez, that was false advertisement. You said, all we can eat. We still hungry” [laughter]. But we got it from John Terry. Oh goodness. They were not pleased at all with us. But again, there were lessons to be learned that we all learned. I even think John Terry would say that they learned too.

Another student, Dennis McCarthy, also recalled the incident at Howard Johnson’s in Wellesley, but in his memory, they ate chicken, not pancakes. He laughed as he described what happened:

> And then, we went into the Howard Johnson's, and it was all-you-can-eat chicken wings, or fried chicken, or something. We ate them out, cleaned them out, about 20 of us and started demanding more. And they didn't have any, they kicked us out of there. Oh yeah, that was just down the street from the College. We could have walked it—none of us had cars. So, we could have walked it. We walked on down, and they were advertising “all you can eat.” So, there were about 20 of us. And we emptied the place out of chicken wings [chuckle]. And then, demanded more. So, they ended up having the police come and kick us out of there. And of course, a report was made to whoever was in charge there.

Figure 20

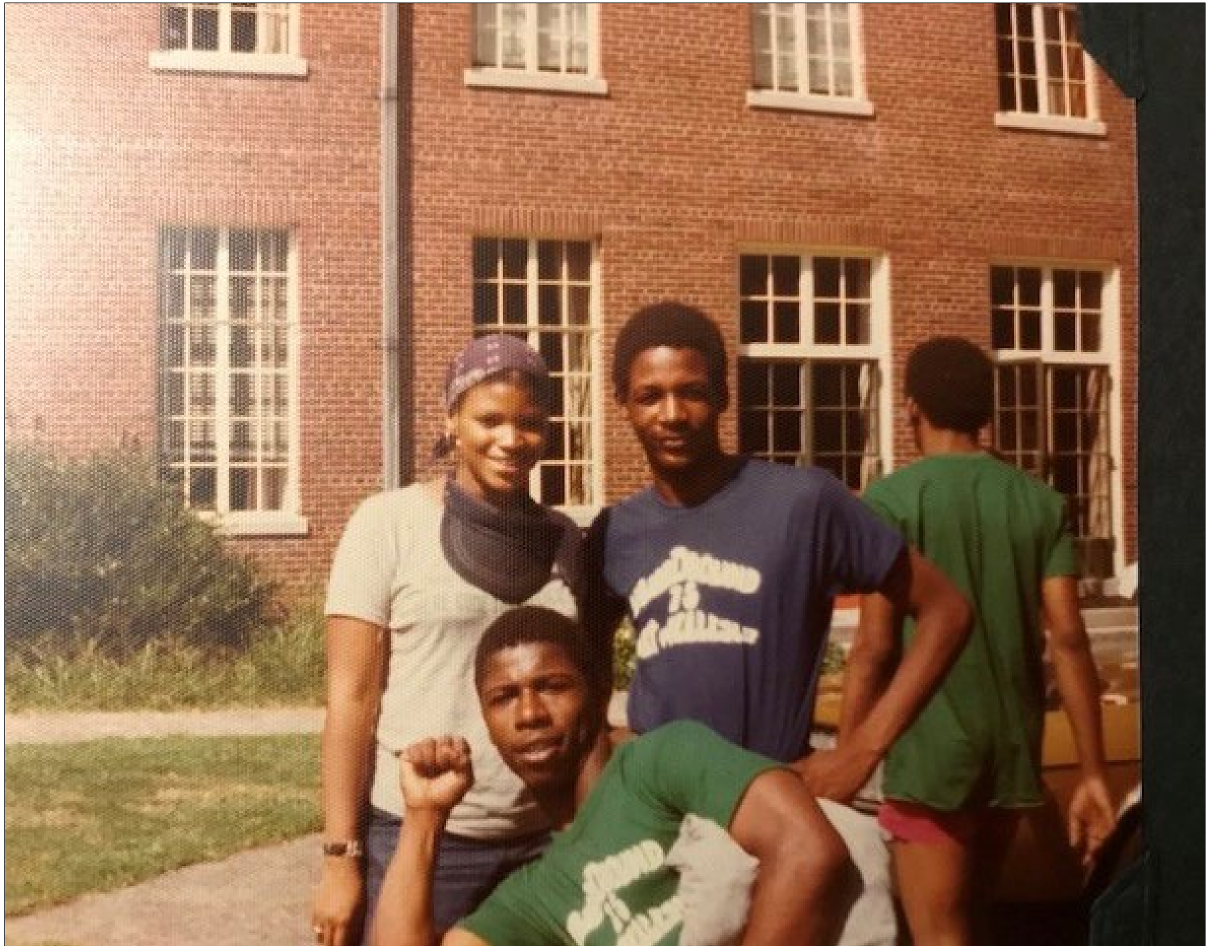
Howard Johnson's Restaurant "Chicken Bar-B-Q All You Can Eat" Banner (ca. 1970)

Note. Source: Merrill's Auctioneers & Appraisers.

It is important to note that as this Upward Bound community was forming and solidifying, with Terry and the staff creating structure and the student council giving the students a formal voice in decision making, students were also informally setting a tone with each other about some important norms that would allow the program to grow and flourish.

Figure 21

Upward Bound Student G'Tanya Small at Wellesley College, With Other Unnamed Students (Photo Undated)



Note. Source: *G'Tanya Small.*

Student G'Tanya Small recalled,

I didn't really go down into the town. There was nothing in there that I really—every once a while—there used to be a Howard Johnson's. And I think people used to go down to the Howard Johnson's and maybe have some lunch or dinner or whatever, and we had—we did have a problem at one time. A couple of students were going down into the town, and they were picking up things that didn't belong to them. Let's

> put it that way. So, we had a meeting, and it was, “We can't do that. We're here and we don't want any problems.”… And it wasn't so much from the staff, it was students too, saying, “Don't do that, we want to come to Wellesley, and we want to come here for the 6 weeks, and we don't want any problems.”

Students stepped up and felt comfortable talking about acceptable behavior, which was an important development not only in helping ensure that the program could continue, but also in beginning to articulate community rules of how they wanted to treat each other and be treated. By voicing their feelings of wanting the summer to be successful so they could all enjoy the Wellesley campus as a break from the realities of living and going to school in Cambridge, the students were holding themselves and others accountable to making it a good experience for everyone. Student Alvin Riley remembered the Wellesley campus as a pleasing environment, very different from the housing projects in Cambridge, and said it was an opportunity to “almost play at living this life” by sitting by the lake or playing a round of tennis during the program:

> That was the big transition to Wellesley to be in a very positive and pleasing environment—because the projects—they weren't built for any kind of beauty, and no one tried to get in the projects. Or they would get into one that was more toward the suburbs, like Lincoln Way in Cambridge. We were not successful getting into that one. And for us the big thing was they had upstairs and downstairs, but in Washington Elms/Newtowne Court, we were just herded in there. And then going to Wellesley … the environment, the trees, and you could almost play at living this life that—so you think, “Oh in the afternoon, well, let's go and sit by the lake, enjoy that.” Or sign out a canoe, or “let's go play a round of tennis” … and these were all things in

> our imagination. But then all of a sudden it was our reality that you could spend your day, your afternoon, on the tennis courts, swimming, and we had a choice of swimming in the pool or the lake. And so, it was a very positive environment. And so much so we looked forward to that every summer. And among kids that didn't have that experience, they were like, “But you said you had to take classes, math, English, history,” and said, “Why would you do that during the summer, when everybody's on a summer vacation.” And it was because of the wholeness of [it]. It wasn't just going to class and going home, it also included time management, how do you manage your time, you still have to do your homework, but you can also go for a swim in the lake or play tennis.

While the students began articulating the type of experience they wanted to have at Wellesley College early on, they also assumed some of responsibility of holding themselves and their peers accountable to create a community on campus where everyone could work together to meet the academic and other program goals of Upward Bound and enjoy themselves while doing it.

Despite the difficulties getting the joint residential co-educational program off the ground, the summer was deemed a success, with Wellesley President Ruth Adams writing to Dr. Menand to indicate that she was pleased with how things had turned out. She wrote, “The students seemed thoroughly to enjoy themselves and the general impression I have received is that much progress was made academically. I think our own community came to enjoy and appreciate these lively young people as well.” She went on to say that “the Wellesley students, I know, cherished the opportunity to teach in the program and I am pleased that you felt they made a particularly strong contribution. We are proud of them and delighted that

they performed so well" (Adams, 1969, p. 1). While it appears that President Adams glossed over all the difficulties experienced during the first summer at Wellesley and downplayed the early behavioral issues by calling the students "lively," she was most likely being sincere in stating that the Wellesley students "cherished" their involvement. Wellesley student Julia (Dobbs) Gibbs, for example, knew right away that she wanted to be a tutor-counselor in the program and did it as a way to honor her parents, who were both teachers. Given that Wellesley College students had been calling for service opportunities, much in the same way the MIT students had done, it made sense that Adams wanted the partnership to work, and she seemed to have been willing to overlook the rough start.

Black Man Working to Educate Black Children

With the first summer under his belt, and an eye toward planning for the academic year and beyond, John Terry brought on Marshall Milner as assistant director in October 1969 (Terry, 1969). Milner recalled being hired because of his work in Roxbury, where he lived at the time:

> And I got involved with organizations that developed the first independent science program for Black children in Roxbury. It was actually created by a group of us, with Black instructors. It was geared strictly towards science and mathematics. And there wasn't anything like that in the country at that time, that was really early on, because it was totally from grassroots. It had nothing to do with the Boston School System.

It turns out that Mel King, longtime Boston activist, saw the work Milner was doing in Roxbury and told him about the opportunity to work in the Upward Bound program at MIT. It was not surprising that King was the connection that brought Milner to MIT, given his involvement in Upward Bound at its inception as the acting chairman of the Greater Boston

Upward Bound Policy Committee, which was part of Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. (ABCD), Boston's community action agency (Ryan, 1966, February 24).

Milner was a Black man with experience working to educate Black children, which was an essential element in the development of the MIT–Wellesley program, especially since, up to that point, the staff, MIT students, and faculty were all white men in a program that strived to achieve racial balance in serving equal numbers of white and Black students (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). Milner was young—not much older than the high school students he would be working with—which was important as well, in terms of being someone that the students could relate to and look up to as a mentor. Student Alvin Riley credited Milner and the reverend in his church (John R. Bryant) as the two biggest influences in his life. He described that Milner and Bryant helped to educate him on non-violent protest, with the reverend teaching him how to do a sit-in and Milner taking him and other Upward Bound students to protests and civil rights meetings, including one in which they got to meet civil rights activist Jesse Jackson. This mentoring was important to the Black students in the program, helping them feel seen and understood given the timeframe in the late-1960s and that Cambridge, despite being more liberal than Boston and other places, was not immune to the racial tension prevalent during that period. The high schools, which were still divided by class and race, with Cambridge High and Latin being overwhelmingly white and Rindge Tech being primarily Black (Barron & Agee-Jacobson, 2018), were often places where these tensions flared. Riley remembered several incidents in which Milner stepped in and did what he could to calm down the situations. Riley said,

> And then there were other incidents that I know that Marshall was very involved in, in trying to bring about some peace. There was a kid who got killed in Cambridge,

> and people were all upset, so there were community meetings, and I remember Marshall trying to explain to people that kids fight. Those were the words [he used], because it was the time [when] racial tension was still very, very strong, [and] we did have one of the walkouts at the high school because of a fight between a Black kid and a white kid, and that's when they called in the tactical police force. I remember them marching down Broadway, with their bubble top helmets and their batons…. Marshall was the one who was trying to explain at these community meetings that kids fight, kids do, no matter what, every generation.

Riley went on to explain how upsetting the situation was for the Black students when the principal at the predominantly white Cambridge High and Latin called in the police in what seemed to be an attempt to "protect" the white students and help them leave the school campus safely:

> The fight was between actually a girl and a boy, and it was a Black girl, and it was more than one white guy because … when they had to send everybody home, the buses showed up to take people home. Here comes the tactical police force, and the tactical police force, they guided.... They set up a little wall or a passageway so that the white kids could get from the school onto the buses safely.…We were like, "Why are you all doing that? It was the Black girl who was attacked, we were the ones being attacked."

John Silva, former director of safety and security at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School (Cambridge High and Latin and Rindge Technical School combined in 1977) who graduated from Rindge Tech in 1969, remembered the riot and the tension between students at both of the high schools:

> There was a lot of racial unrest. We actually saw racial riots up here.… I remember looking out the window and seeing the riot police with shields, with helmets on, with those big night sticks. I remember seeing tear gas canisters bouncing out there.… I remember [seeing] [B]lack kids and white kids, and just not getting involved in that … but there were people who did go out who wanted to get involved…. I'm not going to blame the Latin crowd. (Barron & Agee-Jacobson, 2018, para. 8)

While Silva said that he was "not going to blame the [overwhelmingly white] Latin crowd," he noted that he saw more Cambridge High and Latin School students join the riot that day than students from predominantly Black Rindge Tech (Barron & Agee-Jacobson, 2018). Milner played an important role in the community while this was happening by deescalating the situation and also provided a safe space and forum within the Upward Bound program to discuss and work through the resulting issues and feelings with all the students, white and Black.

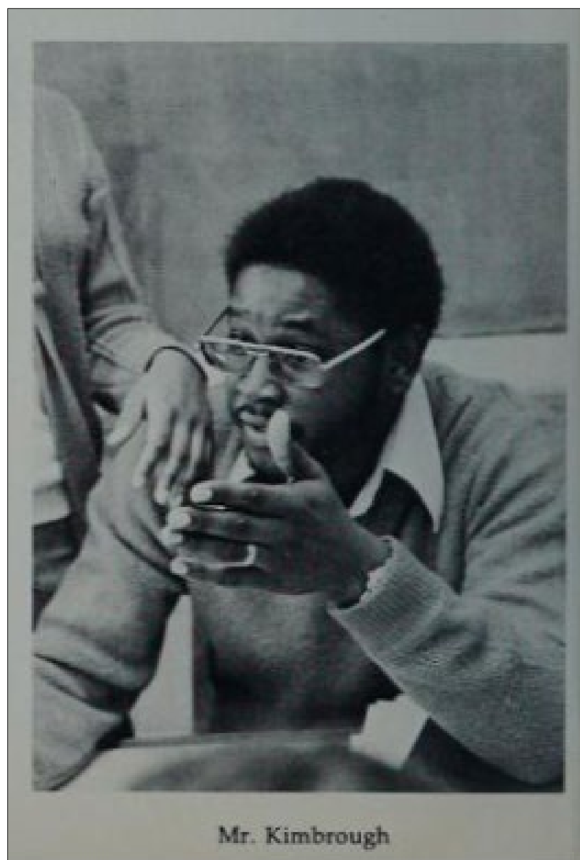
Not only did student Alvin Riley look up to Milner as a mentor who contributed to his identity development and helped the community work through challenging racial incidents, but he also learned from Milner how to stand up for something he believed in through peaceful protest, which carried over into his life in high school. Riley described leading a group of friends in a sit-in to push the school administration to hire more Black teachers:

> And then we had done a sit-in as well because we felt that the Black students in that day were 16% of the population at the high school. And we felt that the teaching staff should at least be 16% of Blacks, and so they did hear us. I remember sitting out in front of the principal's office, and we had it scheduled so that you didn't miss class, but during your study hall, whatever. And it was like 4 days, and we used to wear

these black armbands. They weren't really armbands. It basically was a pair of black knee socks, and we tied them around our arm for that. And I'm not sure if Marshall—they were somehow in the background guiding or whatever, but it was very… organized so that we did wind up doing ... the school did wind up diversifying their staff.

Figure 22

Leslie Kimbrough, Cambridge High and Latin Social Studies Teacher



Mr. Kimbrough

Note. Source: *1975 Cambridge High and Latin yearbook.*

According to Riley, Leslie Kimbrough, a recent college graduate from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was one of the teachers hired because of the sit-in. Kimbrough not

only taught at the high school for his whole career, but he also became part of the teaching staff at Upward Bound.

Former director John Terry brought on Milner and said it was very necessary to have him in the role. Terry talked about the importance of bringing in the first Black leader to the program:

> I would say that, administratively, on both campuses [i.e., MIT and Wellesley], I think there was a good solid white liberal tradition of wanting to do something good and wanting to be part of all this social movement and social equality.… Where it became real with the MIT students who were acting as mentors and tutors is when I hired Marshall.… Marshall had more of the Black militancy attitude, which I wanted, which I think was important at the time.… And he had a much firmer way of working with the students, which they needed, but the MIT white students didn't like it. They thought he was too militant and too.... He was what we needed, and [the Upward Bound] students loved him.

Milner, as a Black man, was able to align himself with the community and serve as a role model to students in a way that those who came before him could not. This history is not surprising given that in the mid-1960s, MIT was, and still is, a predominantly white institution. Milner and the other staff and teachers of color who followed him brought a race-conscious lens to the program. Over time, they countered the idea that MIT as an institution was “race-neutral” and began working to enhance the agency of the community. Additionally, Milner felt the responsibility of being a mentor and role model to his students and in the community, and he had to balance that with his role working for an elite

institution. He recalled learning to advocate for himself and his students in interactions with the MIT administration and faculty:

> I'm at MIT and it's an elitist institution, alright? Despite it being an elitist institution, the chancellor at the time had me in committee meetings with Nobel laureates. I would be sitting on these committees. And people would be looking at me like, "Hey man, who are you, why are you here?" You're not only the only African American person in the room, but the only one without a PhD. The only other person without a PhD.

Although Milner, John Terry, and the rest of the Upward Bound staff felt the tension of being a community-based program housed at an elite institution, they willingly took on the work and pushed for a place at the table for themselves and, more importantly, for their students.

Bright, Capable Young People

As the 1970 summer program was being developed, much thought was put into the overarching goals and purpose of the program. This philosophy was woven throughout the program and curriculum planning and influenced hiring decisions. There was a strong focus on creating a "warm personal but structured environment" and on the core belief that "the people around the student play a crucial role—both his fellow students and teachers and other program staff—because what he thinks he can do is dependent on what they think he can do" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 1). To that end, teachers were selected and hired who demonstrated classroom ability and who were "sensitive dedicated people," who assumed "at all times they were working with bright, capable young people who lacked only the self-assuredness and cognitive skills necessary for college success" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, pp. 1-2). Additionally, importance was placed on the role of tutor-

counselor, filled by MIT and Wellesley undergraduate students because of "their youthful lack of cynicism and their belief in human growth" and their closeness in age to the Upward Bound students, which "enables them to act as catalysts" for the students' learning and growth (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 1). Although there was a strong focus on individual staff members and their interactions with the students, curriculum was also considered, with continuous experimentation related to techniques, methods, and materials that could foster the learning process.

The tone established for the 1970 summer program was decidedly academic, with an overarching goal of motivating students to attend college and to better themselves through education. Clear expectations were set for both students and teachers. Students had to agree to attend all their classes, to be prepared, and to organize their schedule in a way that allowed them to complete their class assignments; teachers had to set realistic but high academic standards, regularly assign outside study, make themselves available at least one or two evenings a week in the dorms to help students, and, as mentioned previously, treat all students as smart and capable. Classes met 5 days a week, with each student taking humanities, math, and an elective. Workshops, athletics, recreation, and independent study filled the afternoons. Teachers were paired with a member of the residential staff who served as a teaching assistant, with the majority of teachers coming to the role with significant secondary-school teaching experience (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971).

Serious attention was given to the development of the summer curriculum, which, while designed to focus on the basics that the students needed to improve their grades when they returned to their high school classes in the fall (Lehecka, 1968), also included electives that would encourage critical thinking and engagement in social and political issues and that

was culturally responsive to the students in the program. The humanities classes included a variety of topics, including Reading and Writing, Race Relations, China Before and After the Revolution, Lyrics, Drama, Moral Philosophy, Anthropology, Biology, and College Study Skills. The goal for all humanities courses was to give students experience in reading and writing, and the teachers agreed that they would focus on the skills students needed to be competent learners in the humanities. Critical reading, discussion, expository writing, and asking questions were skills they were charged with developing. Although there was agreement that the caliber of the courses was high during the summer of 1970 and that students were engaged with the material in a “striking” way, it turned out to be more difficult than expected and not realistic that the humanities classes outside of English could give the same focus to building the necessary reading and writing skills, while also covering content. In fact, the staff concluded that

> the greatest point of dissatisfaction among all the teachers was the need to deal more directly with students’ basic skill problems, especially reading. Frequent (usually daily) writing and reading assignments were made in almost every class, and extensive effort was made by teachers and teaching aides to keep close touch with students outside of class; but still more comprehensive effort is necessary to solve the problem of basic language skills. MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 6)

This led to some planned changes for the summer of 1971, with every student required to take an English class, a math class, and an elective that could be one of the social studies courses, Drama, or Lyrics, where the focus could be on engaging students more fully in the content of the course (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). This is an indication that there

was a strong focus on evaluating the program and being responsive to the needs of the students as well as the teaching staff.

Math had been the subject of an evaluation the previous spring, and the conclusion was that the program needed to make a clear break from the way math was traditionally taught in high school. The evaluation revealed that most students

> had negative feelings about math and regarded math as a "bag of tricks." This lack of real understanding of math developed into a vicious circle of the student neglecting the subject of math because it could only be learned by geniuses, and then failing the subject because he was not a genius (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 4)

Therefore, the objective of the summer program became "de-mystifying" math and showing students that it could be fun and easier with good solid teaching that took the time to make sure that every student understood the concepts before moving ahead. Since all students had to take math in the summer, the program was designed to group students by background and ability and included individualized instruction and innovative teaching techniques. The approach to math was deemed very successful in that some of the students taking Algebra for the first time during the summer "became top A students" in their high school classes in the following fall (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 4). Student Lois (Barnes) Savage remembered finally understanding what had seemed impossible before participating in Upward Bound, recalling,

> [I] was like, "I don't want to do this math stuff, I can't stand it, I'm not smart enough," and [this math teacher] gave me all these Black mathematicians to look into, and I think it was in 1968, the first Black female mathematics professor at MIT, and it was like—it was those kinds of things.

The teaching staff took the time to get to know students and learn what might motivate them, and for Savage, making math culturally relevant and giving her examples in which she could see herself represented in the field helped give her confidence in her ability. Student Alvin Riley commented on the difference in teaching between the summer program and high school:

> At Upward Bound I'd learned math—it's called Cuisenaire rods— as a way to teach math, algebra, and stuff like that. But each year, there was always confusion when it came to Alvin [describing himself] because it was like, "How is it that during the summer you excel at these subjects?" … at Upward Bound, I think one year I even got one of the awards for math … but then when I went back to school, I don't know, everything just kind of fell apart.… And Upward Bound was a place—they were very encouraging. The environment meant a whole lot because it's like they made you want to achieve. They made you want to do well in the class.… You wanted to read books—because I wasn't a reader so to speak, but at Upward Bound you would never guess that I was not a reader. I didn't enjoy reading or anything, and at Upward Bound I enjoyed reading, I enjoyed math, and because I didn't make a connection that the math that they were teaching us at Upward Bound was the same math that they were supposedly teaching us in school. So, I thought it was a different kind of math. But it was the same…. It was a very holistic approach, adding to your self-esteem, and the teachers were very encouraging, and they said that if you don't remember something that they're there to work with you … whereas in school, they weren't doing that. If you didn't get it, you didn't get it.

The encouragement and taking the time to make sure students understood before moving on, explaining things in different ways, or using different methods made all the difference. Many of the students had never had a positive or affirming experience in math before Upward Bound. Student Dennis McCarthy recalled an experience with a teacher who punished students, rather than encouraging them, standing in sharp contrast to the methods used in Upward Bound, and the negative impact stayed with him throughout his life:

> I was just thinking back a little on her [i.e., Miss Sullivan, second-grade teacher] and how much I really just despise the woman because I'll tell you, today, when I went back to—I don't do it anymore, but when I went back to community college, I had to take some mathematics courses, remedial. Just to brush up. And I found that even though I aced the tests—knew everything—I was physically ill with fear about taking these tests. I worked with fractions and decimals all my life. I was being tested on fractions and decimals, and I was being—I was physically ill over those courses. I've developed a very serious case of math anxiety, and it's because she punished me with numbers. It's the only thing I can think of because I never had a problem back in the old days, and today I just can't retain the stuff, and I get physically ill if I'm tested on it. I can learn it, no problem. I look back on her—she did some damage. But she wasn't the only one.

Not only did the students have Upward Bound teachers who saw them as bright, capable learners, who deserved time and attention based on their individual needs, but the tutor-counselors, who witnessed and participated in the classrooms, learned from the teachers as well. Julia Gibbs, a Wellesley College student who was hired to be a tutor-counselor in the program, explained that when she heard about the opportunity to stay in Wellesley for the

summer and teach, she jumped at the chance to give something back. She said, “So teaching was a part of our family culture—the phrase ‘each one teach one’ was one that I heard often growing up. So tutoring students in Roxbury and working with Upward Bound were opportunities I could not pass up.” In Upward Bound, she tutored students in math and worked with Clyde Payne, a high school teacher from New York who was hired to teach in the summer program at Wellesley College. She recalled,

> I received a lot of benefit from it because I was working with a math teacher, a high school math teacher from New York who was very good. He really related to the kids; they loved him. He taught sometimes doing rap, sometimes clapping and singing. It opened my eyes to non-conventional ways of reaching students based on where the students are.

