ABSTRACT

        New federal desegregation guidelines have been
written so that states are required to define the missions of their
public colleges and universities in non-ethnic terms, to establish
numerical goals for the desegregation of student enrollments
statewide and in each institution, and to set goals for desegregation
of faculty, administrators, and other employees, as well as board
membership and board staffs. To help in this new definition process,
guidelines are here provided which take into account educational
factors of desegregation. The following sections are included:
defining institutional missions: assignment of new programs:
provision of resources for black institutions: unnecessary program
duplication: and desegregation of student enrollment, faculty,
administration, non-academic staff, and governing boards. To assure
wise use of state funds, and to provide diverse programs for a
changing student and teaching population, the guidelines should be
applied with a degree of flexibility to design educational policies
and practices that contribute to fair educational opportunity for
everyone. (DC)

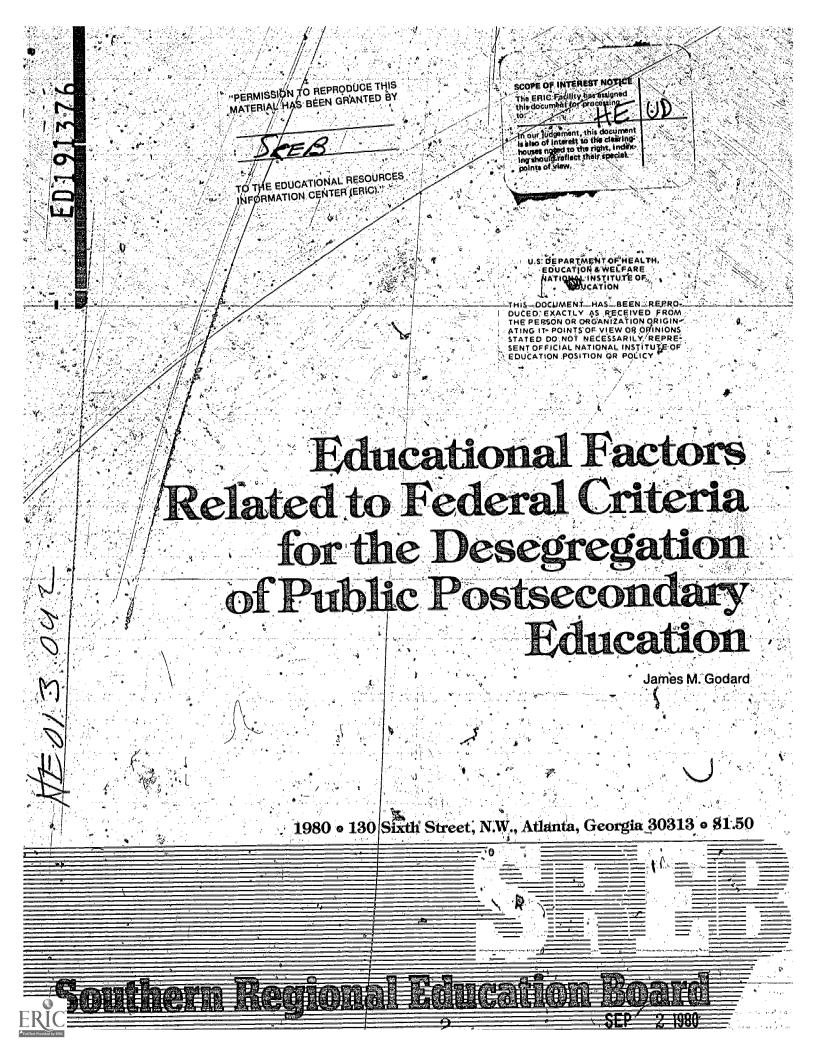# Educational Factors Related to Federal Criteria for the Desegregation of Public Postsecondary Education

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Southern Regional Education Board

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FOREWORD

As a result of a number of federal court cases and of actions by the federal Office for Civil Rights during the Seventies, both states and institutions have accelerated planning for completing desegregation of public postsecondary education. In the process of creating race-neutral systems, efforts have been made to design programs within a framework of sound educational policies and practices and consistent with the objectives of expanding postsecondary opportunity for minorities.

Under federal guidelines for acceptable desegregation, states are required to define the missions of their public colleges and universities in non-ethnic terms, to establish numerical goals for the desegregation of student enrollments statewide and in each institution, and to set goals for desegregation of faculty, administrators, and other employees, as well as for board membership and staffs of these boards.

These criteria do not directly address issues related to educational policies and practices, but their application to planning inevitably affects policy formation and program definition and modification. The purpose of this document is to examine the impact of these guidelines on the educational process.

In the development of this commentary, staff of the Southern Regional Education Board consulted with a number of educators. Many of the ideas developed by the consultants are reflected in Dr. Godard's report, and we express our appreciation for their assistance.

State and higher education leaders assume that the federal guidelines are not regulations, and that they are to be applied with a degree of flexibility in response to the widely differing circumstances among the states in the structure of public higher education and in the problems to be faced in the development of a state plan. Above all, they assume that the plans should be consistent with accepted educational principles and should contribute to the expansion of postsecondary opportunity for all citizens.

Winfred L. Godwin
President

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BACKGROUND STATEMENT

On July 5, 1977, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) issued a statement of "criteria specifying the ingredients of acceptable plans to desegregate state systems of public higher education." On August 11, 1977, the criteria were amended and published in the Federal Register. Subsequently, Joseph Califano, then Secretary of HEW, announced that the criteria were applicable to any state which had a history of de jure segregation in public higher education and that HEW would make site visits to such states to ascertain their status in respect to these criteria.

These criteria are now regarded by federal agencies as "guidelines" and, while not defined as regulations, they form the basis for reviewing and evaluating information gathered from states during site visits and from report materials submitted to the Office for Civil Rights at its request. In one way or another the guidelines are now applicable to 19 states--the ten states originally included in the Adams vs. Richardson case, the eight states designated for site visits, and the state of Tennessee, which is currently implementing a state plan under a federal court order to which it may be assumed the guidelines would apply.*

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* The 19 states are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia

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The validity of the guidelines for state planning has not yet been sub-
jected to review in the courts. It is of interest to note, however, that
the absence of specific criteria or guidelines had been one of the factors
which was considered by the United States Court of Appeals in the Fourth
District in 1977 when it upheld an earlier District Court decision that HEW
had exceeded its authority when it ordered hearings to be held to cut off
federal funds from Maryland's system of public higher education. The Court
pointed out that HEW had criteria for assessing plans for elementary and
secondary schools and was therefore within its rights in holding such hear-
ings in regard to the Baltimore City plan for its public schools, a plan
which HEW had rejected. In the case of the state's higher education system,
however, HEW was at fault in not having provided specific criteria. The
Court ordered HEW to prepare such guidelines within 90 days and submit them
to Maryland. It was at this time that HEW issued the statement of criteria,
not only for Maryland but for all states with a past history of segregation
in public higher education. In this sense the guidelines may be said to have
been an outcome of a federal court order, but the substance of the guidelines
has not been reviewed by a court.

