

The following preliminary report is offered to the University community for comment. Responses may be sent to the co-chairmen of the Task Force on the Black Presence:

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Serving on the Task Force, which continues its work and will report further as indicated in the introduction, are nine other members of the faculty and staff, two alumni and four non-University members:

Faculty and Staff

Dr. Bernard Anderson, associate professor of industry (vice-chairman)

Alexander Capron, associate professor of law

Andrew J. Condon, director of student life

Dr. Helen C. Davies, associate professor of microbiology (medicine)

Dr. Richard S. Dunn, chairman and professor of history

Dr. Fred G. Kempin, chairman and professor of business law

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Civil Service Commission

Draft Report of the Task Force on Black Presence

Parts I and II of Four Parts

INTRODUCTION

Until the late nineteen-sixties, the leading American universities in varying degrees were white institutions: black students were few, black teachers and administrators were rarities, and black trustees were almost unknown. Side by side with the predominantly white institutions, there were well-known predominantly black institutions. In the wake of the civil-rights movement, it belatedly became clear that the major universities would have to abandon their predominantly white character or lose place as significant participants in the shaping of the nation's future.

At Pennsylvania, the determination to break this pattern gained momentum with Martin Meyerson's installation as President in 1970. The Development Commission which he established took stock of the University's most pressing problems, and one of these was the relative dearth of blacks in every phase of the University's instructional and research programs. To remedy this, the Development Commission, in January of 1973, proposed the commitment of money and energy to enlarge the numbers of black students and teachers and to strengthen curricular initiatives rooted in the black experience. Taken in the aggregate, these proposals were intended and expected materially to enlarge and enhance the black presence at Pennsylvania within the short term.

Inventories taken in 1974 and 1975 showed progress in black undergraduate admissions, less in black graduate admissions, and less still in black faculty recruitment and retention. By 1976 there was substantial student and faculty concern—pointedly articulated by the Black Faculty and Administrators—that the momentum of 1973 had been largely dissipated. The question arose whether academic indifference—compounded by progressively austere budgeting—was taking precedence over the achievement of goals vital to the University's educational and moral well-being. This sense of unease was shared by many of the Trustees. In this setting, the Provost (himself one of the co-

chairmen of the Development Commission) in August of 1976 established this Task Force, requesting it "To take a fresh and critical view of our successes and failures in strengthening the Black Presence at the University of Pennsylvania," and to report its findings and recommendations to the Trustees and to the general University community. More specifically, the Provost put the following four questions:

How do we improve the effectiveness of our Affirmative Action Program?

How do we strengthen Black Presence in the student body?

How can we contribute a significant impact from black scholars and the black experience to University curriculum development?

What needs to be done to improve University life for black faculty, administrators, and students?

The Task Force (a broadly based group composed of persons within and without the University) decided to organize its agenda in conformity with the Provost's charge: four subcommittees were created dealing respectively with (1) admissions, (2) faculty recruitment and retention, (3) curriculum, and (4) the quality of university life. Two weekend meetings were held in which subcommittees discussed their respective areas of concern and prepared working summaries. The Task Force leaders have met on several occasions, in addition to these long weekend sessions. A brief progress report was presented to the Trustees at their January, 1977 meeting.

In the pages that follow are the Task Force's findings and conclusions in the area of affirmative action and in undergraduate and graduate admissions. The reports on University life and curriculum will follow.

I. Affirmative Action

Through an Affirmative Action Committee the Task Force reviewed the University's efforts to increase black employment. The committee met on a number of occasions; discussed progress in black recruitment with the University's equal employment officer, other administrators, persons in various schools and departments responsible for affirmative action, and academic officers of the University; examined data on the University's experience and the current Affirmative Action Plan of the University; and compared the Pennsylvania program with those at other universities through review of documents and conversations with people who have had responsibility for the affirmative action programs at those schools.

The program to increase the numbers of black faculty and staff at all levels (and other minority group members and women) at Pennsylvania operates according to an Affirmative Action Plan approved by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on 10 February 1976. The plan sets forth numerical goals for each academic and administrative unit and delineates policies and procedures for meeting these goals. These procedures can be traced in turn to a memorandum of understanding reached between the University and DHEW in November 1974. Overall responsibility for administration of the program rests with James Robinson, Administrator of the Office of Equal Opportunity, who works with the Provost and his Executive Assistant, James Davis, concerning academic appointments, and with Vice-President for Management Paul Gaddis and Executive Director of Personnel Relations Gerald Robinson, on nonacademic personnel. Under the Plan, each school in the University is required to designate one faculty member as its Affirmative Action Officer (AAO) to work with the dean and department chairpersons to promote the goal of diversifying the faculty. Subsequent to the approval of the Plan, the academic and nonacademic AAOs have been constituted as a Council on Equal Opportunity headed by Professor Madeleine Joulle, the AAO for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Finally, initial albeit far from sufficient steps have been taken formally to establish an Office of Minority Faculty Recruitment to follow through on efforts led in 1973-74 by Professor Robert Eng and since then by Professor Houston Baker.

The faculty employment record over the past five years indicates that some progress has been made:

	1972	1977
Professor	4	6
Associate Professor	6	7
Assistant Professor	7	13

These figures say a good deal in themselves; from them it is immediately apparent that percentage progress in some categories, while not insignificant, still amounts only to small absolute numbers: in a University-wide faculty of more than 1700 there are currently only 26 blacks. Moreover, the gross statistical data fails to reveal that most of the black faculty are found in the professionally-oriented schools (Dental Medicine, Law, Medicine, Nursing, Social Work and Wharton). In the core area of the University, the liberal arts, there are only two senior black faculty members (both in the same department) to be found in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (which, with more than 500 faculty, is second in size only to the medical school) as well as three assistant professors. It is sometimes said that progress cannot be more rapid because the University is in a period of financial retrenchment which results in fewer new appointments and promotions. Yet from 1972 to 1975 there was a 15 percent increase in the total full-time faculty.