Gibbs talked about the value of spending as much time with students as they needed and were willing to give. She said,

> I liked the one-on-one. Of course, the students may not have thought that they needed it, but when you have a class of even just 20 high school students and you're teaching Algebra or Algebra 2. If a student is having problems. They then say, “Well, so I'll get a 70 or 80? No big deal.” But if they're doing it one on one, you can be sure that they'd mastered it…. I think for students, especially those students who were not doing great in high school, learning that they can master subject matter [was important]. I remember one student, her name was Denise, who was in the Algebra class, and she started out with very limited skills. She had missed how to work with decimals and fractions in the fifth and sixth grade, and so we were reteaching all of that at the end of the program, and she told somebody, “Math is not a big deal. All

> you have to do is read [the] book and they'll tell you how to do the problem." I said, "Yay. She caught on. She caught on" [laughter]. So, learning how to know when they don't know, and learning how to make up those gaps, I think was a big thing for them. And to be able to do it in a setting where there's really no pressure, you know, they were not going to be graded, it was just enrichment. I'm sure there were a few students who decided this was just going to be a vacation and didn't take it seriously, which is why I think some of the teachers were very creative. I remember a couple who taught at a prep school in Connecticut, their names are escaping me, but they had a unique way of approaching students. I think they may have taught English.

Taking time, treating students as individuals who mattered and were worth the attention was a goal that was woven throughout the curriculum and program. Creative, innovative teaching inspired and engaged not only the Upward Bound students, but also the tutor-counselors and other staff.

Beyond the teaching and curriculum, daily structure was built into the program to develop students' social-emotional, time-management, and study skills, self-discipline, decision making abilities, relationship building, and accountability for their schedule and work—all skills that would serve them well once they got to college. The curriculum, the daily structure, and actually living on a college campus allowed the students to have more of an idea of what it might be like to be away at college. Student Lois Savage noted,

> Upward Bound, it did a very good job of giving the student [a] realistic and whole view of what it would be like to be a college student and to live on campus. We lived in dorms, the actual dorms that Wellesley students used, it was just, like, mind-boggling when that bus pulled up and you saw this dorm…. Teachers, students,

> families of teachers, even some teachers brought their pets. They were there for the 8 weeks, like offices were on the first floor, male students on the second, female students on the third, and faculty also had rooms. Teacher's assistants and residential counselors were college students, they lived on the floors with the students; the teachers and their families lived on the fourth floor.

Savage talked about the structure of the day and the expectation that students would come to breakfast on time, prepared, and ready to attend an all-program morning meeting, followed by classes. She said,

> The day started with breakfast; you went down to the cafeteria, and it was set up like a dining room and, you know, the buffet-style thing, and you—I remember them saying, "Take what you want, take as much as you want." And it was like, "I'm going to drown in all this orange juice." Drank tons of orange juice and it wasn't watered down. You picked what you wanted to eat. If you want pancakes, you want scrambled eggs, you want—the day started every morning with a meeting, it was a mandatory morning meeting, the whole community was at the meeting, any announcements for the day or changes of the day was made at that meeting, and then you took all your materials, your books, your notebooks, whatever you needed for that day to your class, you had to be on time, prepared.

The setup created a close community and allowed the students to learn to take responsibility for not only attending the morning meeting and being prepared for the day, but also making their own choices about what to eat. Later, when asked what her favorite thing about Upward Bound was, Savage joked, "The orange juice!" Former student and director Evette Layne noted that it was a learning experience for students to see so much food piled up at every

meal, and she taught them to "take what they want, and to eat what they take." She recalled one year when her young nephew was there, and he asked to go ahead to dinner with the older Upward Bound students. When she arrived a while later, she noticed his plate piled high with 25 Oreos, and all the students were looking at her to see if the rule would be enforced for her nephew. Layne said she told him, "'If you got 25, you're going to eat 25.' So, he ate 25 cookies, and he doesn't touch Oreo cookies till this day [laughter]. Will not touch an Oreo cookie!" It is important to note that Layne not only felt a responsibility to teach the students life lessons, but also drew on the experience she had when she was a student in the program. She said, "As I moved from student to staff, I think I have taught students things that were given to me—and looked at those things that I felt we might have needed more instruction, support on, and try to put those in place."

The lessons learned outside the classroom that taught students how to take responsibility for their actions and decisions were an important part of the larger program curriculum, meeting the goal of holistically preparing students for college. Another part of the curriculum focused on field trips and events—field trips that would give students access to cultural activities that they may not have had the opportunity to experience and on-campus events that were designed to build community and start traditions that the students could look forward to every year. The events were also an opportunity to invite students' families and friends to participate, thereby extending and expanding the community that was the heart of the program.

In the first years of the program, much of the budget was expended on operational costs associated with being a residential program, which meant that the staff could not organize as many outings as they would have liked. They were also hampered by their

remote location in suburban Wellesley and a lack of regular transportation. Despite this lack of transportation and funds for field trips and cultural events, there were two activities that happened every year and became longstanding traditions: Family Day and an end-of-summer weekend trip where students got to choose which one they wanted to do. Family Day was a chance for families and friends to visit campus to learn about what their children had been up to for the summer, watch performances, participate in athletics and other activities, and eat together. Not only was this a fun day for all, but it also gave the younger siblings a glimpse of what college was like. Student and former director Evette Layne remembered participating when her older brother Ronnie was a student. She said,

> Yep, yeah, I sure do [remember Family Day]. I don't remember the scheduling on it or anything like that, but I do remember going out there for a Family Day with my mother. Catching a bus on Western Avenue to go on down there, or driving out there, and seeing the dormitory, and they would always have activities on campus for us to do, special activities for the younger kids. Even things like renting the pony, having the pony ride there. But yeah, I got to see the campus when Ronnie was in the program, and seeing where he was spending his summers, and feeling kind of lonely that I had to be back in Cambridge while he was out there. So, of course, when I got the chance to be eligible for the program, I was going to apply to the program. Because all the way around, you got to be away from home a little bit into another environment other than staying in Cambridge. I never had a roommate [at home], we always had our separate rooms, so having a roommate and going through learning those kinds of skills of learning how to be a good roommate always helped out. And

so that campus environment was—visiting it and being able to then live on campus was a really, really good experience for socialization.

Figure 23

Evette Layne (Left) With Unnamed Teammate (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook.*

Layne’s memories of going out to Family Day when her brother was in Upward Bound and looking forward to having a similar experience were examples of how the tight-knit community grew and developed over time. Student Alvin Riley remembered the event as “Parents Day” and even recalled neighbors unaffiliated with Upward Bound jumping on the

bus for a day in Wellesley because they saw people lining up and thought it looked like something fun. He said,

> They would provide buses because, like I said, the families were poor, and so they would provide buses at certain points in Cambridge [so] that our parents could come out to Wellesley for Parents Day. And as people became more aware of what was going on in Upward Bound, then you had people getting on that bus who had [chuckle] no affiliation with Upward Bound at all, come into Wellesley on Parents Day, and they just happened to be in your neighborhood. People said, "Yeah, I just got on the bus, I saw everybody get on the bus." And it's like, "Where we going?," and that's how people knew about the program, and there was this real family connection.

Family Day was also an opportunity for neighborhood and school friends of Upward Bound students to visit and meet each other's friends. Evette reflected on the crossover friendships between the neighborhood and Upward Bound, which consisted of students from all of Cambridge. She said,

> My friends from the community, when they saw me interacting with my Upward Bound friends, they were curious, "Well, how do you know them? They don't live—how do you know them?" And I'd say, "Well, we go to Upward Bound together." And blah, blah, blah. So, because of the connection, it was cool. And whether that person was white or Hispanic, different from me, because I had the connection at Upward Bound, I had the connection at school. It wasn't like when I'm with my community friends and I saw my Upward Bound friends, I didn't know them, I didn't talk to them, it wasn't that at all. It was like, "Oh, those are my Upward Bound

> people." Blah, blah, blah. And then introduce you. And so, they got to know each other. I don't know how other people felt, but that was [an] example of how I saw the crossover of those kind of interactions, in terms of the diversity and stuff like that. I never felt like either group made me pull towards them and away from the other, for any reason. And any time I had the opportunity to invite my community friends too—they would come out to Family Day, so they would come out and visit the dorm. And they would come down to the study sessions [at the Upward Bound office in Cambridge].

There was also an Olympics Day, and student Alvin Riley remembered learning some valuable lessons about competition and friendship—how to compete against each other while maintaining and contributing to the overarching spirit of community. He said,

> And then we learned how to compete because at the end of the program they would have what we call Olympics Day, and they would split the program in two, and they had any kind of event that you could think of, from airplane flying contest to ice cream eating contest—we were told not to do that because one of my good friends, [student] Tommy Harmon—hospitals in those days weren't prepared to deal with frostbite in the middle of the summer. But with ice cream eating and the traditional basketball game, tennis, any sport that you could think of that they could do on campus. So, we learned how to compete against each other without the competitiveness of thinking that you're the enemy and we have to defeat the enemy because at the end of the day, they add up the points, we're all still Upward Bound. All of us are still one—even though some of us won, some of us lost.

Here again, the staff demonstrated and the students learned the value of creating a strong community and that being part of a community was more important than winning.

The program organized one large weekend trip, which was slated for August 6–8 in the summer of 1971. Small groups of students got to choose camping or day trips to Martha's Vinyard, Arcadia, or New Hampshire (Feldman, 1971). In subsequent years, offerings were expanded, with visits planned for New York and Philadelphia, for example. Student and later director Evette Layne remembered the end-of-summer trips fondly, even though one year her suitcase flew off the top of the car on the way home from Philadelphia. She said,

> And some of the trips didn't go because they weren't fully subscribed or subscribed enough to justify the cost. But I remember going camping, which I loved…. We would go to a place like Philadelphia or other big cities—New York or something like that. I remember going to Philadelphia and, on that trip, visiting some of the colleges and universities. I remember going to Drexel University. I remember getting in a station wagon and driving. We weren't getting on the bus or getting on the train; we would drive. So that weekend, the station wagons would pull up, and they might have had tags in the window saying, this one's going to New York, this one's going camping, this one's going to Philadelphia. You packed your stuff into the station wagon or on top of it. I remember one trip [with] Carol House [i.e., high school and Upward Bound teacher]…. We were coming back from Philly, and we had some suitcases tied up on the rack, and my suitcase got flown off, and stuff all over the highway, and destroyed and stuff. And I remember her just consoling me and just making sure that I knew, "Hey, we're going to take care of your needs." But it was a beautiful trip and that happened. It wasn't so good, but overall, because of the warmth

> of the staff and the support of the entire program, my needs got met and things were replaced as they could be and we went on. And you learn how to deal with the disappointments, and that was one of them, and you learn how to deal with it. So, I chalk that up as an experience.

Layne's negative experience of losing some of her belongings was mitigated by feeling so supported by the staff and the broader program. She went on to talk about the importance of the end of summer and even more local field trips for a group of students, many of whom had never had the opportunity to experience such things. She said,

> But those trips really broadened [our] perspective because a lot of us had not been out of Cambridge. So Upward Bound provided the opportunity to expand our horizon by taking us on all those field trips, even to amusement parks. I mean, we would go to the amusement parks—and neighborhood kids—we didn't have money to buy a ticket to go to the amusement park or even get there. So, the program would do trips like that. We would go to the aquarium, all the usual local things, we did those things as well, Arboretum over in Boston, and—but the away trips to the colleges and the historical sites were like the best because you didn't know when you would ever do that as students coming up low income, first-generation, growing up in Cambridge.

The trips, despite some bumps along the way, and maybe in some ways because of the bumps, were another example of demonstrating to the students that they deserved having their needs met. It also showed them that they deserved to have fun and interesting experiences and exposure to cultural events that they may not have had otherwise.

Many significant pieces of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program coalesced in those first few summers at Wellesley College. Some of the most notable included the

innovative teaching techniques used by the Upward Bound teachers; the academically focused and culturally responsive curriculum; the intentional building of social-emotional, time-management, and other skills that would be necessary when the students got to college; exposure to cultural activities through field trips; and creating traditions and building community through annual events. There were also some additional features that stood out as unique to the program. One was called the Cambridge Project, which involved keeping one of the most experienced tutors in Cambridge on the MIT campus to work with Upward Bound students who could not attend the summer program at Wellesley College. One group of students had to work full time as they prepared to go to college in the fall, and they were considered part of a Bridge Program. Several students were seniors who also had to work full time in the summer but wanted to stay in the program so they could continue fully in the fall. Another group were Portuguese students, recent immigrants to East Cambridge (Boyer, 2013), who were new to the program, and their parents were not comfortable allowing them to live away from home in the summer. The report noted that in the case of the Portuguese students, a special attempt was made to be flexible to win the confidence of the parents, given that, at the time, the Portuguese community was among the "most linguistically and socially isolated groups in the city" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 7). By that time, students were recruited to the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program from all over Cambridge and were no longer primarily from Area Four, or "the Port." So, an Upward Bound staff member from the East Cambridge Portuguese community was able to visit students' homes and communicate with families speaking their primary language. That year's annual report noted that their attempt to address the need they identified in the community by admitting five white Portuguese students slightly skewed the racial and ethnic balance of the

program, given that they always strived for a 50% Black, 50% white balance but that they would get back to their important goal of achieving racial balance the following year (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). The flexibility and sincere effort expended to make the program work for everyone, that local context was considered, and that parents and students had a voice in determining what they needed and what would work best for their community were all evidence that every student mattered.

Another unique feature was the Counselor-in-Training (CIT) Program, in which some of the "bridge" students were hired as tutor-counselors in the residential summer program and were considered full members of the staff, working alongside the MIT and Wellesley student tutor-counselors. They helped "keep harmony and order in the dorms," assisted the teachers in the classroom, and tutored other students (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 7). The idea behind the CIT Program was to develop leadership and inspire the younger students by showing them that there were positions of responsibility available as they progressed through the program. Though deemed somewhat successful, the first summer of the CIT Program had its share of issues, the biggest of which was considerable peer pressure for the CITs to adhere to the students' norms, not those of the staff (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). Despite the bumpy start, they stuck with the CIT program and understood that the students needed the opportunity to mature and grow into their newfound leadership roles. They were committed to not only supporting and developing the CITs as leaders, but also to using the program as an example toward which the younger students could work. When student G'Tanya Small reached her bridge year after finishing high school, she became a CIT. She continued working for the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program throughout college as a tutor-counselor and teaching assistant, eventually becoming the supervisor in her

senior year of college. Small credited the leadership development she received in Upward Bound for her success and said working for the program helped her:

> I mean, I felt that I was going to accomplish my dream to become a teacher. I really did. I give them full credit, Upward Bound, full credit for my life today. Very seriously. If I hadn't gotten to that fork in the road, I don't know where I would be. I really attribute my success to them.

Student Evette Layne is another example of how Upward Bound worked to develop the leadership potential of their students and helped put them on a path to success. She thought back to the time she was in the program:

> I don't know that I was a CIT, but I was that interested in being a staff person, so if there was a CIT program, I would have been in it.… I probably was because I always wanted to be a staff person during my enrollment in the program. I think after my first summer, really, I declared that I wanted to work at Upward Bound and do what these staff members did for me, too ... and for others coming behind me. So, my experience at Upward Bound was very instrumental in creating the professional that is me today.

Layne went on to become the full-time college counselor (after both Poppy Milner, Marshall Milner's wife, and Alvin Riley left the job). This layered approach to creating an engaged community gave students a say in how the program was run, a share of the responsibility for the program, valuable work experience that contributed to their future career direction, and a lifelong allegiance to Upward Bound.

Academic Year Program

The Barracks

Although there was significant focus on building up the summer program at Wellesley College in those first years once the joint program was formed and became residential, the MIT campus was still the heart of the Upward Bound program during the majority of the year, and the academic year program was considered to be equally, if not more important than the 6-week, albeit intensive, summer. The staff worked to build on the foundation established in the summer and capitalize on the motivation and enthusiasm that had been developed "to help the student cope with the myriad academic, social, and family problems that seem to mitigate against his success" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 9). This was achieved in a variety of ways: study skills sessions, tutoring, continued and growing relationships with other programs and institutions, a Saturday program at Wellesley College, and ongoing, individualized college counseling. Student Ed McCarthy remembered well the Upward Bound office on the MIT Campus, affectionately known as "the Barracks" because it was housed in a temporary structure built during World War II. He said,

> There was an office at MIT where we could go—it was like our room that we could go to when there wasn't classes. Once the school year was over, or once the summer was over, you start the school year, but you still needed places to go to get out of the projects. And we could walk there. It was right—we were young and healthy, we could walk, run, do whatever. So, we would go there all the time. And then it turned out—I think we met on Saturdays. Once the school year started, then we had Saturdays where we would do some things with professors or TAs or whoever was around, and we had this little office.

The Upward Bound office was open for four evenings a week until 9:30 for study, and students were asked to spend at least one evening per week at a session but encouraged to come more often. Staff leaders and undergraduate student volunteers helped students individually and in small groups with issues they were having with school assignments. Tutors, mostly MIT or Wellesley students, were also regularly assigned to work with individual students on an ongoing basis, with frequent progress reports given to the staff. For many students, the office was like a home away from home, with parents feeling comfortable knowing exactly where to find their children when they were out in the evening. Student Alvin Riley noted,

> So I was in the office, Upward Bound office, literally every day before I got my afterschool job. But then after work, I was in the Upward Bound office, and literally every day that's where I spent my time, and so—Marshall [Milner] was able to have an even greater influence because we were together every day. He went about being first the assistant director, and then he became the director, and I was there every day. There was a few of us over there, but I was the most regular. And my mother always knew where I was, as strange as it seems. If she ever needed to find me, she knew, "Call Upward Bound."

The community created in the Upward Bound office was welcoming, and it became a home away from home for many of the students. It was a space where students felt comfortable studying, getting help with assignments from staff or tutors, or just hanging out. Riley's point that his mother always knew where to find him indicated that parents felt comfortable with the office and what was being provided to their children as well. For student Steve Ferguson, who said he did not have a good situation at home, Marshall Milner and his wife Poppy

embodied the idea of a trusted and safe space where Ferguson could open up and share how he was feeling. He remembered,

> Marshall and Poppy were both amazing people, just so positive, energetic. If you were down, I guess he knew body language, if you were feeling really down or something, he'd come over to you and [say,] "Fergie, how you doing? What's going on?" And he'd talk, and you'd feel comfortable opening up to him. Because again, I was just going through that part of me that, well, had a chip on my shoulder because of the situation at home…. With Marshall, you just couldn't be mad when you were around him…. He'd find a way making you crack up and laugh and everything. He was just good. He was [an] amazing person. He really was, and Poppy, too. Poppy was really nice as well. So yeah, he had a great influence on me as well. Keeping my lid on but also somebody I could talk to because I had nobody I could talk to with the home life, but these are folks that once I had their trust and I would feel opening up how I was feeling inside. So, it was very therapeutic.

For Ferguson, the Barracks, with the steady and trusting space created by the Milners, other students, and staff, was more of a "home" than a "home away from home," a place where he was able to "keep the lid on" his self-professed anger during the years when he needed guidance and care in growing up.

Figure 24

Poppy and Marshall Milner (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *G'Tanya Small.*

Evette Layne talked about the welcoming environment that former director John Terry created in the Barracks, not only for the Upward Bound students, but also for their neighborhood friends:

> Because [friends of Upward Bound students] never were stopped from coming [to the Upward Bound office]. And John, John Terry, was the director when I was in the program and love him, love him to death. He was always warm and welcoming to every student. He would go above and beyond to do things, make things, have opportunities for us…. I remember him awarding me the Spirit of Upward Bound Award, which was the highest Upward Bound award at that time, for students who demonstrated their abilities to socialize, interact, to be that student, kind of be the

> ideal Upward Bound student, to embrace all the educational as well as the social development that was being offered in the program. And I'll never forget that. That meant a lot to me, to be the recipient of that award and to get it from him.

Students felt special and loved because of the warm environment created by the staff, and their care extended beyond just the students officially in the program. The friends of Upward Bound students were curious and asked about the Upward Bound friendships, particularly with students from different neighborhoods across Cambridge who may not have interacted in the high school had they not become friends through the program. Friends of Upward Bound students also felt comfortable coming to the Barracks, an important indication that one of the original goals of Upward Bound creating a "ripple effect" in the community was being reached and that there was an impact beyond the specific students in the program.

Former director Marshall Milner and his wife, former college counselor Poppy Milner, understood the importance of being part of the Cambridge community and moved to an apartment on Massachusetts Avenue, not far from MIT, and where the majority of students in the program lived. They talked about how many students would come to their place for dinner, to play cards, to visit, and in that way, their home became an extension of the Upward Bound office, where students felt welcomed and that they belonged. It took time, however, and was challenging when Milner first joined the staff at 19 years old. With the joint program going co-educational for the first time, he even recalled a mother asking him how she could be sure he would not develop an inappropriate relationship with her daughter. Living in Cambridge, being part of the neighborhood where the majority of the students lived, and putting in time to get to know the students and families were key to building trust in the community.

Outside the Upward Bound office, the MIT campus at large became part of the home away from home for students and had a strong, expanded family atmosphere—including many faculty and staff who had no formal connection to Upward Bound but who may have taught briefly in the MIT Science Day Camp, had an office in the Barracks, or got to know and develop relationships with Upward Bound students through their involvement in MIT clubs and activities, like the Sailing Club. Student Tom Hutchins noted,

> Yep, and there was a lot of things right in that building. Of course, the MIT police. There was the MIT Railroad—the HO Model Scale Railroad Club was in there, a lot of different things, but like I said, one of the things that Upward Bound gave me was the community at MIT.… But yeah, they all were great. [Professor] Lazarus was unbelievable. And Lazarus, even when he wasn't doing something in the classroom with us, he would come hang out with us or whatever we would do, and he would do with us. I remember him playing basketball with us once.

The Upward Bound staff recognized that despite being in a run-down, temporary building on the edge of campus, it was a special place. Former director Marshall Milner, for example, described the Upward Bound office this way:

> Well, first of all, the building was a very unassuming warehouse-type building that many of the faculty really loved because they could move things around, do all kinds of things that they wanted to do. [Noam] Chomsky had space in that building—Jerry Lettvin, world-famous faculty—loved that building, and it looked like a barracks. So, we had a very nice space there, alright. And so, the students—they didn't come to a big shining building, they came to a really kind of run-down building, but then they would meet these world-class faculty members in the hallway when they would come

> down. And they would meet these people and they would realize—they would learn that these were MIT faculty, that they were famous people, but they would learn interesting things about them. So that was the juxtaposition of them coming on campus. And so, they loved that space, that they were able to really feel that they were part of the university … but that's one of the things about that building, it was a real high-level real estate for a number of students. And of course, they looked forward to going to Wellesley during the summer because that was a totally different experience [laughter].

Former college counselor Poppy Milner talked about the MIT office as well and the importance of creating a comfortable space for the students, where they felt as if they belonged. She said,

> And then the MIT building, I mean, it was seriously run down, but the kids really loved it. We had some sofas in there and it was just a very comfortable environment. At one point, we had an associate or assistant director under you [speaking to Marshall], who came in and she was hired, and she looked around and she said, “We’ve got to do something about this.” Because there were pipes—big pipes, it was pretty bad. And she went and ordered all this Marimekko fabric, and I helped her because I had a sewing machine, I made all of these drapes and we covered one whole area [laughter], you know, of this crummy space with this bright orange and red Marimekko fabric. It was really quite funny that she came in and immediately had a vision, which we had definitely to do, but the kids seemed to really enjoy it. It was very informal. It wasn't off-putting. And that's my memory of it. We had several spaces, John [Terry] had a separate little—I won't call it a suite, a separate area. It

> was in a separate area, and that's where we did the seminar and we had seminar meetings. But most of the office was basically open space, a couple of big rooms, as I remember, and after our first son [Khari] was born, we literally went there first before we came home, so it was a very family-oriented atmosphere.

Again, within the Barracks, the staff worked to create an atmosphere that was welcoming to students, one that made them feel cared for, that they were worth the time and attention to make it nice.

Figure 25

Upward Bound Students in the "Barracks" (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook.*

Being back in Cambridge for the academic year gave the staff time to build connections with the schools and the community and to start planning for the next year and summer. The relationship with Cambridge High and Latin School and Rindge Technical School expanded and developed during this time, including deepening ties with teachers, counselors, and administrators. Upward Bound staff visited the schools at least once a week for information sharing, which vastly improved communication and understanding about the schools' English and math curricula and allowed the study skills and tutorial programs to function effectively. Longstanding relationships with the community organizations Neighborhood Youth Corps and Tutoring Plus continued to develop and flourish as well. For example, three Upward Bound students took an elective course, Tutoring Elementary Mathematics, and were subsequently employed by Tutoring Plus to work one afternoon a week with a group of young children in the neighborhood. They were paid for their work by the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Having a strong relationship with the schools was key, and Director John Terry said that when he arrived, there was already a "really powerful, really strong" connection to the high school that MIT undergraduate student Mike Efron had developed and that he and others continued to nurture. Another way that the connection to the high school continued to develop was through the intentional hiring of Cambridge teachers who spent their summers teaching in the Upward Bound program at Wellesley College. Marshall Milner also noted that they began to focus on hiring different Cambridge teachers each year in an effort to have a greater impact on the school system (Byrne, 1974). In an article in the *Patriot Ledger*, Milner was quoted as saying, "'[The Upward Bound students] see the teachers in a different perspective (because the teachers and their families are in residence with the students). They see us going through the same trials and tribulations

as they do'" (Byrne, 1974, para. 14). It was an important development in the program and evidenced growth in the collaboration with the Cambridge Public Schools that they were able to not only build up the number of teachers in the summer program who taught the Upward Bound during the school year, but also multiply their impact by hiring different teachers each year. In Milner's rationale for their collaboration with and hiring teachers from the Cambridge Public Schools, he gave a nod to another original Office of Economic Opportunity goal, which was to have an impact on entire school systems, not just the individual students served.