The purpose of this document is not to review the guidelines in terms of
legal issues but rather to provide a commentary on their relationships to
educational factors which must be considered in statewide and institutional
planning. For example, the process of defining missions of each public
institution of higher education in non-ethnic terms entails policy decisions,
both by states and by institutions, which involve basic educational principles.

Admission requirements, graduation requirements, faculty strength and prin-
ciples of tenure—all of these and many other elements of a plan require care-
ful educational review. The guidelines do not address these dimensions of
planning in higher education, and they probably should not do so, since these
are matters to be studied by states and by institutions.

Planning must also take into account recent developments in higher edu-
cation which will have an impact on the development of plans. For example,
the period around 1970 was the highwater mark for the rate of enrollment
growth in the country. Postsecondary education has undergone a 10-year phase
of slowed growth in the Seventies, which is expected to be followed by no
growth or perhaps decline to the end of the century.

From the perspective of student enrollment, institutional capacity will
exceed demand. This will create a more favorable climate for expanded oppor-
tunity, not only for the traditional college population, but particularly for
older citizens who will be encouraged to enter the stream of higher education
at times and places convenient to their needs. Our colleges and universities,
then, should be able to concentrate upon this expanded opportunity to increase
desegregation.

From the perspective of faculty and administrative staffing, the slowed
growth will make the task of reaching minority employment goals more difficult.
Candidates for Ph.D.s in college teaching will think hard before making a
decision to pursue this career path. There will be fewer opportunities for
new Ph.D.s to seek employment elsewhere, and the academic world will have

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fewer openings, due in part to the elimination of mandatory retirement and an increasing proportion of faculty with tenure. These matters will pose difficulties for the planning process.

The guidelines seem to be designed primarily to increase desegregation as measured by numerical outcomes--in the ethnic composition of student bodies, of faculty and other employees, and of governing and coordinating boards and their staffs. In this sense, the numerical indicators prescribed by the guidelines are surrogates for integration. They do not directly address the educational values involved but, rather, the tangential manner in which social, institutional, and individual values affect the educational process. Clearly, in the court cases following the 1954 Brown decision, desegregation has been viewed by the courts as a tool for providing equal opportunities which segregation was perceived as denying.

The manner in which the guidelines are interpreted and implemented by federal agencies thus will affect whether the planning processes are primarily directed toward achieving numerical changes or toward designing educational policies and practices which contribute substantially to the expansion of educational opportunity. The latter process is an exceedingly complex one. As one federal judge has said, the guidelines should be applied with a degree of flexibility which takes into account differences among the states and among specific locations within a state where institutions now operate.

To discuss these concerns about educational factors related to the guidelines, the Southern Regional Education Board brought together four consultants

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who met with two SREB staff members for several days. All had experience in relation to the HEW guidelines and their application to state and institutional planning. Many of the ideas which grew out of these discussions are incorporated in this commentary. The SREB staff members were William C. Brown, director of SREB's Institute for Higher Educational Opportunity and James M. Godard, special consultant to the Institute, who coordinated the work of the group. The consultants were:

Glenwood C. Brooks, a professor at Morgan State University who had previously served on the staff of the Maryland Board of Higher Education;

Roy McTarnaghan, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the Florida Board of Regents for the University System;

Cecil L. Patterson, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at North Carolina Central University; and

Herbert F. Stallworth, Director of Institutional Studies of the Coordinating Board for the Texas College and University System.

It is interesting that while each person had his own method of expressing ideas and his own points of emphasis, there were no issues on which there was a polarization or substantive difference of judgment. Unanimity on each point was not attempted, and in the discussion and drafting of written materials there were differences in assignment of priorities. This document reflects a number of those variations.

Since the federal guidelines are structured under three headings, this material follows that outline.

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DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE DUAL SYSTEM

The first category of guidelines is concerned with planning which will
eliminate the vestiges which have persisted from the earlier dualism in public
higher education. In summary, these guidelines require the following:

An acceptable plan shall commit the state to the goal of organizing
and operating the system and institutions of higher education in a
manner that promises realistically to overcome the effects of past
discrimination and to disestablish the dual system and which assures
that students will be attracted to each institution on the basis of
educational programs and opportunities uninhibited by past practices
of segregation.

The state plan must 1) define the mission of each institution within
the system on a basis other than race; 2) specify steps to be taken
to strengthen the role of traditionally black public institutions in
the state; and 3) commit the state to take specific steps to eliminate
educationally unnecessary program duplication among traditionally
black and white institutions in the same service area.

Defining Institutional Missions

A periodic review of institutional missions is a common practice among
the states. Procedures for defining missions vary from one state to another,
partly due to differences in the governance of public higher education. The
process is usually one which involves state boards or agencies and the insti-
tutions themselves, sometimes accompanied by tensions between the two sources
--which may actually be constructive in determining the final outcomes.

Mission review is essential to assure wise use of state funds, to provide
diversity of programs to meet diverse needs of the citizenry, and to adjust to

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new societal trends and opportunities. It would seem wise that the definition

of institutional roles and missions in non-ethnic terms be accomplished within

the framework of a general statewide mission review.

Although the process of mission review and modification may differ from

one state to another, a number of basic procedures have been found to be

effective. They may be of considerable importance in any mission study which

involves arriving at non-ethnic definitions.

The first step should be the development of a statewide series of mission

statements which project statewide goals and directions for the years ahead.

Long-range planning for higher education has usually included an analysis of

trend data with extrapolations projected for the future. It is important to

determine what changes in society are likely to occur within the time frame

for planning. Today, an identification of impacts on higher education will

result from such changes as:

energy depletion
an aging population
international interdependence
patterns of migration
advances in technology

development of new professional
programs
state funding of non-public
education
contracting for services

The identification of statewide goals and objectives for the future prior

to the review of institutional missions moves the process away from the con-

cept of protecting vested current interests to constructing a model of what

"should be" at some point in the future.

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A specified set of the assumptions which were employed in the planning process and which will be applicable to the process of developing institutional mission statements should accompany the statewide mission statements. This step provides a common frame of reference for projecting the goals of individual institutions. It is essential for the institutional planners to understand the context in which their institution interacts with others to become an important part of the state plan.

Each institutional mission statement should focus briefly upon the history and background of the institution, a current description of its activities, an analysis of its service region, and a statement about future directions or goals. As backup documentation, it is useful to have also some descriptive material on program goals for the future which may be considered together with statistics on population and economy trends in the service region. If the mission statement is to include a revision of the service area, appropriate documentation for that change should be provided.

A periodic review of mission is also a normal function for any institution. It is a necessary task in establishing a unitary system. With the increasing awareness of the importance of the mission statements for planning the overall functions of the institutions in the system and for the allocation of resources among and within institutions, the guidelines do well to begin with the stipulation that each mission be defined in non-ethnic terms. However, there are many factors--educational, societal, institutional, and personal--involved in this definition. Maximum increase in educational opportunity can be achieved only if the guidelines are responsive to these considerations.