Similarly, the nonacademic figures given here do not suggest the extent to which the black personnel are primarily in the lower ranks for each category, as is demonstrated by the salary data compiled for DHEW. More important, black men and women are notable by their scarcity in important positions in the senior administrative staff of the President, Provost and the vice-presidents. Since the Task Force has concluded that the effectiveness of an affirmative action program is in large measure dependent on the moral suasion of the University's leaders, it goes without saying that the power to persuade is greatly diminished when it is not coupled with vigorous and conspicuous action.

The Task Force was gratified that in their remarks to us the President and the Provost have reiterated, and indeed strengthened, the sense of urgency and commitment they feel toward an increased black presence at all

employment ranks. Given the consensus on the need for affirmative action to improve on past results, the Task Force sees no purpose in further recriminations concerning unfulfilled goals which have been set; rather, we have addressed ourselves to the development of means for achieving better results in the future.

A. ACADEMIC PERSONNEL

A. *Nature of Affirmative Activities*

There are a number of components of an affirmative action program for academic personnel, including the setting of goals, the developing of a pool of qualified persons, the search in that pool to identify prospects, the selection of appointees based upon a nondiscriminatory policy with an eye toward fulfilling the goals set, and finally the retention of the appointees at Pennsylvania.

1. *Goals:* Although it must come first in the affirmative action program, the setting of goals cannot be divorced from other parts of the program. The aim of the program is not simply the establishment of numerical targets. Rather, the setting of goals is useful to remind all responsible personnel at the University of the need constantly to improve on the black presence at Pennsylvania.

Prior to the 1976 Affirmative Action Plan goals for hiring were derived by applying a percentage figure (estimated for each discipline to reflect the current proportion of blacks being trained in the field) to the number of new appointments. The 1976 Plan revises the calculation. Goals are now derived by multiplying the percentage figures times the total numbers in each academic unit; the difference between this figure and the number of blacks on the present faculty becomes the goal for hiring.

The Task Force agrees with this revision in method but emphasizes that given the limited pool, the establishment of goals by this method does not complete the University's obligation.

In many academic fields this method of calculation will yield such a small number of positions that no further appointment activity would seem to be dictated. Yet this result would not comport with the aspirations of the University to be a leader and to go beyond the minimum efforts which may be numerically dictated by the small number of blacks in many fields at the moment. In this, as in all areas, the University should strive to be more than numerically "average." Moreover, the special attractions of Philadelphia lead us to believe that the University can draw to its faculties promising or established black scholars in excess of the numerical mean for their respective disciplines. Thus, while the goals set by utilization review are important, they do not preclude a careful evaluation of each appointment to assure that it not only is free from racial bias but that it accords proper weight to the University's desire to increase the number of qualified black faculty members in all fields.

An additional issue is whether such goals should be centrally generated by the University administration or should arise from each school's or department's own faculty. To some degree it may seem difficult to rely on faculty bodies to establish realistic goals since there is an understandable reluctance on their part to commit themselves on paper to numbers which it may be difficult to meet in the actual appointments process.

The Task Force recommends that initiative goalsetting come from a faculty review in each field of the realistic prospects for appointments in that field. Only if the numbers generated by this faculty initiative fall short of those which seem to a person from outside the discipline to result from an analysis of the data ought the goals to be dictated by central administrative action.

The Task Force believes that the emphasis on faculty initiative may, in fact, produce more ambitious goals since the faculty may see their own interests as being well served by an increasing diversification of background among their colleagues. Moreover, the processes of review which are a part of goalsetting can generate faculty awareness of the University's—and their own—responsibility to promote affirmative action.

The increased emphasis on personnel planning at the University, including the recent promulgation of moving five-year projections of "durable income" available for faculty support, provides an excellent

opportunity for the more deliberate and rational affirmative action effort that the Task Force believes is advisable.

2. *Developing the Pool:* In developing the pool of potential black faculty members universities have an opportunity not available to other employers, since it is through their own activities, namely their graduate programs, that they produce their future personnel. Thus our concern with increased representation of blacks on the Pennsylvania faculty requires that this University—as well as the sister institutions to whom it so frequently turns for junior faculty—give increased emphasis to the education and training of young black scholars and teachers lest the process of goalsetting, which makes reference to the percentage of blacks in the available pool, become in effect a negative quota holding down the number of future appointments.

Further improvement in the pool of available candidates can be expected if personnel committees cast their nets into waters seldom explored in the past. Yet so long as the people doing the hiring are dubious about the background possessed by the candidates who result from this broader search, no real change in appointments can be expected.

For this reason, among others, the Task Force recommends a faculty internship program which would bring a number of very talented minority doctoral candidates to Penn for a year to complete work on their dissertations and to teach one or two courses.

The internship (of \$5000 to \$10,000) would be competitive awards, each department submitting its best candidates; the department would have to indicate that there is some likelihood the intern will be hired as a regular faculty member following the internship. Such a program should benefit the interns by enriching their research and scholarly training as well as increasing black presence, especially in departments now lacking such a presence, and giving the University an early opportunity to become acquainted with first-rate black (or other minority) Ph.D.s. Even were an intern to go on to another institution after the year here, the University will still have made a contribution to the national pool of minority candidates with good preparation for a career in teaching and research.

Adequate funding for the internship program will be a very important factor in its success; the program should lend itself to seeking support as part of the current development effort. The administration of the internship program would involve promotion and initial screening by the Committee on Minority Faculty Recruitment and final approval by the Provost's Staff Conference. Detailed issues (such as those set forth in the May 4, 1976, memorandum to the Provost from the Minority Faculty Recruitment Committee) can be resolved once the program has been approved in principle by the President and Provost.

3. *Identification:* Once the pool has been developed, it is necessary to search in that pool for attractive prospects. Academic personnel recommendations coming forward to the Provost must in all cases result from formal search committees in the relevant faculty bodies, operating either on a standing basis or established especially for the identified vacancy, each committee having a member designated as its affirmative action member whether this is the Affirmative Action Officer for school or another person working with that officer.