During the school year, the Saturday Program on Wellesley's campus, which was the precursor to the joint Upward Bound program, continued, with a goal of replicating the summer experience. Students took a bus to Wellesley and spent the day from 10:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., with choices of participating in an Arts and Crafts class, a math class that incorporated the use of physical materials, or piano lessons. The courses were taught by MIT and Wellesley tutor-counselors, and, in addition, the pool and gym were open to the Upward Bound students. The Saturday Program was important in keeping students engaged in Upward Bound throughout the school year, and it allowed them to continue developing relationships with the tutor-counselors and each other. Participating in the Saturday Program also helped students build on the academic gains they made during the summer and gave them somewhere to go on the weekends.

This Was a Process, It Was Like a Megillah

The Upward Bound College Counseling Program continued to grow and develop, and in addition to working with seniors on all aspects of the college process, the staff pulled in and provided support for post-graduates of Upward Bound who had not gone on to college

after finishing high school for various reasons. In 1971, three Upward Bound graduates were placed in college as a result of this work: one, who spent a year working and saving money, was accepted in a scholarship program at Boston University, another left the original school he was placed in after high school and found a better fit at a technical college, and the third had attended an extra year of high school in a private school to better prepare for college and then went to Northeastern University. There was also a student among the 16 placed into college that year who received acceptance and a scholarship to study at Wellesley College (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). Ronnie Layne, who spent a year in a private preparatory school before going to college, recalled,

> Yeah, well that, the application process, I don't know really what I would have done, if it wasn't for the Upward Bound program, because they guided us in doing all that preparation work, preparing you and helping you through all the stuff for the SATs. They had study groups on Saturday sometimes. In the application process, they paid for all the applications that you would send in, they would track all the schools that you had applied to … they were 100% behind all the students…. And when I went to prep school, even though I was not due—because I was not a college student, I still was able to go back to Upward Bound and be part of it because of that reason, and I would go back, and I would study there and I would be involved in the activities also…. I ended up going to the University of New Hampshire on a basketball scholarship, and once there, they, Upward Bound staff, … they still continued to keep in touch with you, wanting to know when you came home on the holidays, how things are going, and would—encourage you to stop by the office and say hello, so

> they did things like that the whole time, during my 4 years of college. And also, when I got out of college, they were also helping out, in regard to looking for jobs as well.

Layne and other students knew that the Upward Bound staff cared about them and their long-term success. They gave students unwavering support and a lifelong sense of belonging in the program.

Doing the work of college counseling was detailed and all-encompassing, with the staff working closely with students and their families, making phone calls, taking students on campus visits, filling out applications and financial aid forms alongside students, as well as often reassuring parents that it was okay to share such personal information. Many students recalled being overwhelmed by the college application process. Student Lois Savage said,

> I was bewildered by the application and the questions that it asked and the essays that were required. I remember when I first saw an application, I was thinking, "Oh my goodness, you got to be like a genius to fill this thing out." Not only the application, the first part that you fill out about yourself, then there's that other part that you fill out about your family, then that other part that you fill out about your academic history, and then lastly, "We'd like you to do these three essays and sign-up for in-person interviews." It was like, "There's no way, there's just no way." I remember thinking that nobody's going to like me after I do all of this work. It amazes me now how these applications are 15 minutes long, and you hit the button and then it's over. This was a process, it was like a megillah, and Upward Bound definitely prepared us for all aspects of that, "It's none of their business what I'm making" [from parents]. Upward Bound worked through that with you.

Evette Layne, whose older brother Ronnie was in the program before her and who subsequently went on to become an Upward Bound student, a CIT, a tutor-counselor, the college counselor, and then director for many years, said this about the college counseling support she received from Poppy Milner:

> One thing I remember about that is that financial aid form, and Poppy filling out that form with my mother. It was easier by the time I got there because she had already done it with Ronnie. So, it was much easier with me, but I remember observing Poppy starting that process with my mom, and you know—folks were funny about sharing income and all that kind of stuff, but Poppy always made it a comfortable thing in terms of explanation. Why we need that, why we need the Social Security number, why we need all the information, and what would come of—you give me this, we give this to them, they give you this, and this is the dollars. So, you have to go through a process. And so that was a big part of it, getting help with the application, back then paper applications and nothing online…. The process of selecting which schools, just over the years talking about what you want to do, and her [Poppy Milner] observing the type of person I was, she could give recommendations on schools. I think I had six schools. Morgan State was my first choice—Morgan. So yeah, yeah, she worked that one … but checking the essays, checking all the applications, and then making sure that you packaged it appropriately, and it was properly sealed and delivered—they might have even taken them to mail them.... And then waiting for the results. And as soon as you got your letter, [the] first place you would come would be Upward Bound to get it read, which was exciting. So, that's what I remember about the college process, just them being

> very hands-on, and because it was a paper process, a very heavy paper process, and making the phone calls, if there were phone calls that had to be made to the financial aid office, you didn't have to make them at home.

For some students, like Steve Ferguson, the path to earning a college degree was not a straight one. Although he started out at Boston College, he had to leave when first his grandmother and then his grandfather passed away, and he credited the unwavering support he received from the college counseling staff with giving him the tools he needed to eventually go back. He remembered receiving so much positive reinforcement throughout the program and looking up to the staff as "role models" and "successful people." When he was ready, he drew on the skills he learned from them while in the program. He said, "Thinking back to that, 'Okay, well, I know what to do.' And I did it, and if I didn't have Upward Bound, that never would've happened."

The college counseling provided by Upward Bound was so comprehensive and personalized and included working closely and over time with each student based on their specific wants and needs, which made students feel supported and cared for; students went straight to the office to have their acceptance letters read, which is an indication of the trust and deep relationships that were formed in the program. The staff also took the time to visit with and talk to parents to carefully explain financial aid and other processes, which made the difference for some students in getting the documents they needed to receive aid. Student Lois Savage also recalled that the college counselors played a significant role in helping parents understand the opportunities that were available to their children. By attending meetings to hear about the college process, her parents were able, she noted,

> [to gain] more insight into the impact of high school and how that either opens [doors] or doesn't for kids, especially lower income and Black kids going to college. A lot of these parents, including my working-class parents, had the expectation you go to high school, you do well, and you get a good job, a good job for your daughter. It could be a secretary or a teacher. And I know for me, learning what doors college can open to you, these parents were also learning that too. Very few Black students were geared into a college track [in the Cambridge Public Schools], so they knew very little about even how to get to college, what it takes to get into college, let alone application processes and all that, [and] the parents knew even less or none.

After hearing about the opportunities that would be open to her as a result of participating in the program, Savage's parents allowed another brother and her baby sister to attend Upward Bound. Importantly, the staff also worked with the high school to make sure that students were given opportunities and access to what they needed to be ready for college, both in terms of taking the right courses and navigating the barriers in a system that was not built to serve them. Savage remembered,

> Upward Bound really was that guide that asked the questions, "What courses are you taking? Why are you taking those courses?" I think I might have signed up for the regular traditional Math 1, English 1. I had no sciences. And it was the staff at Upward Bound was like, "Wait a minute. You should be taking Algebra 1. You need to be taking a foreign language. You need to be taking a science" and straightening out those courses. Black students weren't steered into those college prep courses, and a lot of times it wasn't until junior year or senior year or when you're applying to colleges they were like, "You didn't take the required math." Or "You didn't take 4

> years of a language." Or "You took no language." So Upward Bound was very instrumental and very aware of that tracking system and who was in that tracking system and making sure their students got these courses. They also didn't just settle for, "Oh, well, that class is filled." "Well, if that class is filled, is the advanced class open?" "Oh, she couldn't take an advanced class." Well, "if this class is closed, I think this one should be open to her" and following up with that. So, circumventing those systems that were in place, they did a lot of that.

The staff pushed for their students, helping them navigate inequitable systems of which they and their parents may not have been aware, and they made sure that students had the same opportunities as their white and higher income peers. Related to financial aid and the important intricacies that low-income students and families needed to understand to make college a reality, the Upward Bound college counselor filled a gap that the high school counselors often ignored. Student Alvin Riley, who came back to the program after finishing college and was hired by Marshall Milner to spend time in the Cambridge public high school helping Upward Bound students, said,

> There was a guidance counselor who came to the point where she didn't—I don't know if she didn't like the students or didn't like, whatever, but she just started telling people, "If you have any questions about college admissions, going to college, financial aid, you have to wait until Thursday when Mr. Riley comes." And what really made me scratch my head is, like, we went to the same workshop. I was sitting a couple of seats down from this particular guidance counselor at the same workshop where they were teaching us about financial aid, the changes, how to get it, what you should be telling your students and stuff like that, and she would tell them, after that

> workshop, she's telling students, “I know nothing about financial aid. You have to wait until Mr. Riley comes on Thursday,” and I was like, “That's not true.” I said, “We were at the same workshop. And I was only operating off of the information I got from the workshop.”

While it is not surprising that the high school guidance counselor neglected students whom she deemed unworthy of her time and attention, with an assumption that they were not “college material,” it was a strong indication of Upward Bound’s care and commitment that they embedded staff in the school to meet students where they were and continued to build much needed relationships there.

In 1974, a former Upward Bounder, Peter Kelliher, conducted an “in-depth” study of college placement in the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound. Kelliher, who was a senior at Clark University at the time of the study, “considers himself ‘kind of a living example what Upward Bound wants to produce’” (Bryne, 1974, para. 17) and was “able to give … that unique perspective that only a former UB student could give” (White, 1974, p. 1). His study comprised a survey of about 90 students who had completed the program, and his results showed that 95% of those students had been placed in postsecondary institutions and that all the current graduating seniors were placed in 4-year colleges that fall. He went on to report that the college retention rate for the students who took his survey averaged 60%, while the national average was 50% (Bryne, 1974). The “exuberant” assistant director said that “theirs is ‘one of the most successful programs in the country’” (Byrne, 1974, para. 21). Having a former student survey other students, specifically about college counseling and placement, gave the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program important contextualized data that was not only shared with an Office of Education evaluator who visited the program in 1974 (White,

1974), but also was an example of the care the program took to listen to students and incorporate their feedback into their own evaluation process.

The OE evaluator, Ms. White, was impressed with both the study and the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, and she wrote in her addendum that studies like Kelliher's are what "should be fed to those in power who make funding decisions" and that "there would be a more accurate assessment of this and other programs if in-house statistics were used rather than only the dubious statistical figures offered by the GAO [i.e., Government Accountability Office (the investigative arm of Congress)]." She went on to write, "I feel there is a definite need for a re-definition of the 'batting scores' for both college placement and retention and the inclusion of such data on a national or regional basis might tell a different story" (White, 1974, p. 2). Her assertion that those with the power to make funding decisions were using "dubious" statistics to tell a story that would be better told with the inclusion of different types of data, like Kelliher's, pointed to the importance of local context and treating students as individuals, not just numbers.

Recruitment into the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program continued to evolve and expand from the days of the Science Day Camp, when students mostly enrolled based on a referral from Elsa Baldwin of the Cambridge Neighborhood House; through some of the parents and students who had originally been part of Tutoring Plus; or from MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron wandering through the Washington Elms and Newtowne Court housing projects. By the early 1970s, referrals to Upward Bound "were the result of a sustained effort to develop good relations with counselors and teachers at the two schools [i.e., Cambridge High and Latin and Rindge Technical School], and the popularity of the program with our own students, who selectively referred other students they knew"

(MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971, p. 11). Referrals were made by guidance counselors, teachers, Mass. Rehabilitation, the Youth Resources Board, an Area Four social worker, parents, self-referral, and active recruitment by a staff member who was part of the Portuguese community (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1971). Significant efforts were made to not only build relationships with the schools, but also to develop ties to the community organizations. While the program staff understood the importance of strong relationships with the schools, they also knew that it was sometimes someone in the community who knew the extended families and could point out potential students who might benefit from participation in Upward Bound. Going beyond teachers and guidance counselors to social workers and parents and asking the current students themselves to recruit their neighborhood friends showed a commitment to being more than an academic enrichment program but actually a part of the community framework. Beyond that, there were also many instances of an individual teacher or staff person who saw a need and reached out personally to a student or group of students to suggest the program. Tom Hutchins recalled hearing about the program from his teacher at the Roberts School:

> I think he's [i.e., his eighth-grade teacher] the one that told them, “Hey, if you want some good kids and some kids who need help and things like that, here's a list of them that I think...” I really do, because I remember the teacher telling me, “This will be great for you, Tom. You know, give you something to do.” And because he knew I was struggling at home with a mother that was an alcoholic, I was basically taking care of my younger sister. My brother had graduated high school 4 years before I graduated the eighth grade, and he was in the service, so it was just me, my mom, and my sister. And of course, when my mom wasn't there, I had to take care of my sister.

Lois Savage learned about the program from the secretary at the Roberts School, but it took some convincing before her family agreed to let her attend, particularly because it was a residential, co-educational program at that point. She said,

> I remember I got introduced to the suggestion of Upward Bound by the grammar school secretary at the Roberts School. Her name was Eunice Brown, and she kind of took me under her wing. Her daughter attended Upward Bound, and she suggested that I apply. And she told me about it and what they do, and her daughter Cheryl was very different since having to go to Upward Bound, a more serious student. And I first spoke to my mother about this, and I was explaining that during the summer it's at Wellesley College and you take classes and—"Well, who goes?" I said, "I don't know who goes, it's open to anybody who gets in." "It's boys and girls." The conversation ended, "There was no way you'll go out to Wellesley, Massachusetts." That could have been China to her, let alone—"No, no, that just doesn't make any sense. Who would put this kind of program together? You're not going to be around boys, it's not going to happen." Usually, my mom said "No," you just left it there. I then asked my father and, "Well, what did your mother say?" "She said no because of the boys." He said, "Well, I'm really not picking that one up." I got Mrs. Brown to speak to my father. In the meantime, this application is wearing like cloth, so worn out that I've been carrying it around for weeks, the deadline is coming up. And she came by the house and spoke to my father about that, and he let me apply. I think somewhere he was like, "Maybe she won't get in," but I did get in and he let me go, and that was my whole world, starting world to Upward Bound.

In Savage's case, not only was it important that the secretary at her grammar school explained Upward Bound to her and shared details about her own daughter's experience with the program, but also that she went to Savage's house to talk to her father about it to make her family feel more comfortable allowing her to apply. For her parents, who then became very involved in the program, they had confidence in the Milners as educated Black people who would look out for their daughter and keep her safe—a sense of her being among "family." Savage talked about the change in her parents once they understood more about the program:

> My parents were very involved—they went to parents' meetings they had, and they sat in, like, a parents' council, they came up to Family Day, once they understood what this program was all about. And there was a Poppy and Marshall Milner who worked at the program, and they're two educated Black people, and I think that had also a lot to do with, "Okay, okay, I'm going to hear this spiel." So yeah, that's … that family connection to education in Upward Bound.

Many of the parents became sources of trusted information for other families in the community regarding recruiting new students. Student Alvin Riley said,

> And the parents, particularly the mothers, were very instrumental because once my mother knew, she would tell her friends to get their kids to go, and so the parents did a lot of the recruiting because I remember the Nichols family, they had 11 kids. And so, Mrs. Nichols was not sure about allowing her sons to go to Upward Bound because she didn't know what it was. But it was my mother that convinced her that "No, it's safe, it's supervised and everything," and Robby and Kevin—they came to Upward Bound during the Wellesley years.

As the program grew and developed, and as more teachers, parents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and neighbors encouraged others to attend or let their children attend, the community came to know and support the program and to feel comfortable knowing that it was helping to give their neighborhood children an opportunity that they might not have had otherwise.

With the 1971 annual report submitted in June, the 1971–1972 Upward Bound program proposal being drafted, and the 1971 summer program in full swing, the program was formally evaluated in July 1971. The program had been officially turned over from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education in July 1969, and OE did regular evaluations of Upward Bound, sending consultants to spend time observing programs as well as taking considerable amounts of time talking to students and staff. The MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program had one such site visitor, Sylvia D. Feldman from New York City, who spent July 22–23 on the Wellesley College campus during what was the third iteration of the residential summer program. Her evaluation was submitted directly to the OE in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in Washington, DC, and was later sent to Upward Bound Program Director John Terry, with a cover memo encouraging a written response (Feldman, 1971). Ms. Feldman began the report by noting, “This is a very good program with a few weaknesses” (Feldman, 1971, p. 1). She went on to highlight the strengths:

> An unusual and highly successful residence program, in which all staff members except the Director and another member live on campus in the same dormitory as the students, with their families and pets so that there is close and continuing interaction between staff and students; a teaching staff of high caliber, which although traditional

> in approach, seems to me to range from very good to excellent; an excellent and full recreational program, with a number of activities, both group and individual (basketball to horseback riding, for example); a serious and well-run college admissions program, which works with individual students; an excellent facility; high staff concern and high student motivation; serious attention (which continues to develop) to the problem of developing student involvement in determining the direction of the program. (Feldman, 1971, p. 1)

For someone who regularly evaluated Upward Bound projects for the OE to call the program "unusual" and "highly successful" 3 years into the MIT–Wellesley joint model was a testament to the hard work and dedication of all those who created and chose to be part of such an engaged community: teachers, staff, the host institutions, the students, their parents, families, the schools, and the greater Cambridge community.

Family Atmosphere

It Wasn't a Job; It Was Not a Job

The "unusual and highly successful residence program" (Feldman, 1971, p. 1), particularly its "family atmosphere," was reiterated frequently by students and staff. Student and former director Evette Layne said,

> Yeah. I think that was one of the great things about being in the program at that time. As I mentioned, I had a single-family household, my mom and my brother. My grandmother lived in the apartment upstairs, so she was always there, and then one of my aunts lived around the corner, and she was always there. So, we would have somewhat of a family get-together every day with some family. So being at Upward Bound for the summer while [we] weren't with our own family doing that, it was

> good to see that several of the teachers—one of them was teaching but the whole family is there with the kids, or maybe they didn't have any kids, whichever. But if they had kids, then you got to observe their interactions with the kids. And see them in the classroom as well as outside the classroom on more informal kinds of interactions with them. And I think that was—it was enjoyable because it felt like being home, it felt like the atmosphere of, "Okay, I can sit with some of the adults and have dinner and not be strange." It's encouraged that you sit and talk with them because they may be—and I remember there was a teacher that I didn't have, and I would always try to make sure I had time at one of the meals to interact with that person. And not even just one of them, just try to move around and interact with teachers that I didn't have or advisors that I didn't have assigned to me or anything like that.

The setup at Wellesley gave students a "home away from home," and the opportunity to grow comfortable interacting in new ways with adults, as well as observing a range of family dynamics beyond what they had experienced in their own homes. A later OE evaluation also picked up on the special family atmosphere, describing it as "one of the most striking features" of the program (White, 1974, p. 1). The second evaluator wrote,

> Staff are encouraged to bring wives and children and this factor is a terrific plus since it exposed students who may come from less stable family situations to the in-tact family unit. As you enter the quadrangle which houses the program, one is met by the dis-arming sight of children and dogs, and toys. In fact, the setting takes on the appearance of a small village bustling with quiet activity. While I was puzzled as I drove in, I learned from John Terry, Project Director, that he is a firm believer in the

> family approach as a social and cultural adjunct to the program. The blend of age groupings is close to what it is on the outside with the exception of the elderly. There is a definite sense of "family" as you enter Beebe Hall. Students and children are everywhere and the atmosphere is relaxed and casual. (White, 1974, p.1)

The "blending of age groups" and "sense of family" (White, 1974, p.1) provided a network of care in which everyone who was part of the community had a responsibility to engage and contribute. This was also layered into the way the staff was deployed, with everyone from the program administrators, secretary, counselors-in-training, tutor-counselors, and teachers considered to be full staff who shared responsibility for the program and its students. Layne talked about the flexibility of the staff and the program philosophy that "everybody took care of everybody." She said,

> It was like you had your teachers, you had your RA and TAs, but you could go to any of them that you had a relationship with. And I know the staff would try to monitor that as well. If there was a staff person who was assigned to me, and I didn't get along with them, or they didn't get along with me or whatever—and saw that I was interacting better with another staff person—then they would use that other staff person in a positive way and not take the negative approach with like, "Well, no, she's my student," or whatever—no. We're all students. We're all staff. We're responsible for every student who comes in here. And if there's a better relationship between those two, then let that work, and let's monitor it. And as long as the student is getting what we've set up for them to get, then any of the staff members should be able to do it. And so that's what I observed. That's what I saw, and I loved that. Always being

able to get help with your homework no matter who was around or who was not around.

Giving every student the time and attention and letting them develop and feel connected to a variety of the staff and their families was an important value of the program, one that gave students a strong sense of belonging. Student Lois Savage commented on the experience of the entire staff spending the summer in Wellesley and being part of a big family:

> Well, of course, we could never forget Martha [chuckle]. Martha Hamilton was our secretary, and she was great. It was like she was always there. That was the thing. She was always there. And I think that was the nice part about it too, is that the staff was—there was consistency. It wasn't like there was a lot of turnover.

That consistency of spending the summer living with the same core staff whom students knew from the academic year was significant and comforting. While there was not much turnover in the full-time staff, the tutor-counselors graduated and moved on, and the counselors-in-training left to go to college themselves, which was difficult for the Upward Bound students who had developed such close relationships with them and each other. Evette Layne said that she knew the Milners and John Terry would be a constant presence, but she remembers being sad at the end of the summer, thinking that she may never see some of the part-time staff, such as the counselor-tutors, who might be graduating from MIT or Wellesley College and not returning the next year:

> I cried after every summer going home—that last day I cried because, one, there were staff members that you might never see again because the summer turnover of staff was very great. So, you met staff who became your big sisters, big brothers, and stuff like that, and then they were going to be gone. So that was one reason, even though I

> knew I'd see Marshall and Poppy, and John, and the other full-time staff during the school year, it was still like you couldn't go [knocks on table] knock on their door at any time of the day and night—accessibility. And so, I remember bawling at every closing day [laughter], the buses, getting ready to get on the buses and just crying.

The "family atmosphere" also included all the summer teaching staff, who were encouraged to bring their whole family to Wellesley for the summer. Clyde Payne, the math teacher from New York who was known for his innovative teaching, was someone the students looked forward to seeing every summer, along with his wife and children. The start of the summer could be described as a "family reunion," and living together with all the faculty and staff and their spouses, children, and pets gave students a big extended family. Student Alvin Riley remembered,

> Yeah, that was a big thing … even their dog—Bill Morrison came, was teaching. I believe he was teaching either math or English, and even Mrs. O'Connell, she brought her dog and her husband, and actually she gave birth during—and I never forget her saying to me things like—she says, "Yeah, I taught class." She said, "I'm going to the hospital now because I'm in labor" [chuckle], and I said, "Labor?" She said, "Yeah, I was in labor all morning." And so—but she taught her class, got in a car, and went to the hospital, and her husband or someone left the dog with them. Bill Morrison did the same thing, he brought his dog and all his kids, and they lived in a special wing of the dorm in Shafer Hall at Wellesley. And Clyde Payne, he was one who came up from New York, and he was a math instructor. In terms of math, I said, if you didn't like math before you went into his class, by the time you finished his class, you loved [it]—Clyde Payne, him and his daughters and his son—and because we did

> everything together as well, that family atmosphere—so you find yourself sitting at the dinner table with your math instructor, his family, his children, or what have you. It was very, very family-oriented and it was unique because we knew what other Upward Bound programs did, but MIT and Wellesley, they did it in a top-notch kind of way…. We had the run of the campus, and it was nice—[there were] rules and stuff like that, some of us we weren't perfect children, by all means…. Overall, this experience was very positive, very family-oriented…. When the Paynes … first came, they had two daughters. But they would come every single summer for, like, a lot of years, and then one of the years they came with a son. Mrs. Payne had given birth to a son. And that was like a big thing for the whole program.

Riley went on to talk about what the family atmosphere meant to him and other students, and he posited that it contributed to students following the rules so they could be part of such a special experience. He recalled,

> The whole family atmosphere was like, yeah, it was dominant in that whole experience at Wellesley, and so [we] really appreciated it because I think that's why there was so little activity in terms of breaking rules. Because we knew this is where we wanted to be in the summer.

Marshall Milner and his wife, Poppy, also set the tone for creating a welcoming, family-focused space at Wellesley and in the program in general. The Milner's first son, Khari, and his younger brother, Chad, grew up spending their summers at Wellesley College, along with other staff and teachers' children. Student G'Tanya Small remembered her time getting to know the Milner family:

> Yeah, we grew up with Khari, which is Poppy's [and Marshall Milner's] oldest son, and of course, all the teachers that had family, like Les Kimbrough [Cambridge high school and Upward Bound teacher], he brought his family, so we got to meet his kids, and it was a family atmosphere for sure. Definitely, definitely.

Student Alvin Riley also talked about the extended family including nephews and others who "unofficially" attended the program. He said,

> And [the Upward Bound staff and teachers] were having babies together, they had children together—they're all the same age. Marshall's sons and Kimbrough's sons are all roughly the same age. And the family, because the Kimbrough's had a nephew, who would come up every summer from North Carolina to participate in the program, unofficially, but he came because just for the experience of education and that whole thing, and we [became] really good friends during those years…. And then when Clyde Payne's children got old enough to teach, they had to take classes too. His daughters had to go to class, and Kimbrough's nephew, he had to go to class. He lived on the floor with the students and everything we had to do as students, their relatives had to do as well. So, we had class. They had class. And so, it was really a very special, unique experience.