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One obvious consideration is that a mission study does not start from scratch. The present state systems are already composed of institutions with perceived and recognized strengths, territorial claims, images, and ambitions. In many cases, these institutions have perceived their mission in ethnic terms and have been perceived by their constituents and publics as having ethnic missions. Dismantling these systems in such a way as to maximize educational opportunity requires procedures that capitalize on the strengths of institutions and recognize the validity of their territorial claims and ambitions. In short, the missions should be stated in such a way as to improve the educational opportunities for everyone in the state.

The effect of ethnically defined missions--whether stated by the institutions or perceived by the various publics--was to limit educational opportunities either by causing individuals outside the designated ethnic group not to view the institution as a resource to use to accomplish their educational goals, or by causing the institution to overlook the outsiders in developing their programs and activities. A critical question in redefining the missions thus becomes how to set up the new definition so as to remove these real and perceived barriers.

There are two generally accepted principles in public higher education which should be recognized in the study of institutional missions. First, freedom of choice for the student in the selection of an institution is a factor which differentiates postsecondary education from elementary and secondary education in desegregation planning. Second, a basic concern in the

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projection of institutional missions is to be responsive to the diversity of programs required to meet the highly diverse needs of students. No one institution can be all things to all people. A state must mobilize the resources of its many institutions to provide access of its citizens to a wide range of educational opportunities.

Mission definition must take into account the composition of the student body which chooses to attend that institution. The college-going population is fully aware that public institutions differ--in the degree of intellectual elitism on the campus or of outreach to serve persons with widely varying capabilities, in campus life-styles, and in many non-academic characteristics. These factors influence student choice of an institution.

If an institution enrolls a proportionately large number of students with difficulties in basic competencies, its mission should include the provision of instructional resources to improve students' capabilities. If a significant segment of the student body comes from disadvantaged socio-economic family backgrounds, there is a moral responsibility to provide supplemental counseling services and other specialized student personnel services with fiscal support to do so. Provisions such as these will be made not because the student body has a large number of minority students but because it enrolls, under freedom of choice, many students whose opportunity goals will be realized only through providing appropriate instructional and non-academic resources.

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For some historically black public colleges and universities, the task
of defining missions may be more substantial than for other institutions.
First, the career opportunities for blacks have been dramatically expanded in
recent years, and as long as their student bodies include large numbers of
minority students, the institutions should be responsive to these changes.
These institutions must also be responsive to the need for more of their stu-
dents to enter careers where minorities have been underrepresented. Second,
an institution which had previously had a statewide mission for the education
of blacks may now find itself changing its geographic area of service--as for
example, to becoming an urban-oriented institution. While ethnic factors
should not be primary in stating missions, ethnic history may need to be taken
into account in projecting modifications of mission. To ignore such realities
would violate the principle of expanding opportunity. Thus, program defini-
tion at this time would include both responding to the needs of the students
who are attending, regardless of race, and at the same time responding to
needs of all ethnic groups who may attend the institution in the future.

A complicating factor in the defining of mission in non ethnic terms is
the simple reality that, on a de facto basis, many black students will continue
to opt for attending a "historically" black institution--regardless of missions
or program assignments. Missions must be consistent with realities. The
modification of the ethnic composition of campuses involves social evolution
and time. For example, it has been abundantly demonstrated that the quickest
way to accomplish greater white presence in the student body is by attracting
commuter students, at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. As the

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white presence becomes larger and more visible, the next stage will be an increase in boarding students who are non-black. For example, desegregation of both white and black institutions occurs more rapidly in urban situations than in rural localities. The definition of missions for public black universities therefore will operate most successfully if these definitions reflect the provision of postsecondary education to white students while at the same time being responsive to the black students who choose to attend. At the same time, specific programs should be undertaken to attract "other race" students and to make visible their welcome on the campus.

Assignment of New Programs

This guideline states that as part of its commitment to the disestablishment of the dual system, the state is expected to give priority to black institutions in the assignment of new programs. This requirement is related to the commitment of the state to strengthen its historically black colleges and universities. It is a step to be taken not only in defining missions but also at other times when new programs are being projected to meet societal needs. The guideline applies to the assignment of new programs both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The assignment of any new programs is to be consistent with the institution's stated mission.

The review of location for a new program involves institutional initiative as well as study by state agencies for higher education. It is important therefore that historically black institutions give serious thought to program possibilities which would be appropriate and consistent with their stated missions. To qualify for a new program assignment, the program should have the following characteristics:

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+ a likelihood of significant student demand;

+ a likelihood of societal need to absorb graduates;

+ the ability to build upon the strength already existing within the institution; and

+ the opportunity to draw upon local or regional resources to supplement the growth of the program.

When such programs are authorized, the state should appropriate planning funds for a minimum period of one year to cover developmental costs, and supplementary funding for the first two years of program operation in addition to institutional base funding. This recognition of resource requirements is significant for all institutions, but particularly so for the traditionally black institutions because of the relatively wide spread of existing programs. While there is an expectation that institutional support can be shifted over time from one program to another, during the foreseeable future, with a relatively stable enrollment projection, it will be more difficult to begin new programs without a commitment to start-up funds.

With the tendency toward an increasing enrollment of part-time and older clientele, planning for new programs may include a careful study to build upon the strengths of existing majors where there is a likely long-term support need for adult population groups

There are certain types of advanced graduate and professional programs which have high admission standards (and thus limited access), high costs, and require a solid undergraduate preparation. Both limited demand and high

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costs mean that it is neither economically feasible nor educationally desirable to have large numbers of these programs in a state. In such cases, state institutions in the same geographical service area may be encouraged to plan such programs together so that the specialized programs would be located on one of the campuses and the undergraduate preparation on the other. In such situations the students, knowing in advance the requirements for admission to the specialized program, could concentrate on meeting these standards while going through the undergraduate stages. This division of labor would reduce the economic burden of these programs, increase the amount of educational opportunity for students, and increase the number of "minority presence" students on both campuses.

Care should be taken in assigning new programs so that a new program in one institution does not siphon off students from a similar program in another institution. This point does not imply that no new duplicating programs should be established. If new programs increase the educational opportunity for the students and fit into the rational scheme of development envisioned by the mission statement, they can be presumed to contribute also to the goals of the desegregation process. (Note: Duplication is treated in detail on pages 19-24 of this document.)

The state policies which have been established for the protection of economy of operation and for the maintenance of quality instruction should not be ignored in the process of providing priorities to historically black institutions in the assignment of new programs. This statement does not mean

that priority cannot be executed, but it should be done with full recognition

of cost factors and of educational standards for quality and productivity.

Ironically, in the process of evaluating programs and of reviewing pro-

gram assignments, often new programs are added while existing academic pro-

grams which are no longer needed are seldom deleted. Both dimensions should

be included in the process of projecting institutional missions.

Provision of Resources for Black Institutions

This guideline requires that traditionally black institutions have
the facilities, quality and range of programs, degree offerings,
faculties, student assistance, and other resources comparable to
those at traditionally white institutions having similar missions;
provision of improvements required to permit these institutions to
fulfill their defined missions; funds for improvement of resources
in physical plant, instructional equipment, etc. consistent with
their missions, based on an assessment of physical plant resources.