The Task Force recommends that personnel committees be reminded at the outset of their search of their responsibility to advertise appointments, to write to the appropriate people at a wide range of universities, to contact the Office of Minority Faculty Recruitment, and to establish whenever possible ongoing files of potential black appointees for the future.

It has previously been suggested that an Office of Minority Faculty Recruitment be established with the development of a central file on minority faculty prospects being one of its major functions; this file would then be available to departments seeking to fill academic positions. The Task Force agrees that the existence of such an Office at the University would provide a valuable locus for information particularly from persons from outside the University or from outside the field in question who have for one reason or another had occasion to identify a promising minority faculty member whom they wished to bring to the attention of relevant hiring committees. But the Task Force is of the view that a central data bank is unlikely to prove a primary means of improving black presence at Pennsylvania, nor does there seem to be anything more than surface appeal in the mere fact that files from around the University would be "centralized." The variety of fields in which searches are conducted and the inevitability that much data will become rapidly dated makes it unlikely that any central office can be a major resource, or certainly one that would relieve individual search committees of their obligation to conduct a broad and serious search for black faculty and to build their own files. Nonetheless, it seems advisable for search committees at least to touch base

with the Office to determine whether any names have been referred which bear investigation.

4. *Selection:* The data generated by the search process should, obviously, lead next to the selection of a candidate or candidates based upon the University's long-standing policy against discrimination in appointments. The Task Force also endorses the coexisting aspect of the University's affirmative action policy, formally adopted and frequently reiterated, which requires that in order to diversify the faculty, blacks (and members of other minority groups and women) are to be preferred all other things being equal. To give real substance to this policy, the Task Force agrees with the view (developed in greater detail below in the discussion of documentation) that the recommendation of any candidate who is not a member of a minority be made in light of a specific comparison of that candidate with the most highly qualified alternative black candidates rather than simply in terms of a general notation of the number of black (and other minority) applicants who were reviewed by the search committee.

Whenever such a comparison is not submitted, or even more so whenever a full-fledged search was not performed, the burden should be on the department making the recommendation to explain why broad-scale recruitment efforts and concrete comparisons were inappropriate in that particular instance.

While the Task Force considered the suggestion that an appointment should be rejected when the department or school in question continues to fall short of its stated goal over a period of one or more years, but did not find it necessary to go that far at this time.

The failure to meet the recommended goals should prompt a process of encouragement from the central administration for a greater effort by the department in the future. If a substantial shortfall continues in the achievement of the goals set, a restriction in the future availability of appointment slots for a department or a school becomes appropriate.

5. *Retention:* The final aspect of an affirmative action program is the necessity that proper steps be taken to make the University of Pennsylvania an attractive place for black faculty members who are offered positions and especially for those who come to join the faculty. This is a subject which is addressed in the discussion on University life. It goes without saying that salary equity is the minimum prerequisite for a sound and successful retention policy for black faculty, and this is obviously one area in which the central administration can play an important role. The affirmative action program now in existence has brought about steps to redress past inequalities in salaries. The figures available to the committee indicate that on the faculty side there is no statistically apparent inequality for blacks. The numbers involved are too small for any broad generalizations, but the black faculty include a number who have moved up from the junior ranks to tenure; distinguished senior faculty have chosen to stay at Pennsylvania despite attractive offers to go elsewhere.

B. Documentation

Two of the major requisites for an effective affirmative action program are adequate statistical records for measurement of the program as a whole and means for assuring compliance in each individual case. These two requisites come together in the need for adequate documentation of the steps followed in the appointments process. Such documentation can yield information about the individual decision as well as information which will be useful in judging the overall success of the program.

Our review of a number of specific appointments decisions within the last year made apparent that the process does not always run according to plan. An analysis of the procedures and forms used generally suggested that the problems with the individual cases we had inspected were not unique to those cases. We were thus led to conclude that the present mechanism for documentation is less than adequate.

Part of the problem should be laid to rest now that a uniform "Equal Opportunity Compliance Statement" has been adopted by the Council on Equal Opportunity and been approved by the Provost's office. With the implementation of this standardized compliance statement, which can be expected in the near future, both the process of appointment and the processes of reappointment and promotion, which are covered respectively by two forms, should be much better and more easily documented.

As a substantive matter, it remains to be seen whether the compliance statements will generate adequate information and, more important, will effect an improvement in the processes of searching for and appointing black faculty members. The format adopted by the Council on Equal Opportunity gives reason to hope for success since the compliance statement directs the attention of search committees to the relevant procedures which should be followed and reminds them that their attempts

to comply with University requirements will be scrutinized by others. Moreover, the form, by requiring the listing of numbers of blacks and others who were considered for the position, may make graphically evident to a committee the adequacy or inadequacy in objective terms of its efforts and thereby spur it on to a more conscientious and open search.

C. Additional Requirements for a Successful Program

Beyond the documentation process there are other points which the committee has identified as being associated with success in affirmative action programs. Prime among these is a strong, and of necessity frequently reiterated, commitment to the program on the part of administrators from the highest level of the University. One burden under which the affirmative action effort labors is the widespread sense that those who are involved in the process are in effect implementing rules which are generated outside of academe. An Affirmative Action Officer, like a fire marshal, is seen as an intruder into the University who is carrying out orders of only marginal if any relevance to our setting.

Thus, it is important that the President and Provost, as well as deans and department chairpersons, make clear by deeds as well as words that the work of the affirmative action officers, and the Council on Equal Opportunity as a whole, has their wholehearted endorsement as an expression of a University commitment that is independent of, and indeed goes beyond, the formal requirements of law.

A second avenue of implementation is the allocation of additional resources. As indicated previously, the process of setting goals for affirmative action purposes should be linked with the general increase in conscious personnel planning which the University is now undertaking. To make the addition of minority faculty members easier during a period of general budgetary stringency which limits the availability of new positions, the Provost has provided a pool of financial support to supplement faculty funds. Unfortunately the fund has been underutilized, which suggests that the major bottleneck up until now has been in the identification and recruitment of minority faculty members rather than in the availability of spaces for them.