Families were completely engaged in the community, and there was an expectation that everyone would participate fully. Even the youngest of the children attended academic sessions:

> Special time is set aside for the young ones who also are not neglected academically. Clyde Paine [Payne], head of the Math Department holds a session during his "free" hour in the morning once or twice a week for the littlest of the children who learn or

improve upon their math and computational skills. It is a sight to see. (White, 1974, p.1)

The family atmosphere extended far beyond bringing families along for a summer work commitment, to the extent that they were fully incorporated into the Upward Bound model. Spouses were as much a part of the family when in developing relationships and looking out for the students as the teachers or tutor counselors. Children and other relatives were expected to be as engaged in the program and classroom as the students; everyone had a role in creating the community of which they were a part. Former college counselor Poppy Milner talked about the long-term result of the all-encompassing, holistic model she and others created:

> We have a lot of Upward Bound people, either them or their siblings that we see—we've seen these folks, these are friends. Lois [Savage] designated herself Khari's, our older son's, godmother, and she *is* his godmother. She started babysitting for him when she was 15, now he is almost 50 [chuckle]. So yeah, it was a very strong family connection, and I think the parents really appreciated our degree of commitment. It wasn't a job; it was not a job.

A Closeness in the Program

Despite the family atmosphere and sense of belonging created in MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound and what staff described as "a closeness in the program, respect and tolerance for the individual" (Feldman, 1971, p. 8), one of the main weaknesses identified in the 1971 evaluation by the Office of Education was the lack of teaching staff that reflected the racial and ethnic composition of the students in the program at that time. While the MIT and Wellesley undergraduate tutor-counselors were 50% Black and 50% white, the other non-

teaching staff were predominantly white, except for the assistant director and another staff member who was Black. The racial and ethnic makeup of the teaching staff was noted as the biggest weakness, with only one Black and nine white teachers (Feldman, 1971). While the staff members interviewed in the evaluation process indicated that there was "a closeness in the program, respect and tolerance for the individual" (Feldman, 1971, p. 8), which Ms. Feldman observed, she thought that it would be beneficial to increase the number of non-white teaching staff, which she felt would broaden opportunities to help the students relate to racial and cultural differences (Feldman, 1971, p. 2). This was not news to the staff, who were well aware of the importance of representation for the students in the program, and hiring more Black teachers continued to be a critical goal.

The evaluator also noted that the program lacked a strong cultural program, "which is not imaginative on campus, and which does not have adequate on-going off-campus trips to cultural events" and that there was "a lack of adequate funds for transportation which would enable such cultural events to be more deeply developed in the program" (Feldman, 1971, p. 2). By "cultural events," Ms. Felman was referring to visits to museums, concerts, plays, and other activities that the students may not have had the opportunity to experience. The staff relayed their concern about the lack of funding for transportation and cultural events to Ms. Feldman during her interviews with them, and she made sure to strongly recommend in her report that funding should be restored in time to impact the remaining summer program. She noted that while the Wellesley campus was beautiful, there was little going on there in the summer, particularly in the evenings, and the town of Wellesley had little to offer the students in the way of cultural events (Feldman, 1971). Some students, particularly those who were part of the original Science Day Camp, seemed to feel isolated

on the Wellesley Campus, after having the run of the MIT campus in the first couple of summers. Student Tom Hutchins described the feeling of not having anything to do in the evenings, which was so different from being in Cambridge:

> The first summer [of Science Day Camp], to be honest with you, I think it was the best summer of MIT that I went through. [The] only reason is because we weren't isolated. I felt like I was isolated when I was at Wellesley—I felt like we had to go back to our room after everything. We didn't have—we couldn't be kids again, and that's the only part that I didn't like about going out to Wellesley.

He went on to say that there did not seem to be funds for as many trips and activities now that the program had to cover the costs associated with running a residential program and living on campus.

> I think we gave it up, all those—we did things, I'm not saying we didn't do things, but I think we gave up the big things because they had to pay to keep the dorm open and to feed us and all that stuff. We ate at the cafeteria at the Walker Memorial [at MIT] when we were in the first year, and we could spend so much and get what we want. We ate lunch every day there, and actually we could even go for breakfast if we wanted to. A lot of us ate at home before we went. But it was—the first year, like I said, was a great year and I think because of the overhead they had to put on, because we stayed in Wellesley and all that stuff, I don't think they had enough money to do the big things that they did the year before.

Student Dennis McCarthy also remembers being bored at Wellesley and feeling out of his element, as if he was at a summer camp for little kids, without the freedom to pursue his own interests:

> Yeah, Wellesley was—I was up to my old tricks, but I wasn't alone. You had all of us out there for several weeks in the summer. And I remember being around a campfire down by the lake and they had singalongs. God, I hated Michael Row Your Boat Ashore [laughter]. God. They used to sing it all the time. I was a rock and roller. I'm sorry—I was listening to Jimi Hendrix and stuff. So, this Michael Row Your Boat, you'd think, "Michael, I hope your boat sinks."

Despite not feeling connected to some of the activities, he had fond memories of Wellesley and reflected on getting away from the housing project where he lived. McCarthy continued,

> I enjoyed that summer there. And it might be because they got out of that housing project too, but there was also a lot of things going on. Something I'd been watching for a very long time, I got to see that night, July 20th, 1969, in the common room of the dormitory as they landed on the moon. So that was a milestone for me that I will never forget.

Although staying in for the evening to watch the moon landing was one activity that McCarthy could connect with, the staff understood the importance of expanding the number of events that would take students off the remote campus and give them more opportunities to engage in cultural events such as music, art, history, and theater. In the early days, the fledgling program focused on setting up the foundational elements of the academic and co-curricular program, developing and setting expectations for their teachers, staff, and students, and, most importantly, creating the family atmosphere that was described as "one of the most striking features" of the program (White, 1974, p. 1). They knew, however, that they needed to work to build up the numbers of teachers and professional staff of color to better reflect

the students in the program and to continue fighting for resources through the OE and at both institutions.

Black People *Do* Read, Black People *Do* Write

The 1971 Office of Education evaluation noted that "the ethnic-racial composition of the program is as follows: Students 25 Black, 1 Puerto Rican, 3 Portuguese, 3 Indian, and 30 White" (Feldman, 1971, p. 7). As noted previously, the evaluator, Ms. Feldman, felt that one of the biggest weaknesses of the program at that time was a lack of staff, particularly teaching staff, who accurately reflected the racial and ethnic composition of the student body. She also indicated that more opportunities should have been given to students to relate to racial and cultural differences, and while some of this was done in the Anthropology and American History electives, she did not see it as particularly strong (Feldman, 1971). However, she reported that the teaching was of high quality and during her visit noted,

> The American History course dealt with internment of the Japanese during World War II and held a hearing; it was an exceptionally exciting class, partially because the students were so involved that it became more than an exercise, and from it the program of perceptions (bias) became clear to them. (Feldman, 1971, p. 9)

While the staff may not have reflected the racial and ethnic composition of the students, the modest representation that was there was important. Similar to what student Lois Savage said about her parents feeling better about having her join the program knowing that Marshall and Poppy were educated Black people, it made a difference for student Alvin Riley too, who said that Marshall was "probably the first Black man that I know that was seeking a college education and that was big, that was real big." Riley remembered the experience and impact of being exposed to Black literature by Marshall while in the program:

> [In] Upward Bound—the books and stuff that we would read would probably be all on this list of books to be banned from libraries today. But that was our exposure to different kinds of writers, Black writers, and that's what I learned when they say that "Black people don't read." They would say that "Black people don't write," but they made a point—Upward Bound made a point so [Marshall Milner] would tell us that "that's not true, because here's a whole floor of books that have been written by Black people." And that was Upward Bound because we never read those books, those books weren't in school—like for English class—that was not on the list. No Black authors were. But it was [in] Upward Bound.

Participating in Upward Bound gave students access to books by Black authors and to Black history that they had not learned in school. Student Lois Savage remembers that many assumptions about Black people were disrupted when she and the other students were in the program. She recalled:

> Maureen Kelly, she was a sophomore student at Wellesley College, she was an English TA during the summer Upward Bound. She must have weighed, I don't know, 102 pounds soaking wet, but she taught me how to dive, and I just remember the first real dive, I must have done like five belly flops in a row, and someone yelled out, "Black people don't swim, you'll never learn how to dive." In that first dive that I took, was like me and Maureen had it.

Savage went on to give another example of how the curriculum allowed for small-group discussions that were eye-opening. She recalled,

> Having discussions—we read anything from Albert Camus to Langston Hughes, William Faulkner, that's when I found out from this white English teacher that

> William Faulkner was white. I was like, “Wait a minute, no, no, no. He writes about all this Black”—"No, William Faulkner is white, Lois.” I'm like, “You're mistaken. You don't know.” And I was devastated. “Get over it. He's a white man, let's go.” So it was that. And we have those kinds of discussions, you could say what you wanted to say. Classes were small, and usually they were around these conference tables and hearing different points of view from these different people. Some of these, they came from the staff, all different backgrounds, white tutors, Black tutors, rich tutors, one was talking about this farm that he grew up in, I'm like, “Ugh!” But yeah that, having and meeting that was—yeah, that diversity, not just racial diversity, economic diversity—well, I'm from Idaho, “Idaho? Ugh.” “I'm from Nebraska,” and asking—I remember asking my tutor, raising my hand, “Are there any Black people in Nebraska?” That exposure really was a good preparation for Upward Bound students going on an actual college campus that they were accepted on and not being shocked by that diversity and not feeling, “Oh, I'm not going to fit in here.” We were prepared to do that, to hear somebody's from Alabama and somebody's from Alaska and somebody's from Bora Bora because we experienced that through all those different people involved in this program.

The exposure, not only to a variety of teachers and staff from various places, but also to curriculum and ideas that celebrated the students’ culture and history, expanded their perspective and helped them see themselves as capable accomplishments they had not imagined were possible. Savage summarized her thoughts about the culturally responsive curriculum:

[Upward Bound] gave me a love for learning. It was okay to not know something, but don't stay not knowing something. You are free to find out what it is you don't know, you are free to expose yourself to literature and whatever, languages, movies, information, math that you don't know…. Don't stay in a space of not knowing…. No matter where you come from, your background, your economics, your race, your.... Go get it, go learn it, go read it, go experience it.

Opportunity Lost

Before They Graduated High School, Four of Them Were Dead

The intentionality, care, innovative features, and strengths of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program were not enough to inoculate all its students against the harsh realities of the poverty and racism that surrounded them. One former student, Ozwald (Ozzie) Martin, Jr., who was remembered by MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron as being "the one kid who always did his homework" and described by former student Tom Hutchins and many others as kind, gentle, and so smart, was killed by the police during the timeframe he attended the program. Several former students and staff talked about Martin and that he was killed while trying to leave Cambridge with his girlfriend. Efron said,

> Absolutely, I remember Oswald, yeah. Killed by the police in Blue Hills part of Boston…. Yeah. He had the audacity to be dating a white girl there, and when the police tried to stop them and find out what was going on, he made the mistake of running, and they shot and killed him. And at Ozzie's funeral, the mom, a wonderful, wonderful lady—she couldn't even talk to me, she was so upset.

Not surprisingly, the news coverage of Martin's death was framed in a way that was sympathetic to the police officer, who was quoted as saying he intended to shoot a warning

shot, below Martin, rather than highlighting the racist police practices that resulted in a scared, unarmed, Black teenager being killed while running away (Kilgore, 1971).

Efron recalled other tragedies that were all too common for the students in the program. He said,

> Before they graduated high school, four of them were dead, maybe five. And I went to a lot of funerals back then. Two of them were shot to death by older brothers in family incidents…. And two other kids were drafted and went to Vietnam and didn't come back alive.

Efron's reflection on how his own options as a privileged, white, MIT graduate differed from those of the Upward Bound students growing up in Area Four in Cambridge highlighted the disparities in opportunity these students faced. He continued,

> I got points for staying out of the draft because one of the things that I officially became after I graduated MIT is I was officially a VISTA volunteer assigned to the Cambridge settlement houses, and I was a VISTA volunteer for a couple of years, and that gave me enough points so that I didn't get drafted. And all of that while I'm doing all of this, kids were actually getting drafted and getting sent to Vietnam. And I became so aware of the disparity between me and these poor kids with regards to.... And then it just got even more pronounced when some of them died in Vietnam.

Efron also talked about former students who, despite full participation in the program, never got the opportunity to attend college because of their circumstances. He recalled a conversation with another former student, Arnold Dobson:

> I'm not supposed to have favorites, but one of my favorite kids was a kid named Arnold Dobson…. Arnold was one of the kids who didn't go on to college. Arnold

> was the oldest of 10, a single mom … and he looks at me very seriously and he says, "I'm not going to college, I hope you know that. And if you feel like you need to give my spot to somebody who's going to go to college, that's okay." And I was kind of taken aback, this is one of my favorite kids. This kid was so athletic, and smart. And so, I looked at him and I said, "Going to college was never a requirement here … you don't have to commit yourself to college to be here, so there's no problem there." And it must have been 2 days later, I come up to him and I say, "Okay, Arnold, why is it that you're not going to college?" And he says, "I have nine younger siblings and somebody's got to bring in money to support them."

Former student Dennis McCarthy also talked about feeling trapped by his circumstances and not reaching his true potential. He said that his brother, Edward, who did Upward Bound first but then left the program to attend A Better Chance (ABC), "got out" and never came back, but for him, "it wasn't meant to be." He also said that he did not realize how "deep the poverty was" until he and his brother talked and shared stories as adults. McCarthy remembered leaving school when he was about 15 because he was not treated well there. He said he told the principal,

> "No, I'm done. I can't come up here and be dealt with this way all the time." I just walked away. Some regret there, but at the end of the day, the damage was already done. It didn't matter whether I continued on in school or not. I felt the effects of my earlier years down through my life and it affected my confidence in everything I did. I ended up failing to achieve my true potential. I know that, and that's probably the only regret I have is that I allowed that to happen because I fell into that funk of "I just wasn't good enough to do these things" and I just got into other things. It is what

> it is. I ended up working in a factory when I probably could have been a doctor or a lawyer, or…. I was very, very deep into science. During my younger years, I could have calculated thrust-to-weight ratios on the Atlas Rocket fire, okay? I was very much into the Space Program.

While McCarthy joined the Marine Corps and eventually went on to complete 2 years of community college, he left to work full time once he had his first child. In his situation, as well as Dobson's, participation in the program was not enough to mitigate the economic circumstances they experienced.

Clearly Not Qualified

By the time the Upward Bound *Guidelines* were released for 1972, the Office of Education set an expectation that "a host institution will admit and enroll a *significant* number of UPWARD BOUND students from its own program as well as UPWARD BOUND students from other programs with *substantial financial aid*" (Menand, 1972a, p. 1). It appears that Louis Menand, III, at that point in the role of assistant to the provost, may have seen the change coming, and he queried the MIT Admissions Office on Upward Bound students who were enrolled. The response indicated that "most of those Upward Bound students who we see do not follow through on their applications, and those who do are clearly not qualified." They went on to say, "We recognize that this presents problems for your program, but are at a loss to suggest a positive course of action" (Richardson, 1971, p. 1). It is unclear—but unlikely given the timing—that the memo referred to any students from the MIT Upward Bound program or those who inquired about admissions and came from other programs. In any case, Menand saw the need to respond to the OE's shift in guidelines and, with the support of then MIT Chancellor Paul Gray, took the lead and convened a group

of project directors of nine other highly selective colleges and universities to discuss the future of Upward Bound at their institutions. Bowdoin College, Brandeis University, Columbia University, Connecticut College, Harvard University, Princeton University, Wellesley College, Wesleyan University, and Yale University, in addition to MIT, were represented at the meeting. The attendants' goal was to push back on the changes to the guidelines and articulate the benefits of having Upward Bound programs at private institutions such as theirs, despite their undeniably dismal record in admitting Upward Bound students (Menand, 1972a; Groutt, 2014). The group deliberated on several possibilities around how their institutions might respond to the new guidelines:

1. A greater integration of the programs into the educational missions of our institutions, which would obviously include admitting greater numbers of these youngsters to our colleges;
2. Loss of funding because of unwillingness or inability to meet OE requirements; or
3. Decisions, on an individual institution basis, to discontinue hosting Upward Bound Programs. (Menand, 1972a, p. 1)

They then posited that if the OE limited awarding funds to only institutions that admitted large numbers of its Upward Bound Students, "this would be to limit the variety of experience and opportunity open to students who deserve the greatest possible flexibility in their development" (Menand, 1972a, p. 2). They felt that their contribution to the students their programs served was an important one and that they should be judged by the high quality of their programs and by the record of college placement of their students. Additionally, they warned against the possible effect of limiting programs to public institutions where high numbers of students would be admitted, indicating that it "could be

seen as a planned effort on the part of the Office of Education to bar students of disadvantaged backgrounds from the freedom of educational choice" (Menand, 1972a, p. 3). Following the meeting, Menand sent the draft to the project directors who had been in attendance and asked them to secure the support of their presidents so the joint statement could be sent to the Office of Education (Menand, 1972b). A few days later, Menand did the same by writing to MIT President Jerome Weisner, asking for his support and permission to attach Weisner's name to the statement (Menand, 1972c).

While it is unclear from what was found in the archives whether all 10 presidents signed the statement and if and how the OE responded, it is clear that the OE was settling into their oversight role and beginning to shift some of the priorities and goals of the program (Groutt, 2014). It is also clear that regardless of the shift in guidelines, and despite the Admissions Office having no intention of adjusting their admissions criteria to accommodate Upward Bound students, MIT continued to receive federal funding to run what had, a few years earlier, become the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program. On a related note, Princeton University, part of the group of 10 elite institutions that met at MIT to draft the statement described earlier (Menand, 1972a), decided to shutter its program and not reapply for federal funding. At issue was the curriculum: The OE insisted on an emphasis on basic skills, whereas Princeton wanted to continue emphasizing higher level math and critical thinking skills (Groutt, 2014). MIT, on the other hand, had long before made the decision, with input from parents, students, and the Title I evaluator, Roger Lehecka, that basic skills were essential and that nothing was more motivating than returning to their high school after a summer of Upward Bound and seeing their grades improve (Lehecka, 1968). That in no way meant that the MIT–Wellesley program neglected higher level math and critical thinking

skills; to the contrary, they used innovative teaching techniques, a culturally responsive curriculum, and small seminar-style classes that encouraged discussion and inquiry—and accomplished both.

In addition to the changed OE criteria pushing host institutions to admit significant numbers of their Upward Bound students to continue receiving federal funding, there were rumors of funding cuts slated for the following year. The MIT-Wellesley Upward Bound teachers—"most of whom are in the Cambridge schools, feel a kinship with the UB students and are well aware of their vital role in the direction of these young lives"—were interviewed by an OE evaluator about the program and were "extremely concerned" about the potential cuts (White, 1974, p. 2). Ms. White, the same evaluator who called the family atmosphere in the MIT–Wellesley program "one of its most striking features" (White, 1974, p. 1), ended her addendum with this admiration for the program, making a final plea against a potential cut:

> This program is unique in my experience because of the family component. This is the value in individually maintained programs. There is bound to be something lost in translation by unwise merging of programs [due to funding cuts]. The environment at each site, facilities, staff, esprit-de-corps, chemistry, what-you-will is a vital ingredient to the success of such efforts. MIT–Wellesley is proud of its successes and is especially overjoyed this year at their record of college placement. They deserve not only the highest praise, but their accomplishment should be known to members of Congress. It is a fine program, sensitive, well-directed and worthy of an insured future in the educational picture for next year. (White, 1974, p. 2).

While the evaluator alluded to possible funding cuts that may have led to "unwise merging of programs," she also touched on an important lesson from the Office of Economic

Opportunity (OEO) days by pointing to the “value in individually maintained programs” in her evaluation. Much as innovative and creative proposals based on what would work in each local context were encouraged by OEO when the office put out a call for applications after the pilot year (OEO, 1966), the Office of Education evaluator celebrated what she saw as unique in the MIT–Wellesley program and suggested that it should be held up as an example before members of Congress. Despite these potential federal funding cuts, MIT, maybe unintentionally at first, had a safeguard in place around the resources necessary to run the program: The institution always contributed financially to support Upward Bound above and beyond what they received from the federal grant. This not only created a sense of the program’s importance to the institution and served as an indication that MIT was committed to involvement in the community, but, according to former Upward Bound sibling, student, CIT, college counselor, and director Evette Layne, it also saved Upward Bound and allowed the program to operate without interruption during a couple years when they were not awarded the federal grant.

Community in the MIT–Wellesley Years

The first years of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program can be characterized by the shift to a residential and co-educational program as MIT and Wellesley College joined forces, and Wellesley opened its campus to host the summer program. During this period, students were learning to live with others, with many of them having a roommate for the first time (other than sharing a room with a sibling), and taking responsibility for themselves—to get to meetings, meals, and class on time, to engage and participate in small-group discussions, and to make connections and interact with adults beyond those who were “assigned” to work with them. The Office of Education was also settling in to its role in

providing oversight for and evaluation of Upward Bound, having taken responsibility for the program when the Office of Economic Opportunity was dismantled. The "community" that first formed with Tutoring Plus and the Science Day Camp and that grew and flourished during the transition years, continued to expand to a model in which everyone involved was part of a big family, with the Upward Bound students in the center. MIT and Wellesley undergraduate student tutor-counselors, high school teachers, staff, administrators, faculty, siblings, parents, friends from the neighborhood, children of teachers and staff, extended family, and pets—all came together to lift up students and became one big loving community.

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITIES IN ACTION

The purpose of this historical study was to illuminate the original anti-poverty community action focus of Upward Bound during its first 5 years and to examine the program elements that may have been lost as the program moved from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to the Office of Education (OE) in 1969 and beyond. Through a deep investigation of the early history of the national Upward Bound program as well as a local case in Cambridge, Massachusetts, my study sought to understand how secondary and postsecondary educators can best engage community partners in their goal of providing access and opportunity to a college education for students who have been systemically excluded. Based on both archival research and oral history interviews with staff and students from the MIT Science Day Camp and the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program in 1966 through the mid-1970s, along with some additional oral histories that added to the national perspective, my study was guided by the following historically framed research questions:

1. To what extent did the first Upward Bound programs reflect the community action principles that were part of the original federal proposal?
2. In what ways did host universities engage with the communities surrounding their campuses in the early years of Upward Bound?

3. How did local Upward Bound programs embrace the idea of "maximum feasible participation" of the impoverished communities the program was meant to benefit?

Addressing the research questions demanded an understanding of the social and political landscape during the time that Upward Bound was launched nationally in 1966, at the height of the civil rights movement. It also required an understanding of the local environment at MIT and Wellesley College, both predominantly white institutions, then and now, and in the diverse low-income neighborhood surrounding the MIT campus that was anchored by two integrated, federal Work Progress Administration public housing projects, where the majority of the early participants lived. Additionally, an understanding of Cambridge was necessary, given that local politics were more generally concerned with the elite status that MIT and Harvard University brought to the city than the low-income residents and their needs.

While my study was framed by the contextual factors and considerations outlined in Chapter 2, which focused on both the social and political higher education landscape and the history of community action in the mid-1960s, the heart of the narrative came in findings discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, which delved into the early history of Upward Bound at MIT. Using the sensitizing concepts of race and class helped me understand the findings through a race- and class-conscious lens and contributed to my understanding of MIT and Wellesley College as racialized organizations and of the deeply rooted systemic racism and deficit ideology against "the poor" that was in play at all levels of educational institutions and still exist in schools today (Gorski, 2018; Ray, 2019; Rendón, 2020).

My study comprised a critical historical narrative (Garcia & Yosso, 2020) of the lifelong family that was created by all those involved in the MIT Science Day Camp and the

joint MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, from students, to staff, to parents and families, to schools, and the broader local community. The story was told through the voices of the narrators: those seven Upward Bound students, eight staff members, two who were first students and then staff, and four people involved at the national level who contributed oral history interviews to the study. They generously shared their deeply felt personal experiences and perspectives on how their lives and communities were changed through engaging in the program and, in the process, contributed to the findings that have important implications for current and future practice and research. While a detailed methodology can be found in the Epilogue, this history of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, which illuminated how the program maintained its original community action framework and focus on creating a family while it continued to meet the goals of expanding access and opportunities to a college education, would be nothing without those voices. What follows, in this chapter, is a discussion of the findings, first focused on community action both at the national and local level, and then on the meaning of community.

This discussion illustrates that the first Upward Bound programs did indeed reflect the community action principles that were part of the original federal proposal and that host institutions, such as MIT and Wellesley College, engaged deeply with the community surrounding the MIT campus. While the findings are based on, and create a critical historical narrative (Garcia & Yosso, 2020) of, how one urban Upward Bound Program operated and built community, with the "maximum feasible participation" of the students and families in the low-income neighborhood adjacent to their campus, it is more broadly emblematic of how programs were run at the local level, albeit with the guidance and oversight of the federal government, which was sponsoring the program. As with many of the original

Upward Bound programs, the guidance and oversight first came from the host institutions themselves, as faculty and students asked for ways to get involved in providing social service to the community; this was the case with the Science Day Camp. Then, it came from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) as MIT applied for and received funding and Upward Bound was launched nationally. Finally, as the program merged with Wellesley College to form the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, it came from the Office of Education (OE), where it still resides successfully today. While the narrative that encompassed the study findings was chronological, this discussion is divided into two parts: (1) community action and (2) the meaning of community. Each part includes several categories that underscore the ways that community action was realized at both the national and local levels, and the ways that community flourished and grew in the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program.