This criterion requires states to make a commitment to provide financial

resources to public black institutions consistent with their defined missions.

The definition of "resources consistent with defined missions" is more complex

than simply projecting financial support in accordance with the academic offer-

ings listed in the catalog. A more detailed analysis must be made of the re-

sources needed to support existing programs, new programs, and special ser-

vices dictated by student requirements for success. For example, as depart-

ments upgrade their course instruction, new equipment may be required, such as

special library needs and laboratory facilities. Many of these institutions,

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in their efforts to improve the basic competencies of the students who come
to the campus, should have sophisticated learning centers in mathematics,
sciences, and communication skills.

While due recognition should indeed be given to undergird new programs
with the required resources, attention should also be given to upgrading
existing programs. This step may require a thorough examination of strengths
and weaknesses in current curricular offerings. In some cases outside tech-
nical assistance may be required to identify the resources in personnel and
equipment which are essential to strengthen an academic program that has been
in existence. If special funding is to be provided for these purposes, it is
important that these funds be targeted so that the specific deficiencies will
be remedied. The granting of improvement funds for instruction will be facil-
itated by institutional self-study, including an appraisal of current resources
and the identification of support needs in specific form.

The historically black colleges and universities have been, and are con-
tinuing to be, involved in curriculum adaptations to meet the expanding edu-
cational and career goals of their students. For example, what was once a
department of business education may now be a department of business admin-
istration with an increasing number of specializations. These changes call
for additional equipment, additional faculty, and upgrading of existing
faculty. Few of these institutions have the internal research facilities
and capabilities to project these needs. An efficient office of institu-
tional research may be required as a basis for institutional self-appraisal.

The statement of the mission in non-ethnic terms requires a different consideration of the resources allocated to the historically black colleges. To respond to increasing services to a multi-ethnic student body and to the more diverse population in the service area, the process of curriculum review must be broadened. Funds are required for this review process as well as for new program areas which may be identified.

Resources will in some cases be needed for preparing the students, faculty, and administration for an increased enrollment of white students. Some faculty and staff and students do not take kindly to the idea of "their" college attracting non-black students. They may fear and reject programs they think will lead to the overrunning of the campus by whites and will need as- sistance in changing their perceptions. Resources are needed, not just to develop programs, but also to persuade the people who will have to operate them to accept them.

Finally, additional resources are needed for the staffing and training of administrative personnel in the historically black institutions These people are facing monumental tasks in guiding their campuses through the transition to the non-ethnic mission. Many of these colleges and universities are very thinly staffed at the management level. At the very time the administrators need to be preoccupied with planning for the future, the immediate demands of presiding over the transition to the desegregated mission are being thrust upon them. Both additional personnel and extra funds for their training will be needed.

At the same time recognition should be given to the responsibilities of the historically white institutions for assisting the increasing numbers of black students entering their campuses. In addition to the provision for tutoring services and learning centers where there is an indicated need and where retention may depend on such assistance, additional counseling and student personnel services and other non-academic resources may require additional funding.

In summary, the provision of resources for black institutions consistent with their missions will not be handled well simply through lump sum funding. The states need the input from the institutions to provide funding appropriate to the recognized needs. Some of the special funding, therefore, should be directed to the provision of internal services and of external assistance in institutional research.

Unnecessary Program Duplication

Any unnecessary duplication of academic programs among its institutions is, of course, a concern to state systems of higher education Attention to this question is essential for the economic utilization of a state's financial resources and for expanding statewide diversification of academic offerings.

One of the most challenging responsibilities for a state in considering both desegregation and expanded opportunity is the issue of duplication in postsecondary education. This issue must be studied by the board and by each

institution in the light of statewide and institutional mission statements.
Only then can judgments be made about the level of duplication in teaching,
research, and service programs.

The history and tradition of American postsecondary public education has
been toward increased access by placing more institutions and more programs
closer to the citizens. Thus, newer institutions are located nearer centers
of population and provide programs at times and places convenient to employed
and part-time people. The inevitable result has been to increase duplication
of programs. Clearly, when it is the state policy to increase access--that
is, to expand educational opportunity--providing programs for place-bound
students becomes a concern in the state master plan.

, The balance which must be achieved in each state is between increasing
access for all students, but particularly for blacks who have been under-
represented in postsecondary education, and eliminating unnecessary dupli-
cation which tends to perpetuate a dual system. This issue must be addressed
within the context of freedom of choice for the students.

At the two-year vocational-technical or community college level, one
observes more clearly defined service regions, and duplication is based almost
entirely on the need to provide programs to promote access within a commuter
radius. The racial patterns which develop tend to mirror the racial distri-
bution of the service area.

At the senior college level, particularly where patterns of residential

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study have been established, two major problems are observed. First, when program placement by the state is limited to only selected institutions, segregation may have been encouraged by providing a setting where one program became predominantly white while another became predominantly black. Agriculture is a perfect example in many Southern states where two schools developed, one which was supported by an 1862 land-grant federal act and one supported by an 1890 federal act. The continuation of these two separate programs in a state may serve to encourage racial segregation. An analysis of enrollment patterns in agriculture programs would support this contention in many states. Second, where a predominantly white and predominantly black institution are in the same geographical vicinity, program duplication may lead toward racial identity of program enrollment.

Against this background, a state must identify a core of program offerings without which the institution may cease to be viable. It is reasonable to assume that a broad range of offerings in the arts and sciences, together with business administration and teacher education, must be offered at each of the senior institutions. These are "core" programs found virtually everywhere in institutions offering baccalaureate and higher degrees.

A careful study must be made in each state to determine the level of duplication, some of which is necessary duplication. We can describe, for example, these levels:

> Level One: Programs duplicated in two or more institutions where enrollment is limited by space or accreditation or clinical reso... and where qualified applications are turned down at both or all institutions. Here there is a need, a demand, the program is clearly

one of limited access, and duplication helps provide increased
opportunity for students.

Level Two: Duplicated programs where job placement projections in a
professional field and student demand suggest that maintaining the
duplicated programs or opening a new program will not diminish en-
rollment at any institution but will increase opportunity. There
may or may not be enrollment limitations imposed on existing programs.

Level Three: Programs duplicated where maintaining separate programs
limits enrollment growth at one or more institutions, and/or dissipates
scarce resources by failing to maintain adequate enrollments. This
condition will most often lead to heavily segregated programs between
traditionally black and traditionally white institutions.

States must be encouraged to differentiate among these various levels

of duplication, because increasing access and opportunity must be kept firmly

in mind and encouraged by the appropriate locations of programs.