The Task Force recommends that this supplemental fund continue to be available and that further steps be taken to overcome its underutilization.

While it appears to the committee that the limited duration of such support (three years) may create a disincentive for its use, this explanation, if true, requires renewed effort to make the fund attractive by educating the deans and chairpersons to its value, since continuation of supplemental support for black faculty beyond a short period might be counterproductive. It might prove to be harmful to the prospects of such faculty members were their appointment to be specially supported for more than a short period; were the prospective withdrawal of special funding to occur at the same time as the tenure decision (e.g., after five or six years) an extra burden would have been added onto the decision to grant permanent status at the University.

At the heart of the steps which seem to be required for a successful affirmative action program to function at the University are changes in administrative mechanisms beyond those already described. Three steps are recommended.

First, an individual should be designated in the Provost's office (with direct responsibility to the Provost) whose primary charge is the implementation on the academic side of affirmative action.

In the absence of such an identified individual—as where the affirmative action responsibilities are added onto numerous other responsibilities of members of the Provost's staff—there is great danger not only that the responsibilities will be neglected by the individuals involved because of other demands on their time or loyalty but also the even greater problem that the absence of a visible focus for the program tends to make it disappear as a day-to-day matter. The individual may be one with other faculty duties, but should have his or her role as Special Assistant to the Provost for affirmative action as the sole administrative assignment. The Special Assistant can be looked to as one of the University's liaisons with the federal government, along with the Administrator of the Council on Equal Opportunity. The latter's authority has thus far been confined to nonacademic personnel, although his Office gathers statistics on faculty appointments, a function it should continue to perform.

This Special Assistant, and ultimately the Provost her- or himself, must be prepared to reject otherwise acceptable appointments solely on the ground that they have not resulted from an adequate search process or that the adequacy of the process has not been made out by the appointments committee. This may in some cases require looking behind the paper records and questioning the persons involved in the process; in a larger number of instances it will probably prove adequate for the Special

Assistant to confine him- or herself to the paper record. But, in all events, the authority to reject an appointment must be clear—although we are the last ones to wish that it would in fact ever need to be exercised. The Task Force cannot help but note, however, that no appointment has as of yet ever failed because of lack of sufficient affirmative action, a message which regrettably has not gone unnoticed by appointments committees.

To inform the Special Assistant's judgments with a knowledgeable faculty viewpoint, it would be very useful for him or her to have a small group of senior faculty advisors from whom to receive wise counsel on difficult cases which must be passed on before consideration by the Provost's Staff Conference.

The Task Force recommends the appointment of a four- or five-member Provost's Advisory Group to serve as a consultative body as needed by the Special Assistant in deciding affirmative action issues and cases.

The mere existence of such a group should increase the legitimacy in faculty eyes of the decisions of the Special Assistant, but beyond that we believe that the advisors can be expected actually to improve the quality of the decisions and to facilitate communications between the central administration, on the one hand, and the deans, department chairpersons and faculty, on the other.

Second, the role of the affirmative action officer in each of the schools needs to receive an injection of official concern and support. The Council on Equal Opportunity may well serve as the generating focus for such support. Beyond the need to energize the efforts of the officers, there is need to develop methods, appropriate to each school and department, which will make the activities of the officers more effective.

The Task Force recommends that the affirmative action officers be consulted by the deans and chairpersons in the establishment of all search committees and in the instruction of these committees on the necessary procedures to be followed before the process is initiated.

While the role of the affirmative action officers in reviewing each appointment, and in effect policing the process, has been stressed in the past, our impression from discussions with the officers is that they have been most successful when they are involved early on in the process of searching for and reviewing candidates. They should function as much (if not more) as facilitators as watchdogs.

The third administrative development of particular significance for black presence is the formalization of recruitment efforts along lines that have been recommended by others in the past.

An Office of Minority Faculty Recruitment is endorsed by the Task Force.

The activities of this Office would be complementary to those of the Special Assistant to the Provost and the affirmative action officers, but they would be more single-minded. Rather than trying to assure the adequacy of all hiring procedures, the Administrator of this Office would (1) generate potential candidates for appointment at both junior and senior faculty levels, through contacts with other institutions, attendance at conferences on the subject, and maintenance of literature on minority recruitment, (2) administer the internship program, with the assistance of the existing faculty minority recruitment committee, and (3) perhaps seek, in collaboration with other institutions, financial support for a regional "data bank" of minority candidates for faculty and academic administrative positions (comparable to HERS). The Office may require the efforts of a full-time secretary but a part-time commitment by the Administrator should be sufficient; ideally, this would be a faculty member, since the most fruitful avenues will probably be through contacts with academics at other institutions.

B. NONACADEMIC PERSONNEL

An analysis carried out in 1973 indicated that the greatest need among the nonacademic ranks was to increase the proportion of minorities (and women) in the higher job categories of the A-1 and A-3 classifications. An examination of the April 1976 data for A-3 personnel suggests that this need persists.

	Total Number	Number Black	Percent Black
Secretarial-Clerical: All Salaries	2162	534	23.7
Above \$10,000/year	286	39	13.6
Technical/Paraprofessional: All Salaries	929	235	25.3
Above \$10,000/year	232	40	17.2
Skilled Crafts: All Salaries	300	49	16.3
Above \$10,000/year	254	34	13.4

A similar analysis of A-1 administrative and managerial personnel demonstrates that while blacks constitute 8.8 percent of total administrative

employees, they represent only 4 percent of those earning above \$19,000/year; the group of 50 highest-paid University administrators includes not a single minority group member. (Furthermore, in the past year the University has lost several of its most highly placed black administrators.)

This is a matter of serious concern to the Task Force. Aside from the inherent need to improve the status of blacks on the nonacademic staff, it seems clear that the administrative officers of the University should be setting an example for the academic units in their own hiring and promotion practices. In the absence of highly visible affirmative action efforts by the central administration in its own personnel actions, it is hardly surprising that much of the University community has come to doubt the administration's commitment to the principles of affirmative action.