Community Action

Federal Principles

MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, like many of the other first Upward Bound projects launched by the OEO as part of a national emphasis program during the War on Poverty, was meant to "demonstrate" the ways that a host institution could help provide access to a college education to the children in the low-income neighborhood adjacent to their campus. Similarly to other first projects, it was built on an existing program—the MIT Science Day Camp, which began in 1965 as a pilot summer program for middle school boys who lived predominantly in a nearby federal public housing project. Stanley Salett, who oversaw education programs in the OEO Community Action Program (CAP) office, said that after the success of Head Start, which was the first national emphasis program launched after a pilot

year in 1964, proposals for pre-college programs started arriving from OEO field offices and community action agencies (CAAs) that were being set up across the United States at that time, and it quickly became clear that Upward Bound would become the next program to emphasize. Salett noted that although the national emphasis framing still "satisfied [OEO Director Sargent] Shriver's and [President Lyndon] Johnson's need to have action," it separated Upward Bound from the community involvement aspect that was an integral part of Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964). Additionally, since OEO discretionary funds were being tapped for the program, rather than funding being controlled by local CAAs to distribute as they saw fit, it further cut the CAAs out of forming more of a relationship with the colleges and universities hosting Upward Bound programs on their campuses. Salett does not remember much of a role for CAAs in setting up Upward Bound nationally and said that, at most, institutions looked to CAAs to help them identify students in low-income communities, which they admittedly did not know much about. He said that they stopped short of attempting to learn about the actual needs of the communities and, once they had the help they needed to identify students for their program, turned instead to the CAP office to understand the guidelines for getting funded.

Although involvement of the community being served was foundational to all CAP programs, the initial Upward Bound *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966) were written to encourage innovative, creative proposals, without limiting applicants to a set curriculum or co-curriculum. The idea, according to Salett, was to see what types of interesting proposals would come in, give them a chance to determine what they could work out, and then evaluate them, rather than being overly prescriptive from the start. So, in that political environment, MIT, with 1 year of the Science Day Camp under its belt and no remaining institutional

money for a second summer, applied for funding under Upward Bound. MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron remembered thinking that MIT's initial application denial indicated how far outside the general guidelines they were; their students were seventh and eighth graders rather than high school students, and it was a day rather than residential program. Yet, despite being outside the guidelines, MIT coincidentally met the community involvement criteria at a deeper level than what Salett described from his national viewpoint. When Efron wandered into the Washington Elms and Newtowne Court housing projects and met Elsa Baldwin, director of the Cambridge Neighborhood House, he followed her principles on community engagement and her "cardinal rule" of involving parents in every program in which their children participated.

Host Universities

MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound is rich with examples of ways that the program and institution engaged with the community in the early years. Principles of community involvement were substantively built into the program from the very beginning, with regular parent meetings, input from the community through Elsa Baldwin and the Neighborhood House, and from the neighborhood program Tutoring Plus. There was also some early involvement of the schools, particularly the Roberts Grammar School, where some teachers and staff recommended students for the program, even to the point of the school secretary going to a student's home to explain the program to her parents and assuring them that they could trust that their daughter would be safe and cared for if they let her attend.

When Louis Menand, III, arrived at MIT, with his Office of Economic Opportunity experience, he continued to be intentional about the federal principles of the Title II programs that called for community involvement and made sure to not only hold regular

parent meetings, but also to include parents in discussions and decisions about how the program would operate. He also invited parents to help explore options for creating a joint program with Wellesley College and the pros and cons of moving to a co-educational and residential model; he made sure that there were parent representatives on the MIT–Wellesley Committee (1968). When the newly created program was launched, the model included having students take a bus back to Cambridge for important family time on the weekends, an arrangement for which parents had advocated. When John Terry was brought in with his experience directing the Upward Bound program at Union College, he continued the alignment with the national principles and worked to build relationships not only with the families, but also with Cambridge high school teachers and administrators. While Menand and Terry, as well as Michael Efron, Warren Brodey, Richie Adelstein, and the other MIT undergraduate students and faculty involved in the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound were, up until this point, white, Marshall Milner was the first staff member in the program who was Black. This history is not surprising given that in the mid-1960s, MIT was, and still is, a predominantly white institution. Milner and the other staff and teachers of color who followed him, brought a race-conscious lens to the program. They were able, over time, to counter the idea that MIT, as an institution, was "race-neutral" and began to work to enhance the agency of the community.

Maximum Feasible Participation

When the term "maximum feasible participation" was inserted into Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), it was ambiguous, maybe purposely so. Salett credited his Office of Economic Opportunity colleague Dick Boone with coming up with the term and said it "was a way of underscoring this, in the sense that, 'Hey, this is really serious.'" At the

same time, President Johnson wanted the legislation passed through Congress quickly, and as Salett noted, both Johnson and Sargent Shriver wanted to avoid conflict and any opposition that language such as “maximum feasible participation” might bring.

When Upward Bound was launched, there was never much focus on the “maximum feasible participation” of those being served. This was partly because of the national emphasis approach, which put the spotlight more on OEO and less on the local communities, and also because of the way it was set up, with the funding going directly to the host institutions rather than to a CAA. While this was done to make it clear to the universities that they would have control of the money and that they held the reins on how the programs would be run, it arguably left the community involvement piece as an afterthought.

Then, not only was there less of a focus on intense community involvement and social action once the backlash from Representative Edith Green’s testimony in Congress caused Upward Bound to be moved from OEO to the Office of Education, but there was explicit pushback against it. OEO was in turn dismantled when Nixon came into office in 1969, and all its programs were moved to more “traditional” agencies. Salett discussed the political environment at the time, particularly as Johnson left office and Nixon was sworn in. He recalled the ”venom” with which newly appointed OEO director Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy Dick Cheney forcefully and systematically moved all of OEO’s operations, which, in Salett’s mind, disassociated them from the community action participation that was the hallmark of the CAPs. Despite what was happening on the national level, however, MIT, maybe more so than at some institutions, continued to foster and grow the deep ties to the community forged in their early years as the Science Day Camp, and they maintained that throughout the shift to OE control of the program and beyond.

In 1969, when the OEO was forced to relinquish control of Upward Bound at the insistence of Congress, it put an end to any interesting or experimental practices in Upward Bound. According to Arnold Mitchem, president emeritus of the Council for Opportunity in Education (COE), and director of the Educational Opportunity Program at Marquette University in 1969 when OEO handed over the program, the shift to the more traditional and conservative OE was a "death knell" for some of the "radical innovative avant-garde ideas" that had been generated by local Upward Bound programs. He noted that the OE was not structured philosophically or operationally in a way that could accommodate activities related to innovative curricula or relationships with communities. Mitchem felt that "students lost out because, under OEO, they understood the holistic concept and they attempted to be comprehensive in serving the whole person … connecting and getting the community involved with the parental advisory councils" in a way that OE could not. Looking at the MIT example, however, that did not seem to be the case. Whereas Edith Green castigated Upward Bound and framed it as a reward for dropouts and revolutionaries and was exceedingly clear about her disapproval of programs focused on social change or social action, at the local level in the MIT program, social action was modeled and encouraged.

Early participants like Alvin Riley talked about how the reverend at his church and former Upward Bound director Marshall Milner taught him how to hold a sit-in and protest peacefully. Riley not only recalled participating in civil rights activities such as going to a rally and meeting Jesse Jackson with Milner and other students in the program, but also using what he learned in the Upward Bound program to make changes in his high school. He said that he learned to apply those same principles of community action to organize and plan a sit-in to push for hiring more Black teachers to better reflect and support the student population

in the school. Riley also remembered that when there was a walkout that resulted in calling in the police, Milner was the one behind the scenes working to bring about some peace and "trying to explain to people that kids fight." Riley went on to say that "it was the time racial tension was still very, very strong," and it was Milner who tried to deescalate the situation that was described as a "racial riot" when a fight broke out between a Black girl and white boy, the one explaining at community meetings that "kids fight, kids do, and no matter what, every generation."

Former director John Terry talked about the importance of bringing on Milner as the first Black leader in the program and that while some of the white MIT students did not like his "Black militancy attitude," Milner was able to align himself with the community and serve as a role model to students in a way that those who came before him could not. So, while there was conflict and bad press surrounding Upward Bound and, more broadly, OEO and community action programs, and according to Salett, a "disassociation with what they would have seen as the extreme nature of community involvement under this heading of 'maximum feasible participation'" at the national level, in Cambridge, community involvement and social action remained strong. There was an intentionality around community involvement and social action that was evident in the work of Efron, Adelstein, Brodey, Menand, Terry, Milner, Layne, and many others over the years, each building on the foundation and work of the others who came before them. The intentionality can be seen in the ways that they involved parents, students, teachers, staff, and community members in contributing to how the program was implemented; how they continuously evaluated and made adjustments based on feedback; how they treated students who worked in the program as full members of the staff with important ideas to share; and how they created a sense of

belonging for all involved. They each worked to build the agency of the community, break down barriers of systemic racism on the MIT campus and later in the town of Wellesley and on the Wellesley College campus, and push back on the racist and classist structures and deficit ideology that was pervasive in the public schools.

The Meaning of Community

In studying the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program, spending time doing research in the MIT and JFK Archives, and, most importantly, as noted earlier, conducting oral history interviews with early students, staff, administrators, and others connected to Upward Bound both locally and nationally, my perspective of what it means to create and be part of a community shifted and grew exponentially. The term "community action" and the phrase "maximum feasible participation" expanded similarly and took on broader meaning with more context learned from those who were there, particularly with the benefit of experience and perspective gained in the almost 60 years since they were involved in what many described as a life-changing experience. The mentors who helped lead students to and through the program; their families; community members; the teachers and counselors in the Cambridge Public Schools; MIT and Wellesley faculty, staff, students, and administrators; Science Day Camp and MIT–Wellesley tutor-counselors and professional staff; and, importantly, the Upward Bound students themselves were all instrumental in creating a community and taking action together that far exceeded anything the original drafters of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had in mind.

The following part of this discussion was divided into several sections that underscore the ways that community flourished and grew and that highlight the importance of:

1. involving the community, including parents, families, students, schools, and neighborhood institutions, in the development and direction of the program;
2. creating a culturally responsive, personal, and individualized curriculum that addresses the needs of each student;
3. hiring staff and teachers who reflect the students being served and set the expectation with staff and teachers that the students are capable, enjoyable, and deserving of the opportunity to be part of the community and to attend college;
4. creating a process for leadership development for the students, whereby they have the opportunity to take on increasing responsibility for themselves and others as they progress through the program;
5. developing a college counseling program with a personalized and individualized approach that helps students and families navigate the hidden curriculum of applying for college and financial aid and builds trust with families and students; and
6. building relationships within the program to the extent that everyone participating feels a sense of belonging and that they are part of a family for life.

A discussion of these sections or program elements follows.

Involve the Community

Involving the community in helping to determine the direction of the program was something that the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program did exceedingly well, including parents, families, community members and organizations, friends, and the students themselves. From its first iteration as the Science Day Camp, MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron worked closely with Elsa Balwin, director of the Cambridge Neighborhood

House, to recruit students, who taught him the importance of including parental input in any program involving their children. Lessons learned in the neighborhood-based Tutoring Plus program was also factored into how the Science Day Camp operated, and that organization, which celebrated its 60th anniversary in 2024, had a strong parent committee that was replicated in MIT's program. When the first faculty director, Warren Brodey, invited then MIT President Howard Johnson to speak at the closing exercises of the camp, he made sure to suggest that the president not only mention the involvement of parents, the Cambridge School System, and the Cambridge Alliance (an alliance of community centers) in the program, but also make "specific reference to their help in formulating and carrying out the program." A parent was also asked to speak at the ceremony and encouraged other parents to get involved in supporting their children in the program, "especially the fathers." Over time, as the program evolved, there was always an active parent committee as well as parental representation on committees such as the Joint MIT–Wellesley Committee. In the case of joining forces with Wellesley, there was a series of meetings with parents to discuss the pros and cons of moving to a co-educational and residential model, and they were able to voice their concerns and suggest ways that they would like to be involved in the program moving forward. All these examples are evidence that the program valued and respected the community and their contributions and made the explicit point to others, such as MIT's President Howard Johnson. Acknowledging that their support and trust were essential helped the fledgling program gain solid footing in the community.

Students were always made to feel like this was their program and that they had a say in how it operated. There was a student government with representatives elected by their peers; there was always a version of a student newspaper, which, among other things, was a

forum for student feedback; and students were involved in helping to recruit new students. Additionally, students were able to bring their non-Upward Bound friends to the office to study, to Family Day, and to other events, which not only widened the community in an inclusive way, but also made the students feel like different parts of their life were important and connected with each other.

Another way the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program built community was by working as closely as possible with the Cambridge Public Schools, visiting to recruit students, attending student–teacher meetings with parents, building relationships with the principals, and making concerted attempts to hire teachers from the high school to teach in the summer program. Additionally, whenever possible, Upward Bound had a regular presence in the high school, with former student and staff member Alvin Riley serving as an example of someone who was hired to hold financial aid and college counseling office hours in the school. This relationship building and ensuring that the low-income students and students of color had access to resources not only broke down barriers with the high school, but also demonstrated to the school and to the students themselves that they deserved the same resources and level of care that their white and higher income peers were given. It also made explicit that it was not acceptable to exclude students from opportunities based on the assumption that they were not prepared or "college material."

For former director Marshall Milner and his wife, former college counselor Poppy Milner, being part of the Cambridge community was essential to their roles within Upward Bound, and they rented an apartment on Massachusetts Avenue, not far from MIT's campus and close to where most of the students lived. Their home became an extension of the Upward Bound office, with students dropping by to eat, play games, and visit, and both their

home and the office became places where students felt welcomed and where they belonged. It took time to become a trusted member of the Cambridge community, however, and Milner recalled challenges when he first joined the staff at 19 years old. With the joint program going co-educational for the first time, he knew that the trust he created had to extend to the parents if they were to feel comfortable allowing their children to attend the program. This became clear when one mother asked how she could be sure that he would not develop an inappropriate relationship with her daughter. Not only living in Cambridge but also choosing to become part of the neighborhood adjacent to MIT where students could easily come by and putting in time to get to know the students and families were key to building trust in the community.

The MIT and Wellesley staff and faculty became part of the community by taking an interest in the students individually and as a group. This happened both as part of the official program design—for instance, a faculty member volunteering to teach a course at the Science Day Camp or an undergraduate student signing on to be a group leader—and in many small but important ways. Participants talked about faculty members stopping by to play a pickup game of basketball, meeting and developing relationships with coaches and staff as they used the MIT sailing facilities, going with their group leader to their dorm room, or seeing a project that their group leader was involved in outside the program—the examples are endless. Additionally, throughout Upward Bound's history at MIT, the institution always contributed financially to the program above and beyond the federal grant. This not only created a sense of the program's importance to the institution and indicated that MIT was committed to involvement in the community, but, according to former Upward Bound sibling, student, CIT, college counselor, and director Evette Layne, it also saved Upward

Bound and allowed the program to operate without interruption during a couple years when they were not awarded the federal grant. These commitments to the program as well as how the students were welcomed into the campus community gave them a sense of belonging and made them feel as if they were MIT students.

Culturally Responsive Curriculum

The MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound curriculum changed over time, perhaps most significantly after Roger Lehecka, the Title I consultant, evaluated the program and determined, with much input from students, parents, faculty, and staff, that the program needed to focus on the basics in a way that would help students earn better grades in high school. Reflecting on his 1968 evaluation of the program, Lehecka said,

> [The parents] wanted the practical things. They didn't want [their children] to become imaginative or…. They wanted success. They wanted their kids to have [a] better economic life than they did…. And they were absolutely right to want that.

In that way, as the program focused on math, writing, history, humanities, etc., they aligned more closely with the national guidelines, particularly once it moved from OEO to Office of Education oversight. However, that in no way meant that the curriculum lacked imagination or innovation; on the contrary, they worked hard to hire teachers who were using innovative techniques, such as Cuisenaire rods to teach math, and worked to make the curriculum culturally responsive to students through history, the humanities, and the English classes. Importantly, they personalized and individualized instruction by offering many levels of math and offering tutoring to students who wanted or needed it. Further, they did not allow students to slip through the cracks, working with them to understand each concept, rather than moving forward if most students understood. Participants compared their experience in

math in Upward Bound with that in school and indicated that it took some of them a while to realize that it was the same math. The teachers helped students value that they were smart and capable of learning, an encouragement that was often lacking in their school settings.

Regarding the humanities, Upward Bound, particularly for the students of color, opened a world of Black history and literature for them that was completely absent in the schools. Participants talked about being told that “Black people don’t read, Black people don’t write” and that they were surprised to learn that this was not true, that, in fact, the Wellesley College library, where they were spending their summers, was full of books by Black authors. In offering culturally responsive lessons and encouraging the students to engage in discussions and to ask a lot of questions of the teachers, staff, and each other, the program opened students’ eyes to their own history and potential—so much so that a group of teachers, including some from Boston and Cambridge, who participated in a national study on the impact of Upward Bound in the schools, reported that they did not appreciate students coming back from their summer program pushing back on the traditional school curriculum and pedagogy, and asking for more relevant examples to engage with so that they could see themselves reflected in the curriculum.

One of the most significant aspects of the curriculum was that the program staff, teachers, and tutor-counselors made it personal, individualized to the students’ needs. Beyond math, which was offered at multiple levels and with individualized instruction, and English, which was taught seminar-style with plenty of discussion in small groups, students could choose their other classes based on their individual interests. Former student Lois Savage remembered Upward Bound for giving her “a love for learning” and came away from the program with a newfound philosophy that while it was okay to not know something,

“don't stay in a space of not knowing.” She learned that “you are free to expose yourself to literature and whatever, languages, movies, information, math that you don't know … no matter where you come from, your background, your economics, your race.” The seminar-style courses and small discussion groups encouraged students to, in Savages words, “go get it, go learn it, go read it, go experience it.” Furthermore, the individualized focus continued into the school year with tutoring, study hours, a Saturday program, and, unlike any other program that Louis Menand was aware of, hand-picked apprenticeships with MIT faculty for students who needed the extra stipend and had an interest in the research.

In addition, regarding the program and curriculum, the staff were very respectful in considering what was important to families and students. When the staff learned that parents in the Portuguese community did not feel comfortable with their children living away from home for the summer, rather than giving up and not admitting the students to the program, they assigned one of their best tutors to stay in Cambridge for the summer to set up an ad-hoc program for those students, so that they could participate and continue in the program during the academic year. Similarly, there were seniors who had to work to save for college but who wanted to continue doing the bridge summer after they finished high school. Instead of saying no, the staff figured out how to accommodate the students and provide the curriculum the students wanted and still needed; they worked to break down barriers to participation and did not allow a deficit-based perspective of their students’ situations to prevail. As evidenced by the 1971 annual report and the 1971 and 1974 OE evaluations, the curriculum was designed, evaluated, and adjusted based on regular input from students, teachers, staff, parents, and the high school, rather than replicating the “long-standing philosophy and

pedagogy of the educational establishment” (Van Houten, 1968, p. 5) that had already proven ineffective in the public schools.

Staff and Teachers Who Reflect Students

The MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound staff and teachers were “all in” from the beginning. As Poppy Milner noted, “It wasn't a job; it was not a job.” From the early days of the Science Day Camp, Michael Efron recruited students for the program by going into the neighborhood where they lived and partnering with the Cambridge Neighborhood House. Former student Alvin Riley noted that Efron became a mentor not only because he was in awe of the fact that Efron came to his home to pay his respects when his father died, but also because he spent a significant amount of time in the neighborhood—in the Washington Elms and Newtowne Court housing projects—talking to students and inviting them to join the Science Day Camp. Riley noted that he used those same techniques when he later worked for Fitchburg State University. When the administration expressed frustration at not being able to recruit Black students, he walked into the projects near the university and started talking to students. He also recalled another important lesson he learned from Efron about going into students’ homes when needed. He said,

> I remember one case I had in Lynn. The mother took me by my hand, and she said, “He may have a student aid report in his junk drawer.” She took me by the hand in his bedroom and sure enough, the student aid report was there, and those days you had to turn those in, in order to get financial aid. But that was the same tactic that was used with us when we were recruited into the Science Camp and Upward Bound.

Riley was able to incorporate important lessons about meeting students “where they are” that he learned when he was a student himself from Michael Efron’s example.

The same can be said of Richie Adelstein, who found his calling working in the Science Day Camp and Upward Bound after an unhappy start to his MIT undergraduate career. Both Efron and Adelstein won Compton Prizes—the highest honor given to seniors at MIT for "outstanding contribution in promoting high standards of achievement and good citizenship within the M.I.T. community," for their social service in the community (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1965a, p. 1). This commitment to the program, the students, and the broader community was a throughline in the ways that the staff, administrators, group leaders, and tutor-counselors operated.

As detailed in the 1971 annual report and OE evaluation, many teachers in the summer program were recruited from the high school to teach in Upward Bound, which not only allowed for continuity of learning and a comfort level for students in being familiar with some of the teachers they had in both settings, but also built an awareness of and trust in the program that spread to the high school and helped strengthen relationships between them. Having "friends" of Upward Bound go back to teaching in the high school during the school year brought new teaching techniques into the school and reinvigorated the teachers after spending their summer in such a family-focused, innovative, learning community. Upward Bound had some baseline expectations of the teachers they hired, namely that they liked the students they were working with and that they saw them at all times as smart and capable of learning. While this might seem like a given in a profession dedicated to helping students grow and develop academically, that was not always the case, as evidenced by Van Houten's (1968) national study on the impact of Upward Bound on schools. In addition to liking the students and seeing them as capable of learning, the teachers in the summer program were open to innovative teaching techniques, teaching culturally responsive lessons and topics,

and working with students in a personal, and individualized way. Once hired, most of the teachers and staff returned every summer, building and nurturing relationships with students and creating a continuum of care.

While the staff and teachers in the early years of the Upward Bound program were predominantly white, there was a concerted effort to increase the number of Black teachers and staff teaching and working in the program from the Louis Menand, III, days, and to hire with a race-conscious lens moving forward. It was clear that the students of color benefitted greatly from having a staff that reflected their race and ethnicity, and that the white students benefitted as well by expanding their perspectives and increasing their cultural awareness. Representation matters, and former student Lois Savage recalled being in awe the first time she saw a Black teacher in her elementary school. She said, “And I just remember taking note of everything about him, what he wore, how he taught, how he reacted to Black students and white students, and he was that, ‘Wow, Black people can be teachers, Black men can be teachers.’” Having role models of color was important to former student Alvin Riley, who used what he learned from Marshall Milner to make a difference in his school: He took the knowledge and empowerment he gained from participating in Upward Bound to stage a peaceful sit-in at Cambridge Latin High School, which resulted in hiring more teachers of color. Having role models of color was important to the tutor-counselors as well. Former Wellesley College student Julia Gibbs remembered assisting in the math classroom and learning herself from the math teacher Clyde Payne, who used innovative techniques such as singing to make sure that all students were learning. The 1971 Office of Education evaluator noted Payne’s work, including that he taught math to the littlest children of the teachers and staff during his break. This was another indication that “this was not a job” but a holistic

learning experience for all involved—no one was “on the clock” waiting for the end of the day to disengage. In addition, the intentional hiring staff and teachers of color in the program had a positive effect on parents. Savage also remembered her parents, particularly her mother, not being sure about letting her participate in the program, but when they met Marshall and Poppy Milner, “two educated Black people,” it encouraged them to put their trust in the program and allow their daughter to attend.

Layered Leadership Development

Looking back to the earliest days of the Science Day Camp, students were included in planning how the program should operate, and their opinions were given serious consideration. Once it became co-educational and residential and was experiencing “growing pains” during the first couple summers at Wellesley College, group meetings were held and students stepped forward to tell their peers that behavior had to improve because they wanted the program to continue. Additionally, a student council was formed, with representatives elected by their peers; there were student members on a conduct board; and students were included in a drug counseling course. In every way possible, student voices were included in how the program operated and grew.

The Counselor-in-Training (CIT) Program was very intentional in building layers of leadership into the program. Starting with some of the “bridge” students who had graduated from high school and remained in the program during the summer before they left for college, the CITs served as tutor-counselors and were considered full members of the staff. They helped keep order in the dorms and, like the undergraduate student tutor-counselors, worked with teachers in the classroom and tutored individual students. While the stated goal of the CIT Program was to “inspire leadership development within the younger students by

presenting them with visible possibilities for responsible positions" (MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, 1972, pp. 11–12), the CITs themselves had to grow and develop in their roles, often making the difficult decision of whether to align with the staff or their peers on various issues. Former student Alvin Riley had the additional difficult decision of whether to withdraw his application to be a CIT when he learned that his best friend was applying. He recalled that everyone was saying that he was going to get the position because he was "Mr. Upward Bound" and very close with Marshall Milner, but he knew that his friend was very competitive and would be upset if he did not get the job. So, Riley made the decision to withdraw his application after the interview, knowing that his friend would not be able to take losing the position to him, whereas he would be fine. Although Riley did not have the opportunity to be a CIT, the process was a lesson in the type of person he wanted to be. In the situation of the CITs struggling to align themselves with the staff and not their peers, the staff worked through the issues with the CITs, patiently helping them grow and develop and encouraging them not give up on becoming a leader in the program. Consistently, the program staff and teachers pushed back on the deficit-based framing that was often used to describe low-income students and students of color and worked to bring out the assets and the cultural wealth that they saw in them instead.