The duplication problem can be approached educationally by referring to

the established mission. If the mission of an institution has been formulated

in non-ethnic terms to provide the maximum amount of educational opportunity

within the constraints of the state's resources, then the institution should

have the programs that enable it to accomplish that mission. The fact that

two schools in the same service area have the same programs does not auto-

matically mean that the duplication is educationally unnecessary. Nor does it

automatically mean that the presence of the two programs impedes the dis-

establishment of the dual system. It has already been recognized, in the

concept of "unnecessary duplication," that a college must have a critical

mass of core programs which may be different at different levels, such as

undergraduate, graduate, and professional. An educationally sound treatment

of these different levels will result in a program for the total state in

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which the students have a maximum amount of opportunity and freedom of choice because through coordination the various offerings are available to the largest possible number of students.

If similar programs exist side-by-side in two institutions in the same geographical service area and both are high demand programs, then any moving of one of those programs in the name of eliminating segregation will simply reduce the freedom of choice and the opportunity available to the students. Eliminating or moving one of the programs will also increase the cost to the state of the remaining program. Nor has it been demonstrated that students who are already in a program will necessarily follow that program to another school; students may, as they do for many other reasons, simply change their majors and remain in the same school. In other cases, particularly in states where there are a large number of other colleges, they may simply change to a school other than the one to which the program was moved.

These considerations suggest that elimination of duplication <u>in itself</u> is a very frail reed upon which to pin hopes of eliminating the vestiges of racial duality. They also suggest that whatever desegregation is achieved by eliminating duplication may be purchased at the cost of lessened effectiveness for the institutions and restricted opportunity and freedom of choice for the students.

A further complication in the interpretation of this guidelines is the fact that academic programs with similar names may be quite different in their central focus. Two nursing programs may exist in a given service area,

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but one may focus upon public health nursing and pediatric nursing while the other emphasizes training in psychiatric nursing or surgical nursing. One may be concerned with general nursing practice and another with advanced specializations. Similar circumstances may be found in teacher education, business administration, engineering, and home economics, for example. The mere checking of a list of catalog offerings is not a valid procedure for assessing duplication.

Consideration may be given to cooperative utilization of two programs through joint use of campus resources and facilities. Through such a procedure students are provided access to a wider variety of academic majors, and the resulting movement of students between campuses increases the visible presence of "other race" students on both campuses.

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The general statement in the guidelines concerning the desegregation of student enrollment is that "an acceptable plan shall commit the state to the goal of assuring that the system as a whole and each institution within the system provide an equal educational opportunity, are open and accessible to all students, and operate without regard to race and on a desegregation basis."

This criterion is accompanied by a frame of reference to be followed in setting numerical goals for admission and for graduation of "other race" students--from two-year institutions through graduate and professional schools. Both statewide and institutional goals are required. For the graduate and professional schools, the numerical goals must be projected for each major field, and particular attention must be given to increasing black student enrollment and graduation "from those traditionally white four-year undergraduate institutions which serve as feeder institutions for the graduate and professional schools."

The state must also adopt the goal "of increasing the total proportion of white students attending traditionally black institutions." However, an account must be taken of the unequal status of the black colleges and the danger that desegregation will diminish higher educational opportunities for blacks. The unique importance of the traditionally black colleges should be taken into account, and establishment of numerical goals for the enrollment of white students at traditionally black institutions must be preceded by an increasing enrollment of blacks at the traditionally white institutions and by the accomplishment of specific steps to strengthen the role of black institutions, eliminate program duplication, locate new programs at black institutions, and by other measures described in the preceding guidelines.

Freedom of student choice in the selection of an institution to attend

is a basic characteristic of American higher education. Indeed the courts

have recognized this fact as one of a number of differences between public

elementary and secondary schools and postsecondary education. This freedom

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of choice plays an important role in matching students with the appropriate institution and in enabling students to select the institution which best meets their personal and educational needs.

As stated in the previous section, states provide a wide diversity of educational opportunities among their various public institutions. Students often are aware of ways in which these campuses differ--not just in curricular offerings but also in standards for admission, in criteria for academic success and for graduation, and in their patterns of non-academic activities and life-styles. The combination of these factors often plays a more important role in the choice than the nature of academic offerings alone. Counseling and guidance resources are, of course, of the utmost significance, but in the final analysis the student makes the final decision. Care must be taken in the administration of a recruiting program so that an aggressive "over-sell" merely to increase "other race" numbers does not result in a mismatch of student and institution with detrimental effects upon retention.

Levels of motivation and of emotional adjustment affect student retention. Some students desire to attend a large university and other prefer a small college community. Some students will need strong sources of emotional sup-port, while others will cope successfully even under adverse situations. Some high school graduates want to go where their friends are going or have gone, while others may wish to attend an institution where they may establish their own image in ways which break with the past.

In plain language, the selection of a college involves a decision which

may affect educational success or failure. It may affect realization of oppor-
tunity or stand as a deterrent to its realization. Recruiting procedures
should be based on providing as much information about an institution as
possible so that the applicant will have a realistic basis for making a
choice. This point is particularly significant for the student who enters
a college in which he or she will be a minority person.

It is assumed that a college will provide special instructional resources
for students who are accepted with indications of deficiencies in those compe-
tencies essential for academic success. It is assumed that in recruitment
each campus will be responsive to attitudinal factors which influence the
degree to which the student feels a sense of acceptance. The retention rate
will be influenced by the adequacy of these factors.

At the graduate and professional school level the conditions are some-
what different. The student has identified specific educational and career
goals. The student is more mature and able to cope with personal adjustment
problems. However, the administration will still need to pay attention to
the effect the difficulties mentioned above may have on retention at this
upper level.

One problem related to numerical goals arises from the designated time
span for their completion. Five years may not be enough time to accomplish
modifications which will facilitate adjustment of students to campus environ-
ments in which they are minority persons. It takes time to change campus
attitudes and to develop a new "ethos" favorable to retention.

Within the context of "freedom of choice," an institution's ability to recruit "other race" students will depend upon several factors, among which are:

+ The image of the institution as a friendly, accepting environment for new students;

+ Specialized programs which are recognized as excellent and which have known potential for career development;

+ Student services which are known to assist students in counseling, testing, placement, activities, housing and financial aid;

+ Transfer policies which provide ease of access from the two-year to the four-year program in a 2 + 2 context, and undergraduate majors which are known to provide ease of access to graduate and professional programs;

+ A planned, aggressive, recruitment policy wherein institutional representatives visit and counsel with high school students who may be candidates for undergraduate admissions and with college students who may be candidates for graduate admission;

+ Selection of "secondary locations," or sites away from the main campus, where parts of an instructional program can flourish because of population centers, work locations, cooperative study/work scheduling, etc. (As institutions serve increasing numbers of older and part-time clientele, this kind of planning will become more significant.)

Statewide boards and institutions need to be aware of barriers to effective recruiting but particularly to "other race" recruiting. First and foremost, secondary school guidance offices are generally understaffed and are unable to fulfill one of the expected roles--that is, career and college counseling. In too many instances, the counselor is a problem solver and scheduler of student programs, without time or support funds to develop an effective testing, assessment, and counseling program. For those students

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without strong family support and encouragement to consider a variety of careers and college preparation, there appears to be a trend in some states to place students in non-college preparatory sequences. This happens more frequently to blacks than to whites. Such a system will tend to have blacks underrepresented in the available pool for college-going and will place severe limitations upon those who do apply for college but have not had an adequate secondary school preparation.