While still short of perfection, the University's efforts to open the ranks of nonacademic personnel below the executive level seems to have been rewarded with greater success. As part of these affirmative action efforts the University has developed an open hiring program which includes posting and publication of job vacancies. We hope that this will result in freer competition by blacks for University positions, greater mobility within the

University for qualified persons, and a diminution of the perpetual problem of favoritism and the "buddy network." In furtherance of this aim, the committee recommends that:

Whenever possible, the office conducting the search be permitted to begin its process, including the advertising of the position, before formal authorization for the position is received if there is urgency in filling the slot.

This will require cooperation from the Personnel Office. It is recommended because the present procedures, which delay formal notification of availability, means that for urgently needed positions there is an understandable and probably uncontrollable urge on the part of the administrator in charge to turn to the "buddy network" in advance of formal authorization so that once the delays experienced in receiving authorization have been passed, the position can be filled almost immediately. The regrettable result is thus that by the time a position is approved by the Personnel Office, it has often been informally filled, thereby reducing or entirely eliminating the function of the open advertising and search process which follow formal personnel authorization.

II. Undergraduate and Graduate Admissions

A. INTRODUCTION

The goal of attaining a significant and representative number of black students among the academic community at the University of Pennsylvania has not yet been reached. Over the past eight years a number of programs, projects and committees have attempted in both formal and informal ways to implement what has been an articulated University policy in the area of admissions: to admit, matriculate and graduate an increased number of black students in our undergraduate, graduate and professional degree divisions. Although initially an overall increase in the number of black students can be said to have been achieved relatively rapidly within the total student body, the number of black students in quite a few areas has begun to decline rapidly and in other areas increases have been either minimal or nonexistent.

Although no specific goals with regard to numbers of black students have ever been established, the view generally has been that a representative range—given national student population figures and our own strong attractiveness as an institution—would be somewhere between 5 and 10 percent depending upon the division and program or upon recruitment effort and the availability of adequate financial assistance. In 1969, University Trustees approved a plan to add \$150,000 a year to the financial aid budget for the undergraduate divisions for four years until a total of \$600,000 in additional assistance was available to provide for the increased costs of financial assistance to black undergraduates. To date no such additional funding has been allocated to provide for increased numbers of black students at the graduate level.

Generally it has been somewhat less difficult to attain a significant increase in the number of black undergraduate students, although currently those numbers have in the past three years been subject to the largest numerical decreases. With the exception of the College of Engineering and Applied Science, on the undergraduate level not a single division has shown any significant increase in the number of black students since 1974.¹ On the contrary, declines in black student enrollment, particularly in the Wharton School and the School of Nursing, suggest that the undergraduate divisions represent such levels of failure as to require special study effort. We find it additionally significant that on the undergraduate level the quality of black matriculants has shown impressive gains while the total applicant pool remains nearly constant at 9 or 10 percent of the total applicant pool. However, rates of decrease in black matriculants have been more than 1 percent each year for the last three years (1973-76) as overall freshman class size has increased by more than 10 percent during that same period.

At the graduate and professional school level few schools have shown real growth in numbers of black students although their overall numbers of students have increased somewhat. In others, numbers of black students have sharply declined while overall student population figures have

dramatically increased.² By far the most serious shortfall on the graduate level is in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which has fewer than 1 percent black students enrolled in Ph.D. programs among an overall student population of more than 3000 students in some sixty departments.

The effectiveness of special recruitment efforts in increasing both the quality and quantity of black students in undergraduate or graduate divisions has been well documented, and it is clear that the utilization of increased financial resources for recruitment and economic assistance has played a vital role in obtaining past levels of success. However, unless these recruitment efforts are generalized throughout the University, the University's overall results will continue to be less than satisfactory. Among the graduate students that have experienced the most severe difficulty in increasing black student enrollment are those which have no special recruitment programs for black students. Thus far only Medicine, Law, Social Work and Engineering have been able to maintain a significant measure of success in their special recruitment programs, while the graduate schools as a whole and the graduate Faculty of Arts and Sciences in particular continued to experience the most severe decrease in the number of black students matriculating.

B. FURTHER TRENDS IN ADMISSIONS

In 1976 there was a continued decrease in the number of black undergraduate matriculants in the entering freshman class, although there was a slight increase in the size of the total freshman class and an increased number of black students in the applicant pool. Previous decreases from 1973 (9 percent of total matriculants) to 1976 (7 percent of total matriculants) have reduced black matriculants by more than 20 percent while the overall freshman class size has increased by more than 10 percent. Admissions Office quality indicators show that there have been increases in average SAT scores and average class rank (CRC) since 1973 for all black students matriculating. In 1976, of all students enrolled as freshmen in the Benjamin Franklin Scholars Program 3 percent were black, an increase over the previous year's 1 percent. In view of efforts to increase the number of black students in the undergraduate divisions above present levels where possible, we have fallen short each year since 1973.

At the present time there are some 350 black graduate students among all divisions of our graduate school population. This is slightly higher than the previous year's total of 343; but since total graduate enrollment has grown, it constitutes a drop in percentage of total graduate enrollment from 4 percent to 3 percent.³ The black graduate student population is now less than 3 percent of that total while in 1972 it was more than 4 percent of the total graduate student population.²

In a few graduate schools and divisions, black student numbers have continued to increase in spite of total percentage decreases. (Law, Medicine,

Veterinary Medicine, Graduate Education, Engineering). However, the largest graduate division, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, has shown both a drastic decrease in the number of black students enrolled in Ph.D. programs in spite of increases in the total number of students enrolled in Ph.D. programs of more than 30 percent. Blacks now are less than 1 percent of the total number of Ph.D. candidates in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences while in 1974 they accounted for approximately 2 percent of the total. Other graduate divisions have experienced sharp drops in black student enrollment in spite of continued special recruitment efforts. Black student enrollment in Wharton Graduate Division has dropped from 8 percent in 1973 to approximately 3 percent in 1976.

C. UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS

1. Recruitment

The recruitment effort to attract and enroll black students in the undergraduate divisions is included in the Minority Recruitment Program, one of seven programs in the Admissions Office that identify, recruit, select and enroll all undergraduates in the University of Pennsylvania. The Minority Recruitment Program was established in 1972 when the Admissions Office restructured its work into the regional and program scheme, although records indicate that special minority recruitment was implemented as early as 1968. Minority recruiting is accomplished by a full-time black staff member with the assistance of a part-time administrative assistant and the aid of student volunteers. The 1973 C.O.F.H.E. Report which evaluated Penn's overall performance with the most selective institutions in the country ranked Penn with Stanford, Princeton, and Harvard in ability to draw applications from talented black students. Yet Penn's ability to enroll these black students has been declining since the peak in 1970 when the freshman class included 9.2 percent black students:

Year	Applicants	Admits	Matrics	%Black
1970-71	815	330	170	8.8
1971-72	654	319	153	7.7
1972-73	771	358	168	9.1
1973-74	740	365	155	8.0
1974-75	704	342	150	7.3
1975-76	752	322	143	7.1

Data on freshman classes in the Ivy League also show that a similar decline has occurred.^{3/4} Penn's fall 1975 entering class fell to 7.1 percent black students and this trend may have continued this year in light of the overall drop in applications for admission.⁵

This downward phenomenon at Penn and in the Ivy League has run counter to national gains in black enrollment, which are up from 6.2 percent in fall 1970 to over 10 percent in fall 1975. No doubt opportunities at public four-year and private two-year colleges, where blacks are respectively 13 percent and 15 percent of the total enrollment, account for much of this national increase since blacks tend to be most underrepresented at large public universities (6 percent) and at private four-year colleges (4.2 percent). Penn's current black freshman enrollment of 7.1 percent places it well below the national representation of 9.2 percent black students who select private universities.

Moreover, since the black proportion of the national freshman availability pool is 11 percent, this suggests that there is a larger pool of potential applicants which may be found by altering present procedures and strengthening already successful efforts (Source: CEEB: Student Descriptive Questionnaire Analysis, 1974). Similarly, special corporate, professional and governmental efforts have identified greater numbers of talented black students for the 1980s (National Merit Corporation, Legal and Business Scholars, NSSFNS, HEW Financial grants, AFNA Legal & Business, PIMEG Engineering).

In light of this downward trend and the available national pool of black students, we recommend,

That increased attention be given to closely coordinating all recruitment efforts with national, regional, and local programs which identify, support and provide financial assistance to high-potential black students; that greater attention be given to secondary schools having large black enrollments located in the country's largest cities which are not given priority in the present regional scheme and that in general greater attention be given to attracting black students who live outside the feeder northeastern states, which presently supply over 70 percent of both black and white undergraduates.

National trends indicate that increasing numbers of black and all students are preparing early in the high school years for graduate and preprofessional training in college. The American Council on Education reports that blacks are more likely than whites to pursue a business major (23 percent vs. 13 percent) and a NSSFNS Survey indicates that biological sciences, psychology, law, education, and social science professions were preferred over other fields. Because Penn tends to place more emphasis on generalized recruiting within the regional structure, we recommend,

That increased attention be given to the growing number of black students seeking professionally-oriented interests such as business, engineering, architecture, social work and health science which are particular strengths at the University.

Closely related to this goal, we recognize that special assistance may be rendered in this area by faculty and students within these divisions who may best locate and encourage black students to continue their educational plans at Penn. Other than the engineering school, no graduate divisions involve faculty and staff in recruiting black students on a continuing basis. Toward this, we recommend,

That each undergraduate school form a committee of faculty, staff and students to advise and assist the Minority Recruitment Program director in specialized efforts to increase the enrollment of black students in the various disciplines and professions.

Other than the minority recruiter, there are no black professionals on the Admissions Staff. It is likely that this limited professional assistance has contributed to the failure to keep pace with past successful performance. We note that Harvard and Princeton have several black as well as other minority professionals on their admission staffs and that they have been able to halt the downtrend and have succeeded in enrolling a current freshman class of more than 9 percent black students. To provide additional staff support in the area of minority recruitment, particularly in the regional divisions, we recommend,

That the Admissions Office increase its number of black professionals to provide additional resource in recruiting black students in all areas of admissions programs.

The financial resources (approximately \$14,000) for minority student recruitment programs have not been increased since 1972 although program costs have escalated appreciably, particularly mailing costs, travel costs, publications, and other essential recruiting expenses. As a result, the emphasis of the program has shifted from personal contact with students and their families within their familiar settings to a marketing approach involving mass mailings and concentrated regional travel. This tends to be impersonal and unfavorable to minority students who live outside the regional centers or who have high potential but do not perform well on standardized admissions testing. While the market approach has many merits, a different approach is necessary when recruiting black students who do not readily see the advantages of attending a large, highly competitive, costly university where 98 percent of the faculty is white.

Studies on recruitment programs showed that successful institutions stressed academic programs; offered special minority programs; employed minority recruiters; employed more minority recruiters; made admissions decisions at the time of recruitment; and were able to finance minority programs out of their regular operating budgets, thereby evidencing an institutional commitment to a minority recruitment program. Colleges that integrated special recruitment efforts aimed at minorities into ongoing recruitment policies and budgeting had larger minority enrollments than institutions that did not. (Source: Sedlacek, Strader & Brooks, "A National Comparison of Universities Successful and Unsuccessful in Enrolling Blacks over a Five Year Period," University of Maryland, 1974) Therefore, we recommend,

That increased financial resources be provided to the Minority Recruitment Director to expand programs to increase the enrollment of black students. Specifically, we recommend that the present administrative assistant be assigned to the director on a full-time basis and that funds be provided to enable those traveling on behalf of the University to engage in personal communication with black students.