There was also significant leadership development of the Science Day Camp/Upward Bound undergraduate student group leaders and tutor-counselors, and the professional staff as well. The MIT and Wellesley College undergraduate students who worked in the program were looking for ways to get involved in the community. Former MIT students Michael Efron and Richie Adelstein both indicated that they found their purpose while working in the Science Day Camp/Upward Bound, and they both went on to have long careers in

education—the former as a high school science teacher and principal, and the latter as a college economics professor. While former tutor-counselor and Wellesley College student Julia Gibbs became an attorney and federal judge, she worked in the Upward Bound program to honor her parents, who were both teachers, and continued to do so on a volunteer basis throughout her career. Treating their undergraduate student group leaders and tutor-counselors as part of the staff, asking for and incorporating their input into planning and operating the program, and giving them increasing levels of responsibility all contributed to the MIT and Wellesley students' leadership development.

According to former director Marshall Milner, the professional staff during those early years was typically made up of young, recent college graduates who were products of the civil rights movement and interested in nonprofit, community-based organizing. As employees of MIT, but with an affiliation with and funding from the national Upward Bound program, came the responsibility to meet the guidelines of the grant while suitably representing MIT. Staff members interacted regularly with everyone, including the president and provost of MIT, the superintendent of Cambridge Public Schools, faculty, high school teachers, neighborhood nonprofit partners, students, and parents. As a 19-year-old hired as the assistant director of MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound, Milner learned quickly to negotiate between these worlds, even having the opportunity at his young age to testify in the U.S. Congress on the effectiveness of Upward Bound. Advocating for Upward Bound in Congress was important to Milner's development and allowed him to take what he gained from that experience back to the MIT–Wellesley program and sustain him in his commitment to the work.

The Upward Bound model was designed to be (and still is) layered in its impact: Professional staff, undergraduate students serving as group leaders, tutor-counselors, and local children enrolled in the program all developed leadership skills that helped shape the direction of their lives and careers. There are countless examples in the MIT–Wellesley program of all these groups paying it forward with careers devoted to educating young people and providing access and opportunity to a college education to low-income students, first-generation students, and students of color.

Individualized College Counseling Program

The MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound College Counseling Program was another example of the personal nature of all aspects of operations. Developing an individualized plan with each student, the staff worked intimately with them and their families, from the earliest stages of making sure that they had the same access to college prep courses and other resources in the high school as other students, to making calls to colleges and asking for additional aid, and to helping them navigate the hidden curriculum of the college and financial aid process. Equally important, they built trust with families to help them feel comfortable sharing personal financial information on applications, and they showed families, through their long-term commitment and constant presence, that they cared deeply about their children and their future.

Another way the College Counseling Program was personal and individualized was by taking care to do what was best for each student, based on their interests and goals, rather than treating them as a monolithic group that should feel lucky to have the chance to go to college. Some participants were best served by doing a year at a preparatory high school, such as Ronnie Layne, while others who started at one college but had to leave because of an

unanticipated situation at home and later chose a different path back into higher education, like Steve Ferguson. Still others did not go to college for various reasons, and their postsecondary plans were still important to the College Counseling Program, with continued assistance and follow-up regardless of how long it had been since a student finished the program. In Ferguson's case, though he did not regret leaving Boston College when first his grandmother and then his grandfather, who had raised him, passed away, he credited the college counseling staff and Upward Bound with giving him so much positive reinforcement throughout the program. He looked up to them as role models, as successful people, so that when he was ready to go back to college, he drew on those skills he learned from them while in the program. He said, "Thinking back to that, 'Okay, well, I know what to do.' And I did it, and if I didn't have Upward Bound that never would've happened." As they did with Ferguson, the college counseling staff worked to make detailed individualized plans with each student. They took students on college visits in groups or individually, helped them with all aspects of the application process, looking at their essays and mailing in the applications, and were there when students received their decisions.

In addition, the college counseling staff helped students fill out and understand the financial aid applications, went to their students' homes to talk to parents, and helped them feel comfortable sharing their personal financial information. Former student Lois Savage said, "Black parents were very, very, 'I'm not giving them my income information' and it's like, 'Well, Dad, you have to, because I have to get financial aid.'" In fact, Savage said, it was not only the financial part of getting to college that her parents needed help understanding, but all of it. Savage remembered very few Black or low-income students being steered toward the college track in the Cambridge Public Schools and noted that her

“working-class parents” initially had the expectation that she would go to high school and “you do well, and you get a good job, a good job for your daughter.” After attending parent meetings, however, they learned “what doors college can open for you” and changed their perspective on the opportunities that might be open to her and her siblings. After hearing about the opportunities that would be open to her as a result of participating in the program, her parents allowed another brother and her baby sister to attend Upward Bound.

Not only did the College Counseling Program work tirelessly to get every student placed where they wanted to go, but they also followed up and made sure students had what they needed to succeed, made sure they had books and syllabi to start reading before they started the semester, for example, and encouraged them to come back during holidays and breaks to visit and let them know how it was going. They did that long term, not just in the first year, and students knew that the staff truly cared about them and their progress. The College Counseling Program was successful because the staff treated students as individuals deserving of time and attention, and they used their knowledge of the system to remove barriers and to insist that their students were given access to every opportunity.

While there is evidence in the archives that the Office of Education was pushing back on programs at private institutions like MIT and Wellesley College for not giving special consideration to Upward Bound students by admitting significant numbers to their undergraduate programs, MIT took the lead and pushed back in return, standing by its program as high-quality and offering students excellent options for where to go to college. Princeton University, also one of the elite private institutions that was under fire for not admitting its Upward Bound students, decided to shutter its program and not reapply for federal funding. The reason they gave for no longer hosting Upward Bound was due to the

OE's focus on basic skill development, whereas Princeton preferred to emphasize higher level math and critical-thinking skills. By contrast, MIT had long before made the decision, with input from parents, students, and the Title I evaluator, Roger Lehecka, that basic skills *were* essential and that it was motivating for them to return to high school after a summer of Upward Bound and see that they were capable of earning good grades. The MIT–Wellesley program placed a strong emphasis on developing academic skills while still focusing on higher level math and critical-thinking skills; and they accomplished both by using innovative teaching techniques, a culturally responsive curriculum, and small seminar-style classes that encouraged discussion and inquiry. The MIT–Wellesley model and individualized, personal college counseling paid off: In 1971, the college counseling staff not only placed 13 of their 16 seniors in various colleges, the majority in 4-year schools, including Boston College, Boston University, Clark University, and Morgan State College, but also one of their students was awarded a scholarship to attend Wellesley College; additionally, they worked with a group of post-graduates "who for one reason or another had not gone on to college" the year before, and three of them were placed in college through their process. By the time the July 1974 College Placement Report came out, all 16 of that year's graduating seniors were admitted to and planned to attend 4-year colleges in the fall. Not only were they going to a diverse group of colleges, such as Assumption College, Brandeis University, Emerson College, Mass College of Art, and Northeastern University, among others, but they were also collectively admitted to a dozen more, which gave them choices and allowed them to make the best decision for themselves and their families with the help of the college counseling team. It also gave them leverage in securing as much

financial aid as possible, and, importantly, it gave them the confidence to know that they had the skills and capacity to succeed in college.

Create a Family

One of the most meaningful elements of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program was the family atmosphere that it created and nurtured. The entire staff, from the secretary to the director and everyone in-between, lived at Wellesley College for the summer, as did their spouses, children, and pets. The whole community ate meals together, attended morning meetings together, and participated in various activities together. Students became part of a network of care and family for life. This was unusual and was noted by both the 1971 and 1974 OE evaluators as very special. Although this study only researched the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program through that 1974 evaluation, former sibling, student, college counselor, and director Evette Layne said that she continued to live at Wellesley College during the summer, alongside students and staff, all the way until the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

The study participants had different needs and took different lessons from being part of the program and part of the Upward Bound family. While none of the parents of the students participating in the study attended college themselves, the majority came from homes in which parents placed a high value on education. In those situations, the students had a lot of support at home, with parents attending meetings and events such as Family Day, and they found somewhat of a second family in the program; their parents looked to the Upward Bound program to guide them and their children. Evette Layne said, “My mom as a single parent was always looking for opportunities for us to gain more education, to participate in activities in the community, to be involved in community service and all those

kinds of things." Others, however, did not receive much encouragement from their families, and their participation in Upward Bound and the subsequent relationships they formed gave them a stand-in family of sorts, which they lacked at home. About his participation in Upward Bound, Steve Ferguson said, "They kept the lid on until I was mature enough to do it myself." When asked for clarification on what he meant, he said that he had a lot of anger issues growing up in an environment where "you don't have anything, but you see other kids that do have stuff." Being part of Upward Bound gave Ferguson the sense of belonging he needed and a family that was there for him—a nurturing and caring family that afforded him a safe space in which to grow up. The impact that the family environment had on the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound students cannot be overstated; this was the nucleus of the program, and all the other pieces—the curriculum, the staff and teachers, the college counseling, the leadership development, and the broad community involvement—were made possible by this beautiful web of support.

The program was not perfect, and even being part of the Upward Bound family was not enough for some students to overcome the poverty and racism that were very real parts of their lives. There were many sad stories of students who did not make it back from the Vietnam War, of students who died in accidents, or in Ozwald Martin, Jr.'s case, killed by the state police. Others never reached their true potential by going to college, despite participating in the program. These stories are vastly outweighed, however, by those illustrating the ways that Upward Bound changed or saved students' lives—stories that told overwhelmingly of how the collective community action of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Program reflected the love in action of everyone involved.

Implications

Sadly, and not surprisingly, the need for programs like Upward Bound has only increased since the early 1960s, and none of the reasons laid out in Chapter 1 has dissipated over time. That, however, is not a reason to give up on or shy away from the difficult realities of today's social and political landscape related to education. On the contrary, now more than ever, those of us with privilege have a responsibility to continue working to break down and remove systemic barriers to higher education for those who have previously been excluded—including low-income students, first-generation college students, and students of color. As former student Tom Hutchins learned from the MIT Sailor Master all those years ago, "You don't give up. You keep trying. If you get it wrong, you try it again."

This critical historical narrative, which delved deeply into archival materials and personal first-hand accounts from staff and student oral histories, is a testament to the fact that the parents, families, program staff, teachers, group leaders, tutor-counselors, and especially the students themselves never "gave up" working to create the shared community and family that was, and still is, the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program. While this study is only one example of an Upward Bound program that successfully worked with the community to increase access and opportunity to a college education for local students, lessons learned from exploring the history of the program led to the following recommendations for practice, policy, and future research.

Practice

If Upward Bound programs want to work to deepen engagement with the local community in a way that increases their understanding of the needs of their students, then they must do so by building relationships with parents, families, local community

organizations, the public schools, and the students themselves. Upward Bound administrators, staff, and teachers can build trust in the community by designing and implementing their program with significant input from those who know and care about the students. Local context from those who live and work in the community is essential; what works best for a program in one neighborhood might not work as well in another, and that important contextual information resides with the students and their networks. Trust is further built with families when they see that the community cultural wealth they and their children bring to the program and host institution is valued, respected, seen as an asset, and incorporated in the way Upward Bound is implemented.

Additionally, program administrators should use evidence from this study as a guide for strengthening their applications for funding and renewals. Current TRIO grant applicants, including those for Upward Bound, are given extra competitive priority points in renewal consideration if they cite a research study and discuss how they would replicate the study's evidence-based practice in their program. Understanding more about the original focus of the program to help communities break the cycle of poverty by engaging with its history, while also looking at a specific example of a program that developed over time in a way that worked within the framework of the Office of Education's criteria, would help programs infuse more community action principles into their programs. Furthermore, since Upward Bound directors have always been prohibited from using federal funds to conduct research on their own programs and students and instead have been limited to focusing on the required federal reporting of program outcomes, the student and staff oral histories that are centered in this study give voice to which program elements were most important to those involved. Finally, Upward Bound administrators should use this study to consider important ways to

advocate for their programs not only with the Department of Education, but also within their host institutions.

Host institutions that are committed to providing quality social service programs in the community should look to the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program to help them think about how to strongly support and advocate for their program both within the institution and externally. Always having institutional funding beyond the federal grant was an important way that MIT and Wellesley College supported Upward Bound, and that never waned over almost 60 years of operation. Leaders responsible for student access, equity, and success must look for opportunities to do the same by securing additional sources of financial support for their Upward Bound and other pre-college programs. Leaders should also pull in their Upward Bound staff and integrate them more fully into the campus community, giving them a voice and a seat at the table in helping to impact policy and practice and a way for them to represent and advocate for their students. Furthermore, institutional leaders can and should look for opportunities to open their campuses more fully to their Upward Bound students, which would help give the students a sense of belonging on campus. Giving the early MIT Science Day Camp students ID cards, allowing them to participate in activities and events beyond Upward Bound, such as sailing, movies, and concerts, and apprenticeship placements ,when possible, all contributed to students feeling like they were part of the campus community.

Policy

The Council for Opportunity in Education (COE) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to furthering the expansion of college opportunities for first-generation and low-income students (COE, n.d.). President Emeritus Arnold Mitchem attributed the political

success of COE's advocacy work to the organization's army of people with a lifelong commitment to the work. At the same time, dedicated TRIO staff and alumni "didn't have the resources to be involved in the policy process" and needed a powerful organization that could put in the time and resources to advocate consistently for support and funding in Congress. While COE has the Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education—its research arm for "conduct[ing] and disseminat[ing] research and policy analysis to encourage policymakers, educators, and the public to improve educational opportunities and outcomes for students from low-income backgrounds and first-generation college students" (Pell Institute, n.d.)—the organization could benefit from adding some qualitative data to its arsenal of advocacy tools. Not only could the archival evidence presented in this study help frame their historical understanding of Upward Bound, but the first-person accounts from staff and student oral histories could add a personal and powerful element to their work.

While COE currently has a TRIO Achievers Program that celebrates students' accomplishments and is "an exceptional opportunity to acknowledge [publicly] that TRIO makes a difference in the lives of thousands of students whose future success depends on their access to higher education" (COE, n.d.), adding some acknowledgment of exemplar programs, such as the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program could add to their ability to advocate in Congress. The evidence presented in this study could be used by COE to highlight a history of an innovative program that involved the community in impactful ways and thereby broadened access to higher education for a whole community.

Future Research

While this study provided an in-depth historical account of an urban Upward Bound program, Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) called for both urban *and* rural

community action to encourage the development of programs at the local level that "give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty" by "bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work" (EOA, 1964, p. 516). Repeating a similar study by examining the history of a rural Upward Bound program would help tease out important differences and uncover essential elements for operating a very different type of program given local context, ways of engaging with the community, and community values. For instance, doing so at Texas State University, where Lyndon Johnson went to college, would honor the commitment he made to his students in rural Texas when he left his community to begin his career in the Senate all those years ago.

Additionally, this study was conducted at a highly selective private host institution (and at a second highly selective host institution once MIT's program joined with Wellesley College). While the program did not meet one of the Office of Education's goals of admitting significant numbers of its Upward Bound students to its undergraduate student ranks, it did meet the goal of providing access to higher education to students who had previously been systemically excluded and advocated with the OE for encouraging a diversity of program types to best meet the needs of students and offer them options. However, researching the history and development of an Upward Bound program at a public institution, where larger numbers of students were able to matriculate after completing Upward Bound, would contribute to the scholarship on how to best provide social services in the community. Studying the history of the University of Massachusetts Boston's Upward Bound program would meet this need for additional research, given that the university was founded on the mission of serving the local community and was awarded federal funding for Upward Bound in 1966, the first summer after it opened its doors to students in the fall of 1965.

Despite the large number of oral histories that make up this study, there are many other MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound student and staff alumni who could be interviewed, adding to the richness of the findings. A different set of questions could be asked to encourage participants to share their memories and perspectives on different aspects of the program. More broadly, a national oral history project could be initiated for Upward Bound or TRIO program alumni, which would multiply their message and create a mosaic of personal stories that illustrates how communities are strengthened and lives forever changed when afforded access and opportunity for a college education.

This research provided a different perspective on Upward Bound compared with previous studies, that is, with student participants as the unit of analysis and a focus on large evaluation studies. Gaining a depth of knowledge of Upward Bound's original anti-poverty/community action framework by instead using oral history interviews and archival research and using campus/community program implementation as the unit of analysis offered some insight into the ways that the prevailing social and political climate impacts public education policy. For those studying the current trend toward a neoliberal agenda, which does not support the idea of providing opportunity to some students, at what is increasingly seen as the expense of others, a historical understanding of Upward Bound as a community action program adds to the scholarship in a way that quantitative research cannot. In all these possible avenues of future research, this study offers some foundational ideas about methods: local context matters; understanding community values and the cultural wealth that resides in the community as well as the cultural wealth that parents, families, and students bring matters; and centering narrators' stories and voices matters.

Conclusion

The War on Poverty was very personal to Lyndon B. Johnson, who recounted his experiences as a student working his way through college at what is now Texas State University and his first job as a teacher in a poor rural school in Texas as he signed the Higher Education Act into law on November 8, 1965 (Gould, 2015). The HEA and the Economic Opportunity Act that preceded it in 1964 led to the Title II TRIO programs, including Upward Bound, focused on opportunity, access, and success for underserved low-income students, first-generation college students, and students of color who would not otherwise have had the chance to pursue a college education. Johnson said, “This will swing open a new door for the young people of America … the most important door that will ever open—the door to education” (Gould, 2015).

Although not an integral piece of the mission at MIT, social service programs, including Upward Bound, remain part of a long institutional legacy of engaging in social issues that impact the community of which they are a part, and joining with Wellesley College added to and strengthened their resolve to provide the best possible program to the Cambridge students they served. So, while MIT and Wellesley College never met one of the Office of Education’s goals admitting significant numbers of their Upward Bound participants, it is clear that the institutions used their significant resources, innovative teaching, and faculty- and student-led service projects to increase opportunity and open educational doors for underserved and minoritized students.

Additionally, the MIT–Wellesley program, from its early days as the Science Day Camp, bought into the community action focus of the Office of Economic Opportunity and Lyndon Johnson’s ideal of “putting the power in the local community” (Califano, 2008, p. 5).

This happened over time by first involving Elsa Baldwin of the Cambridge Neighborhood House, then building on the success of the local Tutoring Plus program, and on to including parents, families, neighborhood organizations, the public schools, and the students in decision making related to the development and operation of the program. As the Office of Economic Opportunity was dismantled and oversight of Upward Bound moved to the Office of Education, the MIT–Wellesley program, with its strong roots in the community and its personal, individualized approach, was able to create and sustain a "family" that surrounded students and to use innovative and culturally responsive teaching and curriculum to meet the changed program goals. As Upward Bound continues into its second half century of service to students, it is important to remember how the programs, including MIT–Wellesley, began: as a cooperative effort between the institutions and their neighbors in the community to open the doors of educational opportunity to all children.

EPILOGUE

Methods

This Epilogue provides background information and details related to the methods used in my study. After framing my role as a researcher and my positionality, I describe my research design, including site and participant selection. I then discuss my data sources and collection methods, which focused on archival research and oral history interviews. Finally, I explain how I crafted my critical historical narrative and address the study's limitations.

Role of the Researcher/Positionality

Although I attended a large, suburban, predominantly white high school with a less than stellar college-going rate, it never occurred to me that I would not attend and graduate from college myself. My high school was on split sessions due to overcrowding, and in retrospect, I understand what that must have meant for the teachers and support staff such as the guidance counselors—that they were overworked and most likely overwhelmed with the number of students for whom they were responsible. Given the number of students in the school and the limited guidance staff, each counselor worked with well over 200 students. Though I do not remember spending much time with the guidance counselor or even attending any college-related events at my high school, such as a college fair or admissions visits, I do know that I went through the process of applying to college with the support of teachers and others in the school. My teachers, some of whom were advisors to student clubs

and activities in which I participated, wrote me recommendation letters and talked to me about college. The guidance counselor, although he did not know me well, knew I was on the "college-track" as an involved student who took honors classes and was part of the National Honor Society. He most definitely reached out to me to discuss options and gather information about my high school activities so he could write me a counselor letter, albeit most likely a bland and run-of-the-mill one. He certainly never discouraged me from going to college. Now, as I flip through my high school yearbook, with the benefit of almost 30 years of experience as an academic advisor and academic support administrator who has always worked on a college campus, I see much that was unknown and invisible to me at the time.

As a doctoral student in the Higher Education Program at the University of Massachusetts (UMass) Boston, I read Bensimon, Rendón, Stanton Salazar, Strayhorn, and other researchers and began gaining a scholarly understanding to add depth to my praxis. I learned about social capital, sense of belonging, and how institutional agents (such as high school guidance counselors and college academic advisors) are responsible for the support or neglect of the students in their charge. I also began to understand that first-generation students, low-income students, and particularly students of color are often marginalized and told both implicitly and explicitly that they do not belong in college.

While there was usually a Black student or two in my high school classes, it never occurred to me to notice that there were no teachers of color and that Black students may have had a different experience in the school than the one I was afforded. My family struggled financially, and I was the first one to go away to a traditional 4-year college (my mother only went to college once she left home and got married, earning a master's in social work; my father took a few classes but never earned a degree; my older brother first joined

the Air Force before later starting and stopping out of college and eventually earning an associate degree; and my other brother, six years younger than I, had not even started high school by the time I left the house. He did go right to college after high school and continued on to earn a master's degree). There was very little understanding of financial literacy and the cost of college in my house. I was, however, expected and encouraged to get a college education and was supported by my family in all the ways that they could. Therefore, despite some barriers, being a white woman, I benefitted from and continue to benefit from the privilege of my whiteness, while my Black classmates did not.

It is with this hindsight, my work history, and current work responsibilities around improving persistence, retention, graduation rates, and success for students at UMass Boston (the majority of whom are students of color and first-generation college students) and my ever-expanding knowledge of equity issues in higher education though my doctoral studies that I came to this historical research on the early years of the Upward Bound program. From my place of privilege as a white researcher and practitioner, it was my pleasure and my responsibility to have conducted this study and to continue my practice in a way that centers the voices and situations of first-generation students, low-income students, and students of color, and as one who works to confront the racist structures that negatively impact the success of college students.

Research Design

History as a Method

Krathwohl (2009) argued that history, as a research method, is "strong storytelling with an organizing rationale" and consists of "the discovery, selection, organization, and interpretation of evidence to describe a situation or to answer a question about past events"

(p. 605). Eisenmann (2004) wrote that “the value of turning a historical lens on these concerns—whether it comes from asking a question specific to history or is generated by contemporary practice—is that practitioners and policymakers gain a fuller, more wide-angled view of the higher education enterprise” (pp. 18–19). Garcia and Yosso (2020) suggested that this

> transdisciplinary methodology is akin to creating a “bricolage” in qualitative inquiry, because we sift through archival data looking for patterns and themes, but we focus on putting together a narrative…. During this organic process, we engage in due diligence, immersing ourselves in multiple literatures and reaching out to solicit feedback from colleagues, who often suggest additional readings and resources. This intentional dialogue and consideration of an array of scholarly lines of inquiry helps us further develop our theoretical and conceptual lenses and our historiographical knowledge. (pp. 61–62)

These principles related to storytelling and the value of gaining a full, wide-angled view of my problem and purpose guided my study.

Qualitative Research

A qualitative approach seemed best suited for this project. I was curious about aspects of Upward Bound and the experiences of participants that could not be answered quantitatively. Process theory and an inductive approach, which focuses on people, situations, events, and the processes that connect them, aligned with my goal of seeking to understand the original focus of Upward Bound (Maxwell, 2013). I considered the meaning of events, situations and actions, and the experiences of participants and staff on the individual level: What did participation mean for them, and what was their story?

Understanding context and history was essential—especially as they were framed by the social and political events of the time. Process was equally important: How did the idea of a community action program become Upward Bound (Maxwell, 2013)? Maxwell (2013) discussed making the choice to conduct qualitative research and how that decision can be influenced by personal goals and experiences. A qualitative focus matched my interests and abilities and allowed me to make important connections between the documents I analyzed and the narratives of the people I interviewed. Qualitatively focused research was also a good fit for my personality and skillset. I have a very social side and wanted the chance to listen to peoples' stories and to ask questions through oral history interviews in which the narrator could focus on what was most meaningful to them. My reflective side, on the other hand, likes nothing more than spending time alone to think, regroup, and process; archival research and document analysis suited me in that regard. The openness and flexibility of qualitative research was appealing to me as well—the ability to modify the design and focus to pursue discoveries worked well with archival research. So many surprising things were uncovered that were not originally anticipated, and I liked thinking about how things fell into place based on those discoveries or because of a conversation with someone or a relationship that was created during an interview. The critique of qualitative research as being a "soft" science, or journalism, is exactly what I liked about it. The human element makes it interesting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), and weaving evidence from both archival documents and oral accounts allowed me to tell a "more complex, nuanced story" (Garcia & Yosso, 2020, p. 66).