To address this problem, colleges and universities must take a more positive approach in structuring career days, college nights, and other "on-site" programs for students in the secondary schools to increase parents', students', and teachers' awareness of available programs and of proper preparation for college.

Secondly, in those states with a well developed open-access community college system, four-year institutions should examine their curriculum sequences to plan for ease of transfer and opening up baccalaureate degree programs so that a student may complete a degree sequence in two additional years after successful completion of the associate degree.

Third (and this is particularly true for graduate students and part-time students), requiring most of the coursework on the main campus for the convenience of the faculty inhibits enrollment where classroom experiences can just as easily be accommodated at a different site. If the population group is at a work site (factory, hospital, school) or grouped in a population center, those activities which can easily be offered in such a location will

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create a willingness for the student to enroll on-campus for courses requiring support services, such as library, laboratory, clinic, shop, etc.

Achieving the goal of desegregating student enrollment involves considering a number of factors not mentioned in the guidelines concerning student recruitment. Recruitment now will be conducted in a period in which there is a declining pool of traditional college-age students. This diminishing of the pool will create recruiting problems for both black and white institutions, but it will have a particularly drastic effect on the efforts of the traditionally black schools, and these institutions will require special assistance and resources in recruiting white students to accomplish desegregation of student bodies.

The combination of the shrinking pool of college-age students and the efforts of the white institutions to meet their goals will throw the black colleges and white ones into direct conflict for the black students. Since there are more white schools than black ones competing for the same students, and since these white institutions generally have better financed and more effective recruiting organizations, it is predictable that the black students will be attracted in disproportionate numbers to the white schools. If this result occurs, then the black schools will lose their historic enrollment base without gaining compensating increases in white students.

The traditionally black institutions will have greater difficulty attracting white students than the historically white ones will have recruiting black students. The emergence of federal financial aid as an entitlement

coupled with the efforts of the historically white institutions to accomplish
their desegregation goals will effectively remove the cost barrier. The
development of affirmative admissions programs may lower considerably the
barrier posed by the high admissions standards. Greater experience of blacks
with whites in integrated public school systems and in their own personal
lives will tend to counteract the impression of unwelcomeness at the white
schools. For example, this change is being reinforced by widespread appear-
ance on television of the sport teams of the historically white schools. A
black student observing a basketball or football game of major Southern powers
may see more black players on the field than white ones. This combination
of factors will make it much easier for the white schools' recruiters to re-
cruit black students than has hitherto been the case.

The black schools, on the other hand, face a different system of barriers
as they attempt to recruit white students. The image which many whites seem
to hold of the black institution is one of inferiority. Whereas the black
student who goes to a white school is generally perceived by black compatriots
as advancing his or her educational opportunity and attainment, the white stu-
dent attending a black institution is often perceived as compromising his or
her educational opportunity or attainment. The black schools, thus, have
much greater difficulty in dealing with the image problem than the white
schools.

The results of these difficulties are not only quantitative, they are also
qualitative. Many presidents of black colleges have already begun lamenting

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the "brain drain" or the "disproportionate shift" of black students to white campuses. The historically white campuses, through a combination of intensified recruiting and financial assistance from various sources, have already begun siphoning off top-level black students. As they intensify their efforts to increase their numbers of black students, some historically white schools can be expected to recruit students of lower ability as well.

Since the white institutions commonly take a major share of the white population, the white students left for the black schools may tend to be lower quality students. Thus, as it struggles to improve its image and portray itself as a high quality institution, increasing the opportunities and prestige of its students, the black college may be faced with a growing shortage of the major material necessary to make this image a reality--high quality students.

To these overall conceptual difficulties, some practical considerations must be added. Foremost among these is financial aid. Typically, at the black institutions, more than 85 percent of the students are on financial aid. As noted above, it is very likely that some white students which the black school can succeed in recruiting will come from the same economic bracket as the black students. These considerations mean financial aid will become a major tool in the recruitment of students by the black institutions. The historically black institutions will, therefore, have to resort to extraordinary efforts--and the attendant extra expenses--to make their prospective students aware of the financial aid available. Because, in many instances,

the parents and associates of these students are not familiar with the process of dealing with government and financial agencies, a considerable amount of assistance will be necessary to make certain that the prospective student does his part in getting his application to the proper agency and following it up. It will not suffice simply to notify the students that the financial aid exists. They will need to be convinced that it is available to them and instructed how to apply for it.

In most cases, these students and their parents lack the sophistication to cope effectively with financial organizations. They will not distinguish among such basic financial aid concepts as "grant," "loan," "scholarship," and "work," and will tend to be repelled by the regulations governing the obtaining of financial aid. The life-styles of some of these students have caused them to be indifferent to deadlines and other thresholds. The provision of financial aid must take cognizance of ways to counter this indifference.

These considerations indicate that a major reorganization and reorientation of the financial aid operations of the black college will be in order if it is to compete effectively enough to meet its enrollment and desegregation goals. A variety of measures ranging from orientation of high school counselors, to a broader range of dissemination methods, to a step-by-step set of instructions for completing the application process will need to be developed. Ways of evaluating these measures and constantly monitoring them for effectiveness also need to be formulated. Provisions for these kinds of

activities will call for substantially augmented resources for the financial
aid operations of the black institutions.

A major barrier to affirmative admissions programs in historically white
institutions, particularly at the graduate and professional levels, has been
the lack of spaces and the attendant risk of Bakke-type suits when objectively
less qualified black students were admitted in preference to better qualified
white students in order to meet an enrollment desegregation goal. With the
forthcoming decline in the student pool, spaces in the programs will become
available without the contest among the applicants for the slots.

To assist "other race" minorities to increase retention, positive steps
need to be taken to create a favorable environment, from both the non-
academic and academic perspectives. Some of these steps are:

+ Employing of "other race" counselors in student services;

+ Developing of skills centers to assist marginal students
  achieve minimal standards;

+ Providing for summer orientation for both students and
  parents to become acquainted with the institution;

+ Providing diagnostic tests to determine interest and ability
  levels so placement and counseling can be enhanced;

+ Scheduling small group "rap" sessions between a counselor
  and students on a regular basis to widen circle of friends
  and share common problems and feelings;

+ Conducting periodic assessment of financial aid needs so
  that students do not feel threatened by financial burdens;

+ Scheduling regular appointments with an academic advisor to
  review progress each term and assist students to prepare
  adequately for the next term;

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+ Creating a campus-based "dialogue" on a regular basis to
explore ways of coping and helping in a racially pluralistic
society;

+ Seeking out "other race" minorities for participation in
sports and student activities, making sure that each full-time
student is participating in at least one activity program; and

+ Encouraging summer attendance with reduced course load and
providing financial assistance for students on academic
probation.