This additional financial, administrative, faculty and division support will allow the Minority Recruitment Director to better coordinate all recruitment efforts within the undergraduate divisions, plan special yield programs and devote time to the essential tasks of greeting, interviewing and selecting black candidates for admission.

2. Selection

At present, approximately 75 percent of all black students are admitted through the special admissions category primarily on the basis of

1, 2, 3, 4, 5. References are to tables available on request from Dr. Bernard Anderson.

admissions tests. (Source: Memo from Dean Johnson). A profile of black students indicates that many of them should have been admitted in the regular admissions category since their test scores and class rank clearly indicated that they could perform academically at an acceptable level in the University. We believe that admitted black students with a predictive index of 2.0 should be admitted into the regular admissions category.

In view of the difficulty involved in evaluating the credentials of some minority candidates for admission who fall below the 2.0 level, the assistance of a special committee composed of members who have special skills, experience and understanding in evaluating student characteristics and institutional needs can be an invaluable resource for the admissions process. The present system, because of its less flexible procedures and greater time constraints, does not effectively serve the special need to evaluate, with greater care and sensitivity, the applications of minority candidates who do not meet traditional criteria for admission. We therefore recommend,

That a special admissions committee be formed 1) to evaluate for admission those students who do not meet requirements for admission through the regular process but who have been designated eligible for special admission status; 2) to advise the Dean and the Admissions staff of matters relating to the admission of black and other special students and 3) to provide guidelines regarding any modification in admissions policy.

Where possible, black students who meet the regular requirements for admission should be designated as such so that the Committee can appropriately focus on those students who present significantly different academic credentials and personal characteristics. Similarly, where the Admissions Office designates freshmen of the highest ability for special honors and other academic recognition, *i.e.*, BFS, University Scholars, Early Admission, or Early Decision, special care must be taken to insure that outstanding black students are so designated since the matriculation yield may be enhanced among this group of highly competitive students.

3. Financial Aid

The Howard University Institute for the Study of Educational Policy reports in a 1976 study that of the many barriers to equal educational opportunity for blacks, the greatest is financial. Successful recruitment of blacks is highly dependent upon adequate financial aid to offset the negative impact of high educational cost and low family income. In terms of financial aid to undergraduates, the University compares favorably with peer institutions. The committee, did, however, perceive areas in which the administration of financial aid constitutes a barrier to blacks. For example, a requirement that the initial \$950 of cost to Pennsylvania residents and disadvantaged students be borne by the student is, in itself, prohibitive in some low-income families, particularly as family size increases. The Financial Aid Office through its own procedures has developed a system which provides information regarding financial assistance to minority students and the yield rate of the various packaging levels. For example, in 1975, 312 minority students were offered assistance and 152 accepted the proffered packages, the result indicating that the largest number of students accepted the standard but less attractive package while the yield rate of the more advantageous #2 or better package was significantly higher even though that group was smaller in number.

Package	Admitted	Matric	Mean Award
1. B.F.S.	9	5	—
2. Pa. & Disadvantaged	65	41	\$4450
2*. F.A. Designated	53	25	\$5900
3. Standard	185	81	\$4500
4. Residual	No offers		—

This suggests that the financial package directly affects matriculation. We were unable to obtain such information for black students, however, because this more precise information, though available with the Admissions Data System, is not fully incorporated into the Financial Aid File. In light of the declining trend in enrolling black freshmen in the undergraduate schools and the significance of financial assistance for this group, we recommend,

That incorporation of the Admissions and Financial Aid Files be implemented so that data may be made available to 1) properly review the effect of packaging on the yield of black students during the past five years, 2) further monitor such efforts on a yearly basis so

that any marked trends maybe evaluated and appropriately considered in Admissions and Financial Aid planning.

D. GRADUATE AREAS

1. Recruitment and Selection

As indicated earlier, the trend in graduate admission of blacks at the University is even more regressive than at the undergraduate level. The decentralization of graduate admissions results in structural complexity and a diversity of policies and procedures within which minority recruitment receives varying emphasis and reflects varying results. In the example of graduate-level Arts and Sciences, the profile is as follows:

Departments Enrolling Black Students 1972-73 to 1974-75	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	Total 3 yr. period
American Civilization	2	2	1	5
Anthropology	2	1	1	4
Biochemistry			1	1
Biomedical Electrical Engineering	1			1
Business & Applied Economics	2		2	4
City Planning			1 Ph.D.	1
Classical Studies			1	1
Communications		1		1
Demography		1		1
Economics	2	1	2	5
Economic History	1			1
Education	1		1	2
English			2	2
Folklore		1		1
History	1		1	2
History of Art	1			1
History & Sociology of Science			1	1
International Relations	2	1	3	6
Linguistics	1	2		3
Operations Research	1			1
Oriental Studies		1		1
Peace Science			1	1
Philosophy			1	1
Physiology	1			1
Political Science	2			2
Public Policy		1	1	2
Regional Science				1
Romance Languages	1	2		3
Social Science Systems			1	1
Slavic Studies	1			1
Sociology	8	3	4	15

When distributed among the enrolling departments in the graduate Arts and Sciences the number of blacks in each department is abysmally low. But note also that of the 62 graduate groups in the University, one-half enrolled no blacks during the period shown.

According to a 1974 study by the (then) Graduate School of Arts and Sciences' Minority Recruitment Office, the experience of institutions whose success in minority graduate recruitment exceeds that of the University of Pennsylvania demonstrated a necessity for structured programs expending special effort to recruit minority students. Such efforts are in evidence at FAS, Wharton, College of Engineering & Applied Science, Law, Medical, Dental, Social Work and Veterinary Schools. The wide range in results is difficult to analyze, given the variation in policies, procedures and funding levels, the lack of a uniform method for identifying minorities, and the general paucity of relevant data.