Site Selection

I employed historical research methods to conduct a qualitative study involving the early years of Upward Bound, hosted at an institution that participated when the program was under Office of Economic Opportunity control from 1965 to 1969 and continuing into the early to mid-1970s as it settled in as an Office of Education program: Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (and later Wellesley College as the two schools jointly hosted the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program beginning in 1969). To select the site for this study, I considered the persistent racial and economic inequity in urban locations (Lleras, 2008; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1996) and chose the Boston area—a city with a long history of segregated schools and a deep economic divide along neighborhood lines (Johnson, 2017; Muñoz et al., 2015). Given my focus on understanding community action and my unit of analysis of local programs/host institutions, it was relevant that my site was in the Greater Boston area, specifically Cambridge, where I, as well as my family, work, study, and live. I work at UMass Boston in a role centering on providing equitable pathways to success for students; one of my responsibilities includes representing UMass Boston in a partnership with the City of Cambridge's College Success Initiative. I also studied at UMass Boston, as did my son. My family and I live in Cambridge in the neighborhood where the first participants of MIT Upward Bound were recruited; in fact, we live directly across the street from the house where a middle school boy who attended during the first year of the program had lived. My children attended Cambridge Public Schools and graduated from the high school that is the main feeder for MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound. It is not lost on me that my family and I live in a neighborhood that is now unaffordable to the majority of students who qualify for Upward Bound and that the high school is often criticized for being

divided along racial and class lines. For some, like my children, the school is filled with privilege and opportunity, but for many low-income students and students of color, the school falls short. My son and I attended UMass Boston from a place of privilege as well. In choosing MIT–Wellesley as my study site, I had the benefit of conducting research in my own community, in and around my own neighborhood, and drawing from connections and networks that are personally, academically, and professionally meaningful to me.

One final consideration in selecting the Upward Bound program at MIT as my study site was where it is situated within the city. While MIT's central mission has always focused on serving the nation and the world rather than the community, the campus (which has since expanded its footprint considerably) was adjacent to Area Four, an impoverished neighborhood of the city, much like Columbia University and Harlem in the mid-1960s. In the context of the civil rights movement, MIT undergraduate students at the time were calling on administrators to provide them with social service opportunities in the neighborhood, one of which later became Upward Bound, through which MIT students served as group leaders, counselors, and tutors (Lehecka, 1968; Tutoring Plus, 1968). This adjacency of the MIT campus and the neighborhood where most of the students who participated in Upward Bound lived, along with the students' calls for the institution to get involved in the community, made it a relevant site for research on community involvement in the program.

Participant Selection

Three particularly strong connections to MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound helped me gain some understanding of the history of the program and think about participant selection for my study. Joan Becker, now retired vice provost for academic support services and undergraduate studies at UMass Boston, first became involved in Upward Bound as a tutor-

counselor in the MIT–Wellesley program during her undergraduate days at Wellesley College. Dr. Becker went on to have a long career in higher education, became a champion for low-income and first-generation college students, and oversaw Upward Bound at UMass Boston as well as other college access programs during her tenure there. Marshall Milner, well represented in this text as former assistant director, associate director, and director of the MIT–Wellesley program, currently works with me at UMass Boston as the executive director of science training programs; and Evette Layne, MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound sibling, student, CIT, tutor-counselor, college counselor, and director, is currently the director of educational opportunity programs and served with me on the steering committee for the City of Cambridge College Success Initiative. All three were invaluable in my participant selection process, connecting me with former students directly, putting the word out in the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Alumni Facebook group and newsletter, and signaling their trust in me, thereby making participants feel comfortable with me as a researcher. In addition, Milner, his wife Poppy, Evette Layne, and her brother Ronnie all later participated in oral history interviews for my study (Becker attended Wellesley College beyond the years of my study but continued to be an essential source of information for me).

Figure 26

MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Tutor-Counselor Joan Becker (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: *MIT-Wellesley Upward Bound Program Scrapbook.*

Based on the head start I received from my conversations with Becker, Milner, and Layne, I continued to use purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990), including snowball and opportunistic sampling, which allowed for in-depth inquiry with well-situated people and for me to follow the threads that talking to them generated. Continuing to gather background information through informal conversations and semi-structured interviews with others who had connections to MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound and had knowledge of the program's history provided a personal perspective that could never have been teased out from document analysis alone, and the combination of both resulted in a thicker, information-rich analysis. With some preliminary recommendations in hand, I combed the MIT archives for names and

documents related to early Upward Bound students, directors, staff, and involved MIT faculty, administrators, and undergraduates. This was incredibly fruitful as I found several documents that included lists of participants' names and addresses, along with their MIT group leaders' names from the first year of the program in 1966 (MIT Science Day Camp, (1966a). I also gathered information about outside evaluators, siblings and other family of participants, community members who were involved in local community action agencies (CAAs), high school teachers and others who taught in the Upward Bound summer program, and school and city officials. My goal in the early phase of participant selection was to collect general data from as many people with knowledge of or a connection to Upward Bound as possible in an informal way and to prepare for and set up more formal oral history interviews with those who were Upward Bound students, staff, administrators, or undergraduate students, or who were involved at the national level during the mid-1960s to early 1970s. Though I had a goal of looking for four to six former Upward Bound students and two to four Upward Bound staff members from the MIT program, for a total of six to 10 oral history interviews, I ended up having the honor and privilege of interviewing seven former students, eight former directors or staff members (one of whom is now 100 years old and living in Norway, two people who were first students and then staff, a Title I consultant hired to evaluate the program in 1968 (who is also credited with founding the Upward Bound program at Columbia University when he was an undergraduate student there), and three others involved at the national level, for a total of 21 oral history interviews.

Figure 27

Evette Layne (Left) and Martha Hamilton (Right) in the MIT Upward Bound Office, March 16, 2022

Note. Source: Author.

In addition to finding participants through the aforementioned connections, some former students responded to Layne's social media post on their alumni page and agreed to talk to me, so I followed up via email and shared more information about the study. Layne connected me with her brother and former Upward Bound student Ronnie Layne and to

former director John Terry. Former students Tom Hutchins, Edward and Dennis McCarthy (brothers), Steve Ferguson, and Alvin Riley responded to Layne's request for participation. Milner connected me with former students G'Tanya Small and Lois Savage, as well as tutor-counselor Julia Dobbs. Fortuitously, Layne bumped into former Upward Bound secretary Martha Hamilton one day on campus and told her about my study.

During my interview with former student Steve Ferguson, he told me a story about learning about the program when then MIT undergraduate student Richie Adelstein visited his middle school. He mentioned that he reached out years later to thank him for the impact he had on his life and that he thought Adelstein was a professor at Wesleyan University in Connecticut. A Google search and an email to his Wesleyan address connected us. During his interview, Adelstein mentioned his close friendship with MIT undergraduate student Michael Efron during their time at MIT and said that they had lost touch over the years. He said that Efron became a high school principal in Cape Elizabeth, Maine. A Google search of the high school noted a different principal, who responded to my email to say that Efron had retired and quickly passed on his information. Both Adelstein and Efron were happy to hear that I had been in touch with the other and have now shared several Zoom calls to resume their friendship after almost 50 years of not seeing each other. When arranging an interview with former director John Terry, he expressed interest in having his interview at the current MIT Upward Bound office, now located on Mass Ave. in Cambridge. Evette Layne was happy to oblige and gave us a private room within the office suite. Unbeknownst to Terry, I invited Marshall and Poppy Milner to join us for lunch following the interview. They had also been out of touch for close to 50 years, and it is an understatement to say that we spent a

wonderful afternoon with Layne, Terry, and the Milners telling stories, sharing memories, and looking through old photo albums.

Figure 28

Left to Right: Evette Layne, Marshall Milner, John Terry, and Poppy Milner in the MIT Upward Bound Office, March 4, 2022

Note. Source: Author.

I found Roger Lehecka through information in the MIT archives, from his time as a Title I evaluator for the MIT Upward Bound program, and a Google search led me to

discover his history with Columbia University, where among other positions he was dean of students for 19 years and where the Upward Bound program was recently named for him (the Roger Lehecka Double Discovery Center at Columbia University). I emailed him and have since conducted both informal and oral history interviews with him and have continued to correspond by email.

Joan Becker connected me with her colleagues at the Boston University Upward Bound program who had been instrumental in planning an Upward Bound 50th-anniversary celebration, and during a phone conversation with Director Reggie Jean, he asked not only whom I had talked to, but also whom would I like to talk to if given the chance. I went through some names and then said, “Well, I mean, I would love to talk to Stan Salett [credited with founding Upward Bound during his years as the Community Action Program education director at OEO], but I’m sure that’s not possible.” He said, “Oh we’re friends, I’ll email him and ask.” I think Salett responded to him before we were even off the initial call, and I had the incredible opportunity to interview him—a once-in-a-lifetime experience I will not forget. Joan Becker also connected me with her friend and mentor Arnold Mitchem, president emeritus of the Council for Opportunity in Education. While COE was not founded until 1981, Dr. Mitchem was the director of the Educational Opportunity Program at Marquette University in 1969 (when hired, the position was titled, “Director of the Special Program for Culturally Distinct Students,” and Mitchem and his students quickly pushed to change it), and his groundbreaking work to build regional and national support for expanding college opportunities for low-income and first-generation students was relevant to my study. Mitchem, in turn, suggested that I talk to his friend and colleague Ann Coles, who worked in the Institute for Services to Education and the National Scholarship Service and Fund for

Negro Students right after finishing her undergraduate degree in the early 1960s. Dr. Coles went on to have a long career in leadership roles related to college access in both Washington, DC, and the Boston area.

Figure 29

Left to Right: Elizabeth Salett, Evette Layne, and Stanley Salett, at the Upward Bound 50th Anniversary Celebration, Boston, Massachusetts, November 8, 2014

Note. *Source: MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound Facebook Page.*

As a final note about purposeful, snowball, and opportunistic sampling (Patton,1990), the more I spoke to people about the early years of Upward Bound, particularly the MIT–Wellesley program, which has a strong alumni network, and the more my participants talked to their friends and family, the more recommendations I received about others who could add

to the story. Given that I had a wonderful and overwhelming amount of data at that point, I knew I needed to move to writing my study findings, discussion, and conclusion, and stopped adding new participants. I made an exception, however: I conducted one final oral history interview when I learned from Richie Adelstein that he thought the first faculty director of the MIT Science Day Camp was still alive. Dr. Warren Brodey was a psychiatrist and researcher in cybernetics at MIT in the mid-1960s and held the position of faculty director, working alongside student directors Michael Efron and Richie Adelstein. A Facebook search yielded a possible match, and while I did not receive a response from him, I sent a message to his wife, and she not only confirmed that he was the Warren Brodey I was searching for, but also helped set up a Zoom interview. Dr. Brodey was 98 at the time of our interview, recently celebrated his 100th birthday, and lives in Norway. While I technically learned more about the early days of Upward Bound at MIT through the various reports authored by Brodey found in the archives, listening to him talk about his memories and feelings from those years was awe-inspiring and well worth the effort. I also continued to reach out and talk to people who were mentioned in interviews or in documents informally, which rounded out context in places and filled in some notable details.

Data Sources and Collection

My study included archival searches for relevant contextual data and for locating potential participants. As Garcia and Yosso (2020) noted, “Finding archival evidence generates new interpretations and research questions, and ultimately enables us to construct a more nuanced narrative” (p. 71). Document review and analysis helped frame the study, reveal “patterns and themes” (p. 61), and later to “reorganize the documents chronologically or thematically” (p. 63). The other main sources of data were oral history interviews with

early Upward Bound students and staff. Oral accounts can reveal the “human” experiences that may have been omitted, dismissed, or not captured in documents, and furthermore give participants the space to “express their thoughts and feelings in their works and on their own terms” (Ruiz, 1998, as cited in Garcia & Yosso, 2020, p. 67). The sensitizing concepts of race and class guided my data collection, gave me some broad categories with which to organize the data, and were threaded through my interview guide questions for study participants.

Figure 30

Cassette Tape of an Interview on the History of Upward Bound With Michael Efron and Marshall Milner (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: Marshall Milner.

Archival Research

Archival research was conducted at the following archives: MIT, UMass Boston, the National Archives (Office of Economic Opportunity), the JFK Library (Sargent Shriver Papers), and the Oral History Archives at Columbia (War on Poverty Collection). The MIT archives, in which I spent many days doing research, was the main source of material for information related to the institution's Upward Bound program and early staff, administrators, participants, their families, and the community. I first spent 5 full days in the MIT archives during the summer of 2018, when writing an early paper on the MIT Upward Bound program for an independent study class. One archivist, Myles Crowley, not only assisted me and answered questions, but also showed an interest in my research and took the initiative to set aside some additional documents that he thought might be useful to me. I learned from that experience how important it is to find people who are interested and willing to go above and beyond to help me understand something or make a connection. At the time, I had no idea that MIT would become the site of my dissertation study, and I considered it an exercise in conducting archival research. I did however, request and review every box, folder, and document in any collection yielded from a keyword search on "Upward Bound" or "Science Day Camp," including the papers of urban planning professor and chair of the MIT Faculty Committee on Education in the Face of Poverty and Segregation Kevin Lynch, Assistant to the Provost Louis Menand, III, former Provost and President Jerome Wiesner, among others. During those days, I reviewed hundreds of documents and amassed an impressive library of items copied from the files that I thought might be useful for more in-depth study, including reports, evaluations, participant lists, and curriculum, to name a few. I revisited the MIT archives again during the summer of 2023 and spent a day adding to my

document library, this time very focused on reviewing files related to the creation of the joint program with Wellesley College and how those years of the program developed. At this second visit, 5 years after the first, not only had my proficiency at targeting what might be fruitful in the massive MIT archive grown, but also, by that time, I sought documents that could potentially help me address my research questions related to parents, families, the references to the community, and program evaluations and reports. By the end of the day, after looking through hundreds more documents, I yielded about two dozen that became essential to completing my research. Given that I was done conducting interviews by that time, the newly acquired documents were key to weaving the story of the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program from both participant perspectives and archival evidence. As my understanding of the history grew, so did my ability to make meaning of what the archives had to offer, and during that second archive visit in 2023, I found myself reordering some of the boxes I first perused in 2018 and looking through them with a more discerning eye.

At MIT, in 2018, I searched for Upward Bound documents as well as Science Day Camp materials since the camp was a precursor to Upward Bound. Tutoring Plus was a neighborhood-based program that shared information to help MIT develop their Upward Bound program, and MIT had an active faculty-led social service committee as well. All documents related to Tutoring Plus and the social service committee are relevant to MIT's relationship to the community and were included in my search. Some of the documents I found included reports, memos, evaluations, curriculum, lists of students, teachers, and group leader, newspaper clippings, press releases, photographs, resumes, and grant applications. I hoped to find the original tapes for 40 hours of interviews with students, families, faculty, and staff that Roger Lehecka, the Title I consultant, used to draft his evaluation of the

program in 1968 (Lehecka, 1968), but if they were saved, I was never able to locate them. As noted earlier, the 2023 visit yielded some of the later documents up through the mid-1970s.

The archives at UMass Boston, which like MIT, has hosted an Upward Bound program since 1966, contained valuable documents related to launching Upward Bound that gave me important context and helped shape my ideas around my research design and purpose. Likewise, at UMass Boston, archivist Jessica Holden was extremely thoughtful in helping me think about which collections and documents might be useful to me. I had the distinct honor of looking though the unprocessed boxes of Charlie Desmond's papers on Upward Bound. Dr. Desmond, who was the one-time director of Upward Bound at UMass Boston, and who continues to be a leader in the ongoing push for college access and success for low-income and first-generation students in the Boston area and nationally, contributed important national Upward Bound pamphlets and documents, original Upward Bound *Guidelines* (OEO, 1966), newspaper clippings, including an article related to perceived "mismanagement" of Upward Bound (McNett, 1968), and some congressional hearing transcripts about community action programs (Congressional Record–House, 1968). Additionally, the UMass Boston archives yielded some correspondence from Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), Boston's CAA, about forming a Greater Boston Upward Bound Committee. Although the idea of a consortium of Upward Bound programs in the Boston area never materialized, one document indicated that longtime activist Melvin King was the acting chair of the group, and another reflected a request for a "letter of agreement" between programs and ABCD, which highlighted ways that Boston's CAA was attempting to keep the local programs connected to their organization and the local communities (Barcus, 1966; Cove, 1967).

The National Archives house the Office of Economic Opportunity papers, and I initially hoped to spend time there looking for primary documents and audio files used to compile a report (OEO, 1970) that included field research at 22 Upward Bound programs across the United States. Gaining in-person access to the OEO documents in the National Archives proved difficult during the COVID-19 pandemic, but the archive librarians were able to answer some of my questions via email. Unfortunately, when I asked about the specific OEO report to determine if recordings, transcripts, and/or field notes exist in the archives, I learned that, generally, none of the raw data collected to compile any of their reports was saved once the study was published. There was another OEO-sponsored study, conducted to determine if Upward Bound had any impact on the secondary schools (Van Houten, 1968), of which, likewise, I would have liked to review the original interviews and other data compiled in the study. I suspect this would have given me some more rich details to add to my findings, given that this national study noted participation from Cambridge and Boston teachers. However, like the OEO (1970) report, those interviews were not archived.

Sargent Shriver's papers are housed in the JFK Library Archives, although there are likely documents related to his work in the National Archives as well. I hoped that looking through files related to his time as OEO director would provide more insight into the community action focus of Upward Bound. Though not necessarily adding to my understanding of Upward Bound, I was looking for the memo that Stan Salett wrote to pitch the program to Shriver, who approved the idea for Upward Bound and eventually gave the green light to allocate $25,000,000 in initial funding (Hines, 2014; Salett, 2011). While I have not (yet) located the memo, a day well spent at the JFK Library uncovered some interesting notes and speeches, including some possible responses to the public's pushback

related to the War on Poverty, and a speech by then Vice President Hubert Humphrey on Upward Bound, but not much that contributed to my research. The Oral History Archives at Columbia allowed me to gather additional background information about the War on Poverty programs, and I was able to review some interview transcripts from some of those involved in drafting the EOA (1964) legislation. Again, while these transcripts did not necessarily pertain to my specific research and purpose, they added to my knowledge of the social and political context of the War on Poverty and community action programs of that time.

I began my study with some very specific ideas about the information I would like to find in various archives but quickly learned the importance of staying open to the process of "turning pages" to see patterns emerging and of taking various pieces of paper that might not be evidence of something individually but, when woven together, reveal a story with a clear point (Caro, 2019). As noted by Robert Caro (2019), by two-time Pulitzer Prize and two-time National Book Award-winning author of *The Power Broker* and the *Years of Lyndon Johnson*, when recounting the advice given to him by the editor of *Newsday* on how to do investigative reporting, "'Just remember,' he said. 'Turn every page. Never assume anything. Turn every goddamned page'" (Caro, 2019). Carefully looking at every document in every folder in every box, and then looking again when something ambiguous became clear, spurred me on, even when I felt like I should give up.

Oral History Interviews

The Oral History Association (OHA; 2013) defined oral history as

> a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving, and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events. Oral history is both the oldest type of historical inquiry, predating the written word, and one of the most

modern, initiated with tape recorders in the 1940s and now using 21st century digital technologies. (p. 1)

Oral history is concerned with the making of meaning and power relations in the interview situation (Mertens, 2020) and involves an interviewer who inspires narrators to begin the act of remembering, jogs memories, and records and presents narrators' words (Yow, 2015).

With my growing understanding of the power of oral history and its ability to guide narrators (interviewees) in telling their story, I did the necessary preparation that resulted in oral history interviews with 21 people who were connected with the MIT–Wellesley Upward Bound program or Upward Bound nationally (see Appendix A for a list of narrators and the dates of their interviews). I tried paying attention to the characteristics of oral history interviews, as described by Shopes (2011), which were open-ended, led by interviewee and influenced by me as the interviewer. The oral history interviews ranged in length from 1 to 2 hours, were audio recorded, transcribed (first by an online transcription service, Scribie, and then carefully reviewed by me), and then sent to the narrator for a member check post-transcription. The narrators had the choice of an in-person, Zoom, or phone interview, and each person was interviewed only once, with follow-up questions answered over email. The narrators had (and will have post-study) the opportunity to sign a deed of gift to make their oral history interview available in an agreed upon archive. During the process, I understood and frequently reminded myself that the interviews were based not only on memory, but also on what the interviewee was able and willing to share. My goal was to gain new insights about past experiences in a prolonged, planned, scheduled, and flexible way. It is important to note that best practice in oral history research requires identifying narrators by name, barring exceptional circumstances that should be determined in advance of the interview.

This is outlined in the OHA general principles, which were adopted in 2009, and is justified based on "importance of context and identity in shaping the content of an oral history narrative" (OHA, 2009).

To prepare for the oral history interviews, I drafted a sample email to send to early Upward Bound participants, with an invitation to narrate an oral history interview; developed the interview protocol (see Appendix B); created an informed consent document designed to give potential participants a clear idea of what they could expect during the interview process (see Appendix C); developed a document of consent and deed of gift (see Appendix D); and created draft interview guides for former students, directors, and/or staff that included questions around participants' early education and training, the details of their experience in Upward Bound, at MIT and Wellesley College, and in the community, what they remembered about issues of race and ethnicity from the time they were in the program, and what creating a "ripple effect" in the community meant to them; I also developed contextualized interview guides for Stan Salett, Arnold Mitchem, Roger Lehecka, and Ann Coles (see Appendix E). I reviewed and followed best practices in oral history interviewing (OHA, 2013), developed a plan for recording and transcribing interviews, and did my best to consider possible length, location, modality, member checking, and follow-up so I could give my participants a clear idea of what participation would mean in terms of scope, time, and commitment.

While my study did not comprise human subjects research (as defined by the Code of Federal Regulations Title 45 Part 46.102) and, therefore, I was not required to apply for IRB approval, I did my due diligence to meet IRB ethical standards by completing the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI). This gave me much to consider about

ethical research design. Since my research topic focused on delving into a historical account of poverty and lack of opportunity, even with the passage of so much time, I had to guard against exploiting participants as “others” without taking their interests and needs into account. This relates to beneficence, one of the ethical principles in human subjects research (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1979). A Twitter thread from Dr. Queen B (Bhattacharya, 2019) focused on the colonial nature of “capturing” or “giving” others a voice—phrases often used in describing the goals of qualitative research—and that made me more aware of the importance of words (and my own thinking) in describing and enacting methodology. I could not presume agency in telling the story of others. Since my study included interviews, informed consent, both the process and the documentation, was something I had to consider, which relates to respect for persons, another ethical principle in human subjects research (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1979). To ensure that potential participants comprehended what being part of a study means, I made every attempt to explain my research problem and goals in an accurate way. I also shared an interview guide in draft form to serve as an example of the types of questions I intended to ask to make sure participants would be comfortable responding. I talked about what I would be doing with the data I collected and explained that a participant could choose to leave the study at any point if they did not feel comfortable for any reason. In addition, I talked through the document of consent and deed of gift in a pre-interview phone call or first meeting. I gave my study participants an opportunity to do a member check and review the initial transcript for accuracy and gave them the option to donate their final transcript to an appropriate archive. Giving participants choices about how their story would be used gave

them a vehicle to use their own voice rather than being portrayed as data to benefit someone else's research.

Figure 31

Joseph Parker, Former Director of the Marist College Upward Bound Program (Photo Undated)

Note. Source: Family of Joseph Parker.

My comfort level with and preparation for oral history interviews was greatly aided by a pilot oral history interview with the former Upward Bound director at Marist College, conducted in the fall of 2020 as part of an oral history class at UMass Boston. Through this

process, not only was I was able to fine-tune my interview protocol, develop an interview guide draft, test recording, transcription, and member-checking processes, and create a document of consent and deed of gift, but I also gained a friend, sounding board, and committee member in my pilot narrator, Joseph R. Parker.

Critical Historical Narrative

Developing a historical narrative that was tied to the purpose of my study and responsive to my research questions and that considered the lens of the sensitizing concepts of race and class was a "critically reflective process" (Garcia & Yosso, 2020, p. 69) that entailed careful review and analysis of archival documents, oral history interviews, and the interplay between them.

Additionally, to make sense of much of what was in the archives, some depth of understanding of the social and political education landscape of the time was required. Garcia and Yosso (2020) used the term "critical triangulation" to describe the expansive way that narrative inquiry brings in contextual factors and considerations, often extending beyond the initial subject, that then may lead to more questions and ways of thinking about the topic (p. 66). My historically focused literature review was helpful in this regard and served me well in guiding my understanding of what I was seeing and what to look out for as I dug through boxes and pored over folders in the archives.

The historically focused literature review, initial analysis of archival documents, and talking to well-situated people with knowledge of Upward Bound helped me think about designing my draft interview guides and formulating questions. This was a dynamic process that evolved over time. As I began interviewing participants, I returned to the archives to pull on more threads as they shared their experiences and I continued to learn more about the

early years of Upward Bound. As Garcia and Yosso (2020) noted, "Because we sometimes formulate questions from the primary sources, we can generate dialogue between the archives and those who lived during that time and place" (p. 67). For example, given that one of the original goals of Upward Bound was to create a "ripple effect" in the community, I asked participants, toward the end of their interview, what that idea meant to them. I also asked about what they remembered about attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class in the program, at the institution, and in the community, given the timeframe during the civil rights movement and Johnson's War on Poverty.

Having access to so many primary documents was an incredible privilege and not one that I took for granted. There were newsletters written by participants (MIT Science Day Camp, 1965, 1966b, 1966c), participant lists (MIT Science Day Camp, 1966a), and press releases about events such as program graduation ceremonies (MIT Office of Public Relations, 1966a, 1966b) that I used to spark memories during interviews. Some participants saved and shared their own artifacts of that time in their lives, and that added to my data as well.

To analyze the oral history interviews I conducted for this study, I listened to, read, and re-read the interview transcripts deeply and began putting the responses to questions in loose findings areas related to different aspects of community in Upward Bound. Intentionally "sifting through the transcripts, looking for themes and patterns of experience" while also focusing on the details of individual experiences revealed a "collective memory of a community [that was] valid and valuable to the narrative" (Garcia & Yosso, 2020, p. 69).