An obvious factor to be considered in the administration of this guide-
line is that there are not yet reliable methods of making certain that students
will remain in an institution. All institutions have some level of attrition.
Although, recent research seems to indicate that the attrition rate among black
students in white institutions is higher than that of blacks in black schools,
the causes for this have not been completely documented and validated, nor has
this apparent difference been effectively correlated with such output indi-
cators as LSAT, MCAT, and scores on various licensure boards. Additionally,
surveys of students themselves have revealed a variety of reasons for not
completing their work at a particular institution. Correlations of these
responses with answers obtained from other sources have also suggested "good"
reasons given by students are not necessarily the real reasons for not com-
pleting their studies. It is also not clear what proportion of students who
become an attrition statistic at one school later complete their work at an-
other one. The clearest revelation coming from studies of attrition rates is
that a variety of experiences other than difficulties in the instructional
program can cause a student to leave school.

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An equal amount of uncertainty prevails in the instructional area. The effects of the shrinking pool of students and efforts by the institutions to keep their enrollment and to desegregate their student bodies may lead to the recruitment of students whose qualifications fall below the levels these institutions would normally admit. Since the primary purpose of an admissions policy is the recruitment of students who can survive in a particular institution, the acceptance of students beneath that standard automatically increases the risk that these students will not survive and demands a revision of the instructional procedures in order to cope with them. In attempting to increase the percentage of "other race" students and to increase the number of such students who graduate, the institutions are seeking to solve a problem whose causes they have not yet identified accurately and for which, up to now, there has not been a ready solution.

Because one of the aspects of the guidelines is that the number of minority students graduating from programs in which these students have been previously underrepresented be increased, research will be needed to investigate the motives that cause these students to enter (or avoid) such programs in the first place.

The guidelines regarding retention and evaluation probably will have a greater impact on public schools than any of the other guidelines, except possibly the mission statement mandates. In fact, if the causes for attrition and the failure to engage in certain programs can be ascertained, and if means of remedying these difficulties at the public school level can be found, most

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problems associated with the lack of opportunity stemming from the vestiges of the dual systems can be eliminated. Students could then select the programs that best fulfill their needs and ambitions and proceed with high assurance that the school system would provide them with maximum opportunities to reach their goals.

DESEGREGATION OF FACULTY, ADMINISTRATIVE STAFFS, NON-ACADEMIC PERSONNEL, AND GOVERNING BOARDS

An acceptable state plan shall commit the state system to the goal of increasing the number and proportion of black employees, academic and non-academic, throughout the system and of increasing black citizens among appointive positions on governing boards of the state system and of the individual institutions. Specific goals are expected for faculty, for administrative officers, for non-academic personnel, and for staff of governing boards.

The goal is to achieve the proportion of black faculty and administrators at each institution and on the staff of each governing board in positions <u>not requiring the doctorate</u> at least equal to the proportion of black students graduating with master's degrees in the appropriate discipline from institutions within the state system, or the proportion of black individuals with the required credentials for such positions in the relevant labor market area, whichever is greater. For positions <u>requiring the doctorate</u>, the proportion of black individuals with the required credentials in the relevant labor market is the standard. For <u>non-academic positions</u>, the standard for setting the proportion is the availability of blacks in the labor market for each job category. The same ratios apply to the filling of vacancies until the appropriate goals are fully met.

Desegregation of Faculty

The strength of American colleges and universities, to a substantial degree, is based upon the campus leadership in the building up of strong academic departments. Presidents and other central administrators do not customarily fill faculty vacancies. The selection involves departmental chairmen and peer group faculty review of applicants' qualifications. In this respect higher education differs from the public school system.

The recruitment of faculty is further complicated by the definition of
the available supply. The figure, even if it can be obtained, for the number
of blacks in the labor market in a specific discipline may not be the number
who have the specialization required to fill a vacancy. For example, a
doctorate in history is eligible for a position in Oriental history only if
his training has been in this specialization.

Faculty strength is built not only on the evidence of graduate degree
attainments but also upon evidence of teaching and research skills appropriate
to the vacancy. The guidelines recognize these factors under the term "cre-
dentials" but fail to recognize that it is difficult, if not impossible, to
define availability within the parameters of the several elements involved
in the definition of qualifications for a particular position. The problem
becomes further complicated when trends in higher education are examined.

Institutions of higher education in most states are reaching relatively
high levels of tenured faculty--a condition brought about by a period of rapid
growth, during which tenure was granted more readily, followed by a period
of relative stability in faculty positions.

"Other race" faculty, particularly blacks in predominantly white insti-
tutions, have been employed in disciplines which were once growth fields
(such as education), but are now on the decline. Thus, "other race" faculty
coming up for tenure in "underproductive" disciplines are going to find it
difficult to remain at the institution. In a period of stable numbers of

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faculty positions, persons not tenured may be terminated in order to allocate
that line item to a newly developing or growth department.

The growth areas in the 1980s will be somewhat different from those in
the 1960s and 1970s. Architecture, computer science, health services, public
administration, and finance are examples of fields where blacks with graduate
degrees have not been well represented; therefore, recruiting blacks for these
growing fields will be most difficult.

A conscious effort by institutions and state systems may be necessary to
provide financial incentives and to take other affirmative steps to recruit
blacks into new, high growth fields as graduate students so as to insure a
supply of doctorates in these fields for the future. Previous efforts have
been made and should be continued, but new techniques will probably be re-
quired as well.

  + In-house faculty training programs have had moderate results
    and do serve to remove the question of "confidence" that some-
    thing is being done.

  + Department faculty have recruited "other race" candidates at
    conventions. This is a viable means of meeting new people,
    and funds for faculty to attend such meetings for this purpose
    are justified.

  + Consortia arrangements between and among institutions with
    short traveling distances help bring "other race" faculty in
    part-time roles. In some cases a possibility for making
    joint appointments may emerge.

It has been suggested that the issues surrounding desegregating the
faculty lie to some degree more in the realm of public policy than in the
realm of educational values and processes. It can be intuitively argued

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that a desegregated faculty will provide role models for the "other presence"

students on a campus, and that a faculty member of a given race can be more

sensitive, automatically, to problems and motivations of students of that

same race. It can be claimed intuitively that the expansion of value systems,

points of view, and horizons by a multi-ethnic faculty is more desirable for

a university than the homogeneous patterns produced by a uni-racial one. Few,

though, would attempt to document empirically the propositions that students

can learn best from faculty of their own race, or that they can be understood

and motivated only by members of their same ethnic group, or that sensitivity

to the problems of students and skill in solving those difficulties are the

exclusive property of any racial group. Insuring faculty desegregation is

primarily a public policy problem of guaranteeing the individual faculty

member the maximum opportunity of employing his or her skills unfettered by

artifically imposed ethnic limitations.

It will take aggressive and coordinated planning by state systems and

by institutions to achieve desegregation of faculty in ways which are con-

sistent with sound educational practice. The complexities described above

should not be used as a device to avoid affirmative action. The task will

require research, recruitment of more blacks into underrepresented dis-

ciplines, and funding for such training. It will require evidence of a

good faith effort to find qualified minority persons and to train more

persons for fields in which there is a shortage of qualified black faculty.