Despite these specialized efforts, admissions data show a continuous decline in minority enrollments. The experiences of three schools are useful as illustrations:

An analysis of data on admissions to the School of Medicine also reflects declining minority enrollments. In a memorandum from Iona H. Lyles, Assistant for Minority Affairs in the School of Medicine, to the Black Presence Task Force, dated 9/10/76, Ms. Lyles indicates that the school does not perceive a need for preferential treatment of minority applications:

Yes, institutional policies are clear on whether minorities will be assured equal treatment and non-discrimination or be accorded compensatory or affirmative action. The School of Medicine

administration clearly advocates that minority students should be afforded the same treatment professionally and academically as all students.

The data included in the memorandum show a sharp decline in minority enrollment over the past two years. Since 1974, there has been a decrease of over one-third in the number of minority admissions, reflecting a decrease in enrollment of eight students, from 22 in 1974 to 14 in 1976. Furthermore, the net increase in minority enrollment over the past seven years is only two students.

The graduate School of Social Work, which shows the greatest proportion of minority enrollment of any school in the University, also shows the largest percentage decline in minority admissions. In her response to the Task Force, Barbara Still, Minority Recruiter for the School of Social Work, outlines the school's commitment to minority students:

Enrolling a substantial number of minority students is one of the school's on-going concerns. The school's commitment is to have each class be fifty percent minority. Special recruitment funds are available for this purpose. Annually monies are allocated in the school's budget for salary of the Minority Recruiter and for a recruitment budget. Financial aid is available for minority students. A large proportion of the funds for needy students is given to minority students . . . Institutional policies are clear that minorities will be accorded affirmative action . . . Although some financial aid is available to minority students the amount has to be increased to obtain the school's commitment to having each class be fifty percent minority.

An examination of the School's "Statistics on Minority Enrollment" indicates a steady decline in minority representation as the student body more than doubled in five years. In 1971, approximately, 43 percent of the School's enrollment came from minority group members. In 1976, the figure was down to 22 percent—barely more than half of the representation in 1971.

A comparison of the class profiles of the Wharton Graduate Division for 1975 and 1976 reveals a significant decrease in the representation of minority members in the student body. The 1975 class profile shows an enrollment of 7.9 percent minority students, as compared to 5.0 percent in 1976. This represents a decline of well over one-third from one class to the next. The profiles also show a significant decline in the proportion of the class receiving financial aid, down to 39 percent in 1976, from 45 percent the preceding academic year.

* * *

Selection is, of course, facilitated or limited by the quality and size of the applicant pool. Selection, as in other aspects of the admissions process, varies among and within schools and departments. A pattern of rejecting black applicants based primarily on "lack of preparation" and low G.R.E. test scores was perceived, which raised the question of cultural bias in standard testing.

2. Financial Aid

Nationally, financial aid programs tend to be less favorable to graduate than to undergraduate schools. Given the fact that family income is generally less for blacks than for whites, the likelihood of family support beyond undergraduate study diminishes. It has been demonstrated that black graduate students rely primarily on their own resources in contrast to white students to whom family support is more likely to be available to meet the cost of graduate education. Financial aid, then, increases in importance as a factor affecting black enrollment in graduate schools. The available data for graduate enrollment at Penn is limited to first-year students in the graduate Arts and Sciences. Financial aid is offered via Fontaine Fellowships and Ashton Scholarships covering tuition, fees, and stipend:

Year	Black applicants	Blacks accepted	Blacks offered aid	Black Matrics who accepted aid
1972-73	155	41	6	2
73-74	94	16	3	2
74-75	110	26	4	2

In addition, it is important to note that the total number of blacks receiving financial aid remained constant at 12 each year, spring 1972 through fall 1975. Attrition and graduation figures are not available, but it is at least clear that no gains were made in the use of financial aid as a means of increasing black enrollment.

E. RECOMMENDATIONS

Graduate

1. The record of a decentralized graduate admissions effort and its impact on Black Presence speaks for itself. We therefore recommend the establishment of a centralized structure, with accountability to the Vice-Provost for Graduate Studies and Research, to provide assistance and support to the graduate/department and to coordinate, monitor and evaluate all facets of the University's graduate admission of blacks.

Through this structure, the following additional recommendations should be pursued:

- Provision of increased resources for financial aid to black students, and staffing of minority recruitment programs.
- Design and implementation of a mechanism for collection of data required for follow-up and evaluation of admissions processes, and coordination and stimulation of research into questions affecting black admissions.
- Examination and utilization of the experience of schools within the University and elsewhere whose efforts have yielded positive results in recruitment, enrollment and retention of blacks.
- More extensive use of the University's undergraduate body as a source of recruitment of blacks.
- Greater involvement of faculty, students and alumni in black recruitment efforts.
- Development of a flexible and more uniform selection process which recognizes the disadvantages to blacks of GRE test scores on which admission decisions are largely based.

(This recommendation is essentially an endorsement of the components of a June 1974 proposal for establishment of a Minorities Graduate Center and a similar, more recent proposal for an Office for Recruitment of Minority Graduate and Professional Students.)

General

2. Promulgation of clear written objectives, policy, and procedural guidelines for admission of blacks to the University, to be communicated to all facets of the University community.

3. Development of a format to involve the University community in shared responsibility for implementing these recommendations and exploring other means for achievement of the University's admissions objectives

F. CONCLUSIONS

The inquiry of this committee has focused on recruitment, selection and financial aid as primary factors of influence in the enrollment of blacks at this University. The committee reviewed documents and talked formally and informally with key persons who generously shared their experiences and insights. While commendable effort is evidenced in some schools and departments, it is clear that the University has failed to admit significant numbers of blacks, especially at the graduate level.

It is troubling to note that many of our findings and recommendations have appeared in preceding studies and reports, but to no avail. Philosophically, morally, and realistically, we believe that there can be no further delay. While the stature of this university is nurtured by the greatness of its scholarly endeavors, history may also judge the University in terms of leadership in this critical area of human endeavor.

While the clamour of the sixties is no longer heard, the black expectation of greater equity has survived, heightened and matured. Equal access to higher education becomes a master key of access to social and economic good. It is therefore the hope—and expectation—of this committee that action on our recommendations, or on improved versions which may involve, will commence within thirty days of the circulation of this report.