Using the sensitizing concepts of race and class helped me think about how to analyze my findings in a way that took into account the pervasive structural racism and classist

ideology that my participants faced, given that both MIT and Wellesley College were and continue to be elite, predominantly white, and racialized organizations (Gorski, 2018; Ray, 2019; Rendón, 2020). Additionally, the students in my study were subject to rampant deficit ideology as low-income students and students of color in the Cambridge Public Schools and in the broader Cambridge community (Gorski, 2018; Ray, 2019; Rendón, 2020). When higher education is understood as a racialized (and predominantly white) institution, a program like Upward Bound can mitigate the ways that minoritized communities' agency has been diminished and can demand that their students have access to the same opportunities as their higher income and white peers. By developing relationships in the high school, by insisting that students were given access to college prep courses, and by calling a college to push for more financial aid for a student, for example, the Upward Bound staff broke down barriers for their students and helped restore some of their diminished agency. When the unequal distribution of resources was legitimized by claims, such as those of Representative Green, that some students were not "deserving" because they did not work hard in high school, then a program such as Upward Bound is necessary to counter those claims and to provide the students with individualized and ongoing access to resources, a culturally responsive curriculum, teachers and staff who reflect the race and ethnicity of the students, and a sense of belonging in a community where the assets and cultural wealth that the students and their families bring to the program are celebrated (Yosso, 2015). These examples illustrate how a deeper understanding of the study findings can be achieved when using a race- and class-conscious lens.

Crafting a critical historical narrative was a slow process, made even slower by my exuberance in following every lead, going down every rabbit hole, and talking to everyone

who showed even a spark of interest in my study. Robert Caro (2020) wrote about his methodology of slowing down and thinking things through, which is an apt description of my process. He was given the advice early in his career not to "think with his fingers" (p. xi), and he learned to really think before putting words to a page. In Caro's work, he found that he could not move forward until he was able to "show—to make readers not only see but understand and *feel*"— the point he was trying to make or the story he was trying to tell. (Caro, 2020, pp. xiii–xiv).

Caro (2020) devotes a whole chapter of his book, *Working,* to a sense of place, by which he means

> helping the reader to visualize the physical setting in which a book's action is occurring: to see it clearly enough, in sufficient detail, so that it feels as if he himself were present while the action is occurring. The action thereby becomes more vivid, more real, to him, and the point the author is trying to make about the action, the significance he wants the reader to grasp, is therefore deepened as well. (p. 141)

While Caro's point stands on its own, it is fortuitous for my study that the example he gives to illustrate the importance of a "sense of place" is Lyndon Johnson, the subject of Caro's four-volume (fifth in progress) biography, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson* (Caro, 1982, 1990, 2002, 2012). Caro (2020) is determined to help the reader understand the significance of the Texas Hill Country to Johnson, how it shaped his "feelings, drives and motivations, his self-confidence and his insecurities" and not only understand but "empathize with him, feel with him" (p. 142)—its poverty—"there was a level of poverty there that a city person could hardly imagine"—and its loneliness—a "harsher kind of loneliness" (pp. 144-145). Caro (2020) later describes an anecdote from *The Passage of Power* (2012) in which speechwriter

Dick Goodwin, who was trying to ascertain if Johnson was sincere about civil rights, says that Johnson replied, "I swore to myself when I was teaching those kids in Cotulla [Texas Hill Country] that if I ever had the power, I was going to help them. Now I have the power and I mean to use it" (p. 206). With the passage first of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and then in quick succession the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), which eventually led to Upward Bound, Johnson made good on his promise—and understanding, *seeing*, and *feeling* the poverty that Johnson experienced in his childhood helps the reader believe his sincerity and his drive. Likewise, a sense of place was essential in my study of the early years of Upward Bound: *seeing* the MIT and Wellesley campuses from the perspective of middle and high school students who lived in nearby public housing projects; *feeling* the excitement of a first plane ride or a show at Lincoln Center; and *understanding* what it meant to be part of this community.

Limitations

A few limitations to my research bear mentioning. Upward Bound was meant to bring both urban and rural youth out of poverty through access to education. My choice to give my study an urban focus was related to the continuing issue of urban poverty and uneven access to and opportunities for higher education (Lleras, 2008; NCES, 1996). While rural poverty is equally deserving of attention and research, investigating a rural Upward Bound program would not have addressed the problem that led me to my study. Additionally, the site I chose, MIT, is a highly selective, well-endowed, and politically well-connected institution, as is Wellesley College. At the time of Upward Bound's formation, MIT had the political clout in Washington to reverse the initial denial of funding under the Upward Bound grant, and they felt comfortable pushing back on the Office of Education's criterion that they must accept a

substantial number of their Upward Bound students to the institution. They also always contributed financially to the program in addition to the federal funding they received, which is most likely not typical. Choosing a site at a public institution or one that was not so secure financially or politically may have yielded different findings and results.

Another limitation of my study was that it focused on Upward Bound programs as the unit of analysis and did not examine who was eligible for Upward Bound. When it was launched in 1966, the criteria for participation were based on a strict federal definition of poverty. While the program has served a majority of students of color during its almost 60 years in operation, being a student of color has never been one of the selection criteria. A look at Upward Bound over time shows that the definition of who is eligible for the program did in fact change in the 1970s, but the Department of Education stopped short of adding race as a consideration. Instead, the program requires students to be low-income or first-generation, or both (DOE, n.d.). When asked if something was lost when the criteria moved to include the more objective “first-generation” college student and away from using a race-conscious lens, Council for Opportunity in Education President Emeritus Arnold Mitchem said,

> There's no question … statistically I don't know that you can argue that Blacks lost out…. But I'm sure what it did do... — I think Blacks benefited. I think Mexicans benefited, I think Irishmen benefited—is that it expanded the pie, so it was a bigger pie…. The bottom line is, you're talking about public political money, so could TRIO [a group of federally funded education programs that includes Upward Bound] have grown to the extent it has if it was perceived as a Black program? I doubt it based on

> my political experience over the time I was involved. I really do. TRIO has avoided all the affirmative action wars in part because of "first-generation."

Mitchem's point that being race-neutral may have saved TRIO (which includes Upward Bound) is an important one given the pushback in Congress, particularly from Congresswoman Green, who spearheaded the narrative that some students were not "deserving" of the opportunity to attend college and that they should not be rewarded for not doing well in high school while others who "worked hard" and "earned" any opportunity they were afforded through their own "merit" were not eligible for a program like Upward Bound. A study focused specifically on the race and ethnicity of participants may yield different results.

A final limitation, focused on the historical nature of my study, relates to data collection and interpretation. Given the timeframe set in the mid-1960s, Upward Bound participants who were in high school and group leaders and tutor-counselors who were undergraduate college students almost 60 years ago were not easy to find; some have passed on; others did not learn about or chose not to respond to a request for participation in my study; and others may have been hard-pressed to remember the details of what they experienced so long ago. One relevant example is Hasan Sharif, the person who was tasked with holding Dr. King's umbrella on that rainy day in Boston so many years ago for King's 1965 address to the community on Boston Common. Sharif, who, many years after that speech, worked as an instructor and counselor for Upward Bound at Roxbury Community College (Sharif, 2012), passed away in 2017. Not only would he have been a rich resource to ask more about the community-related focus of King's speech, but he also likely had a wealth of knowledge about Upward Bound in Boston. Others I would have loved to talk to

are one-time MIT Upward Bound Director Louis Menand, III, who passed away in 2008, and Cambridge High and Latin School and Upward Bound teacher Leslie Kimbrough, who passed away in 2012 (Richinick, 2012). In both cases, an oral history would have added a depth and richness to what I was able to learn from archival documents and talking to others.

Likewise, with archival research, authenticity must be considered: Documents are likely missing, some may have been drafts, and I may have misinterpreted something based on not understanding important context. Cultural definitions may have changed as well (Krathwohl, 2009). Frequent reminders of the questions I tried to answer and keeping the purpose of my research at the heart of everything I did mitigated limitations and guided my work.

APPENDIX A

ORAL HISTORIES LIST

Oral Histories Conducted by the Author:

Richard Adelstein, January 7, 2022

Warren Brodey, September 30, 2022

Ann Coles, March 18, 2022

Michael Efron, January 17, 2022

Steven Ferguson, December 5, 2021

Julia (Dobbs) Gibbs, April 20, 2022

Martha Hamilton, March 16, 2022

Thomas Hutchins, December 3, 2021

Evette Layne, March 16, 2022

Ronald Layne, December 2, 2021

Roger Lehecka, October 24, 2022

Dennis (Bergendahl) McCarthy, December 22, 2021

Edward (Bergendahl) McCarthy, December 22, 2021

Marshall Milner, January 19, 2021

Poppy (Dade) Milner, January 19, 2021

Arnold Mitchem, March 1, 2022

Alvin Riley, February 16, 2021

Stanley Salett, November 5, 2021

Lois (Barnes) Savage, February 25, 2022

G’Tanya “Gerri” Small, February 25, 2022

John Terry, March 4, 2022

Oral Histories Conducted by Others:

Michael Efron interviewed by Marshall Milner, ca. 1970s

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- Send an email to the interviewee asking if they would be willing to be interviewed. Give a general idea of what the interview will be about, what I am interested in learning, and how the information I gain in the interview will be used. Follow up with a phone call as needed and give more details to the interviewee.
- At the pre-interview meeting or phone call, repeat the overview of what the interview will be about and what I intend to do with the information. Explain that it will be an informal interview and that I have drafted a series of potential questions that will help me better understand the Upward Bound Program from a [fill in director, staff member, university administrator, student, etc.] perspective. Ask if they are ok with being recorded during the interview. Let them know that they do not have to answer a question if they choose not to, and can ask to stop the interview at any time.
- Ask them to sign a document of consent; let them know that they will have an opportunity to do a member check of their interview.
- Explain that typical protocol for oral histories uses full names and the final (member-checked) transcript can be put in an archive. Check to make sure that is ok with interviewee (they can think about it and not answer until after interview and member check). Oral history narrators will sign both a document of consent before the interview, and a deed of gift after the interview if they agree to having the transcript put in an archive.

- Ask if it is ok to contact them post-interview for any follow-up or clarifying questions.
- Thank the interviewee for taking the time to be interviewed.
- Process the transcript and get it back to the narrator for member checking quickly while the discussion is still fresh; write a memo immediately following the interview with logistical notes (time, location, and length), any observations about body language, etc., and any information given during the interview about additional people to contact.

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

University of Massachusetts Boston
Department of Leadership in Education
100 Morrissey Boulevard
Boston, MA 02125-3393

Informed Consent for "Communities in Action: The Early Years of the Upward Bound Program."

Introduction and Contact Information: You are asked to take part in a research study. **Participation is voluntary.** The researcher is Gail Stubbs, Ph.D. Candidate, Higher Education, Department of Leadership in Education. The faculty advisor is Tara Parker, PhD, Chair, Leadership in Education, and Professor, Higher Education. Please read this form and feel free to ask questions. You can reach Gail via email (gail.stubbs@umb.edu) or phone (617-962-3924). The study you are participating in involves academic research for Gail's dissertation.

Description of the Project: The purpose of this historical study is to illuminate the original anti-poverty community action focus of Upward Bound during its first five years; and to examine the program elements that may have been lost as the program moved from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to the Office of Education (OE) in 1969 and beyond. Learning from Upward Bound alumni and former staff may help current educators as they think about how to best partner with the community in ways that have both breadth and depth; meaning, how to work within the federal guidelines set by the Department of Education while also having an impact beyond the individual students in the program.

Best practice in oral history research requires identifying participants by name, barring exceptional circumstances that should be determined in advance of the interview. Participant names and Upward Bound Program sites will not be masked in this study. Contact Gail if you would like to participate but have questions about privacy and confidentiality.

Should you decide to participate in this study, you will have a pre-interview preparation phone call (~30 min), review consent forms and an interview guide in advance (~30 min), one interview (~1 to 1.5 hours), and review the written transcript (~ 30 min to 1 hour). If the investigator has clarifying questions, or you agree to a follow-up interview, an additional phone call or in-person meeting may occur (optional 30 min to 1 hour). You will spend between a total of two and a half to four and a half hours participating in this study and should expect participation to occur over the period of two to four weeks.

Oral History Interviews: An oral history is an open-ended interview between a narrator (interviewee) and researcher (interviewer) and is meant to be a recollection and discussion of experiences related to the topic of the interview. While a preliminary interview guide will be provided as an indication of the types of questions that the interviewer is thinking about, no preparation is required, and there is no expectation that these questions will be asked or answered in any specific order. The interviewee will guide the flow of conversation based on their personal memories, stories, and experiences.

Risks or Discomforts: Discomforts may include the use of recording equipment, and using Zoom or the phone if you are not available in person and sharing of personal information. You will have the opportunity to refrain from responding to a question or a line of questioning and can discontinue your participation at any point in the study. Gail is fully vaccinated against Covid-19 and will maintain social distancing, hand washing, and mask wearing protocols to protect the health of participants.

Benefits: There is no direct benefit to you from participating in this study. Your participation may help us learn more about community involvement in the Upward Bound Program.

Confidentiality: While your identity and Upward Bound site will not be confidential in this study, Gail will take precautions to protect your privacy during the interview process by conducting the interview in a private space. Information gathered for this project will be password protected or stored in a locked file cabinet and only Gail will have access to the data. Digital audio recordings and written transcripts will be maintained indefinitely once you voluntarily convey ownership to the public domain (there is a separate Deed of Gift consent form once you have had the opportunity to review the transcript) and destroyed after three years if you choose not to sign a Deed of Gift.

Voluntary Participation: The decision whether or not to take part in this research study is voluntary. If you do decide to take part in this study, you may end your participation at any time without consequence. If you wish to end your participation, you should contact Gail or Dr. Parker via email or phone.

Questions: You have the right to ask questions about this research before you agree to be in this study and at any time during the study. If you have further questions about this research or if you have a research-related issue, you can reach Gail via email (gail.stubbs@umb.edu) or phone (617-962-3924), or the Faculty Research Advisor overseeing this project, Dr. Tara Parker, via email (tara.parker@umb.edu) or phone (617-287-7728).

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE DOCUMENT OF CONSENT AND DEED OF GIFT TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

Document of Consent

I, ______________________, hereby consent to being interviewed on ____________, and to have that interview recorded in an audio format, in connection with a dissertation project at UMass Boston. I understand that I will be asked questions related to the Upward Bound Program, including my education, employment, career, teaching, mentoring, community involvement, goals, achievements, challenges, and obstacles.

I understand that I have the right to decline answering a question or line of questioning and may choose to stop the interview at any time. I retain the right to review the audio recording and/or transcript before signing a Deed of Gift conveying ownership of the written transcript to the public domain. Once signed, I understand that the transcript may be made available to researchers, students, and other persons in an archive or organization.

Interviewee:

Name _______________________ Signature _______________________Date: __________

Interviewer:

Name _______________________ Signature _______________________Date: __________

[Adapted from The Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy oral history program.]

Deed of Gift to the Public Domain

I, _______________________, do hereby give to an appropriate archive or organization, which will be jointly determined at a later date, the written transcript of my interview conducted on ________________________________.

I authorize the agreed upon archive or organization to use the transcript in such a manner as may best serve the educational and historical objectives of their oral history program. In so doing, I understand that my interview will be made available to researchers and may be quoted from, published, or broadcast in any medium that the archive or organization shall deem appropriate.

In making this gift, I voluntarily convey ownership of the transcript to the public domain.

Donor:

Name _______________________ Signature _______________________Date: __________

Interviewer:

Name _______________________ Signature _______________________Date: __________

[Adapted from Ritchie, Donald A. Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide, Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2014.]

APPENDIX E

DRAFT INTERVIEW GUIDES

Sample Questions for Upward Bound Director/Staff Member

An oral history is an open-ended interview between a narrator or interviewee (you) and a researcher or interviewer (Gail) and is meant to be a recollection and discussion of experiences related to the topic of the interview. This preliminary interview guide is an indication of the types of topics and questions that I'm thinking about, but no preparation is required, and there is no expectation that these questions will be asked or answered in any specific order. You will guide the flow of conversation based on your personal memories, stories, and experiences.

Education and Training

- Can we please start by talking about your education and training? Where did you grow up and go to school?
- Can you describe your path to college? Can you remember a mentor or counselor who helped you?
- While in college, what ideas did you have about the type of work you wanted to do?
- How do you think your background and education/identity later shaped how you engaged with students and did your job?
- What about your family, your children? How did they influence your work with students, and how do you think your work with students influenced them?

Upward Bound Host Institution

- Can you tell me the story of how you became the director (a staff member) of the (institution) Upward Bound Program?

- Do you remember anything about the stated job description? What do you think they were looking for in a director (staff member)?
- While serving as director (a staff member), did you have other responsibilities at the institution? Tell me about those various roles and how you managed them.
- How did the institution support you in your director (staff) role?
- Can you describe your office and the Upward Bound student space?
- What can you remember about the attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class on campus?
- Why do you think (institution) chose to participate in Upward Bound?

Students

- What about the Upward Bound students? Do you remember anything about how they were perceived on campus?
- Can you describe what the selection process was to participate in Upward Bound?
- Which elements of the program you ran do you think were the most instrumental in advancing the goals and mission of Upward Bound? Did they shift over time?
- Can you describe a typical day during the school year? What about a summer program day?
- Did you keep in touch with some of the former students once they went to college? If so, what do you think that meant for those students? What did it mean for you?
- Talk about the students you had in the program while you were director (a staff member).
    - Do you remember a student who you feel exemplifies the best of what participation in Upward Bound can mean?
    - What about a student for whom you wish things had turned out differently?

Community

- Thinking back on the history of Upward Bound as a War on Poverty Community Action Program, were elements of those ideals of community involvement visible in the program when you first became director (a staff member)? Did you see that change over time?
- The first National Upward Bound brochure talked about the program having "ripple effect." What does the program having a ripple effect mean to you?
- Do you have a sense of how (institution) is perceived by the community?
- Can you tell me about your relationship with the local high schools and community organizations?
- What about the community attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class?
- Was there a person in the community who you considered a real friend of Upward Bound?

National/Regional Upward Bound

- Was there a person in the National or Regional Upward Bound Program Office with whom you had a significant relationship?
- Were there differences between the National goals, as you understood them, and the goals that were most important to you?
- A few years ago, Upward Bound celebrated 50 years. What do you think about the longevity of the program and why it is still needed?
- What is/was your favorite thing about Upward Bound?
- What else is it important that I know about Upward Bound from those early years?

- Can you suggest someone that I might want to talk to about Upward Bound, particularly from a historical lens?

Sample Questions for Upward Bound Student

An oral history is an open-ended interview between a narrator or interviewee (you) and a researcher or interviewer (Gail) and is meant to be a recollection and discussion of experiences related to the topic of the interview. This preliminary interview guide is an indication of the types of topics and questions that I'm thinking about, but no preparation is required, and there is no expectation that these questions will be asked or answered in any specific order. You will guide the flow of conversation based on your personal memories, stories, and experiences.

Early Education and Background

- Let's start by talking about your education and background. Where did you grow up and go to elementary and high school?
- Please describe your path up through high school. Can you remember a teacher or counselor who mentored or supported you?
- How do you think your background and education/identity later shaped your college and career path?
- What about your family? In what ways did they influence your education and career?

Upward Bound

- How did you come to participate in Upward Bound? Do you recall how you were recruited to participate in the program?
- In what ways did your family influence your Upward Bound participation, and how do you think your participation in Upward Bound influenced them?
- Can you recall a typical day in the Upward Bound summer program? What do you remember about the academic and social activities? What about a typical day during the school year?
- Did you continue in the program throughout your high school years?

- What about the Upward Bound staff? Was there a counselor or person who stands out in your memory?
- In what ways did you feel welcome and supported in the program?
- How would you describe the Upward Bound physical space?
- What do you remember about the attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class in the program? What about on campus at MIT (and later on the Wellesley College campus)?
- Do you remember feeling differently about high school after participating in Upward Bound? About your opportunities for the future?

Community

- Did any of your friends, neighbors, or classmates attend the program with you?
- Do you have a sense of how Upward Bound was perceived by your community? What do you remember about the community perception of MIT?
- What about the community attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class?
- Do you remember instances of community member involvement in Upward Bound?
- What about your family? Do you recall their participation in Upward Bound events or activities?

College and Beyond

- Can you describe your college application process? Did your ideas about college change during the program?
- While in college, what ideas did you have about the type of work you wanted to do?
- In what ways did you keep in touch with the program after you left for college?
- What is/was your favorite thing about Upward Bound?

- What else is it important to you that I should know about Upward Bound from those years when you attended the program?

Example of Contextualized Interview Guide: Stan Salett

Kennedy Administration

- Tell me a little about yourself and your path to the Kennedy administration. Can you talk about your work during that timeframe, and where the idea of community action came from?
- What does the term "maximum feasible participation" mean to you? What do you recall about the framing of Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) related to involving the community?

Civil Rights Movement

- You mentioned in your talk, "An Afternoon with Stan Salett" at Boston University, that Upward Bound would have never happened without the Civil Rights Movement. Can you talk about what you mean by that? From your perspective, how are they connected?
- Please describe your involvement in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In what ways did CORE shape your career trajectory?
- As you moved from Boston, to NYC, and to DC, can you talk about CORE and the Civil Rights Movement as a through line in your life and work, and what it meant to you?
- In your interview at BU, you mention that you were exposed to incredible leadership through your involvement in CORE, and then go on to talk about President Johnson calling civil rights leaders to the White House, including James Farmer, MLK, Jr., Roger Wilkins, and Whitney Young to help him think about how to handle civil

rights issues. Can you share your perspective on the effect of that meeting on community action?

- What do you remember about the attitudes on race, ethnicity, and class in the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Kennedy/Johnson admins?
- The EOA used deracialized language about bringing youth out of poverty – but differentiated between urban and rural youth. What do you recall about that framing?

Upward Bound Projects

- Can you talk about the Upward Bound summer pilots in 1965? How involved were you in deciding which projects would move forward, and what do you remember about the criteria you used? Did that change in the first call for proposals following the pilots?
- Please talk about Upward Bound as a National Emphasis Program, and how that model worked with the CAP/CAA structure. In what ways do you think that influenced how the program was implemented and viewed by the community?
- What about the decision to contract out the administration of Upward Bound to Institute for Service to Education (ISE). Can you talk about how that worked and if you think that bypassing the CAA structure had any unintended consequences for Upward Bound?
- What do you recall about the 1967 Amendments to the EOA (1964), otherwise known as the Green Amendments – named for US Representative Edith Green (D-Oregon)? How did the legislation change CAP and CAA structure? From your perspective, did that have an impact on Upward Bound?

- What about the Upward Bound move from OEO administration to the Office of Education? Can you talk about that transition and your involvement?

Community

- Thinking back on the history of Upward Bound as a War on Poverty Community Action Program, were elements of those ideals of community involvement visible in the pilots and first programs? Did you see that change over time?
- The first National Upward Bound brochure talked about the program having "ripple effect." What does the program having a ripple effect mean to you?
- What do you remember about Upward Bound in Boston from those early years, and the involvement of ABCD?
- Was there a person in the Boston community at that time who you considered a real friend to Upward Bound?

National/Regional Upward Bound

- A few years ago, Upward Bound celebrated 50 years. What does that say to you about the longevity of the program and why it is still needed?
- What is/was your favorite thing about Upward Bound?
- What else is it important that I should know about Upward Bound from those early years?

Example of Contextualized Interview Guide: Dr. Arnold Mitchem

Education, Background, and the Educational Opportunity Program

- Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your path to becoming the Director of the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) at Marquette University in 1969. Can you talk about your work during that timeframe?
- Looking at the history of EOP at Marquette under your leadership, I see that the first TRIO program there was Student Support Services (SSS) in 1969, and then you brought on Upward Bound 1973. What do you remember about your vision for building and expanding the TRIO programs on campus in that way? (or in that order)
- In a recent interview, you mentioned the book The Other America by Michael Harrington. Can you talk about the influence the ideas in the book had and continue to have on your life's work?
- In the documentary "Answering the Call: Celebrating 45 years of the Educational Opportunity Program," you talk about the racial tension on campus in 1968, and Maureen Hoyler goes on to say that students were pressuring the institution to open up and serve low-income, and particularly Black students. There is also a shot of the Marquette Tribune in January 1969 with an article about your appointment to direct a program for "culturally distinct" students. Can you talk a little bit about that framing of your role, and what you remember about the climate on campus at that time related to race and class?
- What do you recall about the involvement of families and Milwaukee community members in the EOP program? Did you have a parent council or representation from community agencies/institutions (churches) or the public schools in steering the

programs? How were students recruited to participate in SSS and later in Upward Bound?

Council for Opportunity in Education

- Can you talk about how the idea of the Council for Opportunity in Education (COE) came about, and what you remember about your early ideas of what it could and should become?
- You have attributed the advocacy work of COE as being successful politically because it built an army of people with a lifelong commitment to the work. Can you talk about that grounding in the community and grassroots activism – how you began to build it and why it is important that it happened in that way?
- You are credited with formulating the concept of "first-generation" students. Can you share your perspective on why it was important to broaden the college access conversation in this way? Do you think that decision had any unintended consequences for TRIO programs or for the students they serve?

Community and Beyond

- The first National Upward Bound brochure talked about the program having "ripple effect." What does the program and other TRIO programs having a ripple effect mean to you?
- In "Answering the Call," you say that EOP was a radical experiment. Around the time that you began directing the program at Marquette, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was being dismantled and its programs moved to "more traditional" agencies with more congressional oversight. In the case of Upward

Bound, as you know, it was moved to the Office of Education in1969. What are your thoughts on what was gained and what may have been lost in that move?

- What else is it important that I should know about the founding of COE from those early years?

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