Desegregation of the Administration

The issues surrounding desegregating the administration lie more in the realm of public policy than in the area of educational values and processes. Academic administrators seldom are directly involved with the educational procedures of their institutions. They tend to function in leadership or managerial roles. They set the tone, create the climate, provide the direction, and constitute the symbols around which the various constituencies of the institution can rally. The requirements for these roles center around individual qualities, skills, attitudes, values, and personality traits. In theory, these qualities are independent of race and organizational affiliation, and experience shows that integrated administrations can operate as effectively as uni-racial ones. The institutional impact of the race of the administrative official is primarily one of image. If there are large numbers of one race on the administrative team, and if the student body is of that same race, the perceived ethnic image is that of the majority of the students and administrators. If a majority of the students are of one race and the administrative staff has very few of that race, the institution is perceived as of the race of the students, and the few "other race" administrators are regarded as exceptions--even if one of these few is the chief officer. Controversy over the desegregation of the administration is likely to degenerate into the political question of what kind of image the institution should project.

The administration can usually be divided into three levels: the senior

level of the presidents and vice presidents, the middle level of the deans, and the immediate operating level of the department chairpersons. The chief administrators are highly visible to internal and external constituencies. The deans are less visible to the outside but are widely visible to the internal publics. The department chairpersons are almost invisible to the external publics and have a relatively limited exposure to the internal groups. The focus, nature, and extent of the objections to "other race" persons, therefore, will vary with the level being integrated.

The fundamental concern is the quality of the administrators themselves. A high order of intelligence, managerial skills, a sense of organizational principles, overriding concern for the constituent publics and, above all, a high level of personal courage and integrity are essential. A major difficulty is that individuals with these qualities are in short supply--no matter what race is involved. If the individual does possess these qualities in appreciable amounts, and if the appointing agencies have enough courage to back him or her during the initial furor, most of the obstacles can be safely negotiated.

Special care needs to be taken in desegregating the administration of black institutions. Because of the shift in values and the rise of black self-esteem, installing whites in the administrative structure--particularly at the senior administrative level--will often be perceived as a statement of inferiority of black administrators. Furor over the loss of identity and the taking over of the black institutions by whites is likely and should be

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anticipated. The groundwork for quelling, defusing, and exposing the true nature of the outcries must be laid before making integrated appointments.

The educational consequences involved in integrating the administration are clearcut and less intimately intertwined with the long-term ability of the institution to deliver maximum educational opportunity than is the case with faculty and student desegregation. Integration of the administration is also marked by fewer bona fide considerations requiring delay and concerns external to the desegregation process itself.

"Other race" presence is essential at the senior administrative level if an institution is to create an awareness of and an openness toward "other race" student participation. At the level of student services and counseling, it is essential to have "other race" personnel so that students may feel comfortable in communicating their problems if and when adjustment issues surface. Each institution should establish goals to achieve this kind of "presence" and create an atmosphere of welcome for minority students.

Having "other race" administrative staff provides an opportunity to bring policy discussion and planning issues to the attention of the total staff for resolution in ways and at times not possible without their presence.

The above comments also apply to the presence of minority persons on the staff of state agencies for higher education. While in a few cases they were first employed chiefly as affirmative action personnel, experience has demonstrated that they may play an important role in almost every aspect of the operation of these offices.

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Desegregation of Non-Academic Staff

The issues surrounding the desegregation of the non-academic staff also lie more in the realm of public policy than in the area of educational policies and processes. These people perform tasks in support of, and ancillary to, the educational activities of the institution, many of which are interchangeable. Most of the tasks require relatively low orders of skill and these persons are almost instantly replaceable. Although these services are essential to the smooth operation of the university, the terms and conditions of employment and the abundant supply of personnel in the market render it unlikely that any disruption would do more than temporarily impede the normal functioning of the institution. Desegregation of the non-academic staff is, thus, a public policy problem of guaranteeing the individual staff members maximum opportunity of employing their talents unimpeded by externally imposed and ethnic limitations.

These individuals often work at close quarters with each other and at jobs in which they tend to regard each other as competitors--either for status or for function. Problems with integregation surface in the form of abrasive personal relations, group dissension, and actual physical clashes. These difficulties, though, are directed at the "other race" individual rather than at the institution, and any disruption of the activities of the institution as a whole is a by-product of this friction and dissension.

These interpersonal conditions may also affect the supply of "other

race" workers who may not wish to subject themselves to the abuse and un-
pleasantness which their presence may provoke. Or having accepted a position,
some may soon abandon it in the face of group or individual hostility. The
result may be a high turnover that may temporarily reduce the effectiveness
of the affected group. However, experience has shown that this type of dif-
ficulty is a relatively short-term one and does not persist into long-term
impairment of the unit's functions.

These difficulties may be more likely to occur on black than on white
campuses. Whites are accustomed to seeing blacks in all these roles except
possibly the senior management positions. There are so few of these upper-
level positions that the presence of blacks in them will not be likely to
spark controversy.

On the black campuses, though, any time there is contact between whites
and blacks there will be the possibility of friction and the expression of
hostility because the black staff will sometimes regard the whites as inter-
lopers. Many of the non-academic staff deliver their services through direct
contact with students. Since the students are likely to be ideological and
impulsive in their actions, there will be fertile grounds for difficulties
to arise between white staff-members and black students.

Experience in both educational and other kinds of organizations indicates,
though, that these kinds of difficulties can be kept under control by a strong,
forthright stand by the institution's administration. The administration has
a much greater effective, immediate control over these staff members and

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students than it has over faculty members and outside constituencies. Hence, where it cannot persuade those who object to the integration, it can invoke regulations to prevent them for disturbing the process, and, as a last resort, remove them from the institution.

The integration of the non-academic staff presents a clearcut public policy issue uncluttered by considerations of educational relevance and impact. The resources for achieving the integration are readily at hand. Means of coping with resistance by university personnel are also readily available. There appear, therefore, no reasons to delay the implementation of the guidelines regarding non-academic personnel.

Desegregation of Governing Boards

The guideline concerning the goal of increasing the numbers of black persons appointed to systemwide and institutional governing boards and agencies simply requires that the state establish commitments which will result in these boards being more representative of the racial population of the state or of the area served by a particular institution. There is apparently a recognition that changes in board structure take time in view of the fact that board members are appointed for stated terms, making it difficult to achieve sudden ethnic modifications.

Governing boards should represent diversified areas of expertise, recognizing the many-faceted characteristics of institutions of higher education. As appointments are considered, talents in fiscal management, legal affairs,

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academic programs, student services, contracting and construction, and legis-
lative relations should be thought of as areas from which to select indivi-
duals who can contribute to effective policy-setting in higher education.

As the diverse characteristics of higher education are also reflected
by sex and race, so too must consideration be given to appointments to develop
these perspectives in a board. Where the combination of talent in a specific
area supportive of higher education and minority status coexist, serious con-
sideration should be given to board appointment. Recent experience has demon-
strated that fresh and helpful perspectives can be given to governing boards
by the addition of minority members.

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