

Admissions Report No. 1

Fred Hargadon

Dean of Admissions

September 1968

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One of the policy questions to which the Committee on Admissions and Scholarships will direct its attention early this Fall is that concerning the recruitment and enrollment of Negro students. For a number of years, the College sought to bring about a significant increase in the number of Negro students enrolled at Swarthmore. Such efforts, which were supported by our own students who visited high schools on behalf of the College, were intensified and given increased visibility through the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in the Spring of 1964.

While such efforts proved relatively successful, the context in which we initially addressed ourselves to this problem has changed considerably over the past four years. During that time, the plight of the Negro with respect to higher education not only has become more substantially documented, but it also has been accorded a level of recognition which transcends the interests of the educational institutions themselves. It is a matter of national social concern. Because of this, the number of colleges seeking to enroll larger numbers of Negro students has increased greatly. The motivations and methods of this intensified recruitment are as varied as the complexities of the problem itself.

Within the broadest range of entrance requirements applicable at the 75 or 100 colleges most actively recruiting Negro students, the pool of qualified candidates is extremely small, with little likelihood that supply will come anywhere near meeting demand in the next decade. (This is assuming, of course, no change in the nature of admissions requirements or in the nature of the educational program itself, an assumption the validity of which is already quite questionable.) As things now stand, the competition for enrolling qualified Negro students is keen, and an exceptionally able Negro student has more colleges sitting on his doorstep than an all-state quarterback with an 800 verbal. When a college is able to meet this competition successfully, the context of the problem changes even more by virtue of the fact that the students so enrolled then constitute an additional interested party in the matter.

Too, we now have had an opportunity to gather a certain amount of data (primarily academic) on the experiences of four classes of "Rockefeller" students (the first class graduated from Swarthmore this past June) at the College. Such feedback, a necessary ingredient in refining the admissions process, in itself constitutes a new condition - one that did not exist in 1964. At that time, for instance, we simply had no way of approximating the level of academic achievement signified by being first in the class in a ghetto high school in any one of the large cities or in a segregated high school in one of the southern states. And since the verbal part of the College Board SAT measures verbal aptitude or ability rather than achievement, it proved as difficult to estimate the gap between the level of educational achievement of a Negro student from a poor high school, however high his verbal SAT score, and that of an average Swarthmore student, as it is to estimate that same gap for any other students we process for admission who come from high schools of quite limited resources.

Because the conditions under which our Admissions Office is presently working to enroll Negro students are now so very different from those which applied just a few years ago, I think it is time that we review our past efforts, assess the circumstances under which we must operate now, set new goals and determine the appropriate manner by which to reach them.

I

The Rockefeller Grant. Early in 1964, Swarthmore received a grant of \$275,000 from The Rockefeller Foundation to underwrite our efforts to recruit and enroll Negro students.¹ The terms of the grant were expressed only informally and the tentative guidelines were as follows:

1. Emphasis in recruitment was to be placed upon those Negro students with both the ability and potential to assume various positions of leadership in society in the future.²

2. Emphasis in recruitment was to be placed predominantly on Negro males, although the recruitment of Negro females was also expected.
3. The bulk of the grant was to provide the necessary financial aid which it was anticipated would be required to see them through four years of college. A fraction of the grant was useable for whatever additional expenses accrued to the Admissions Office by virtue of their intensified recruitment efforts. It was estimated that the grant would enable us to carry out this special recruitment effort for a period of three years.
4. It was thought at the time that after the initial three-year recruitment effort, the colleges might expect to have established the basis for a regular, annual influx of Negro students who would then be competing, on the same basis as our other students, for financial aid from our regular financial aid budget.

And beyond these guidelines there was, I think, an operative assumption, nonetheless important despite its not being articulated at the time, that we were working on the basis of an integrationist ethic. Although Swarthmore had enrolled Negro students before, there was little doubt that a successful recruitment effort would make us more fully integrated. Needless to say, the integrationist ethic itself has come under considerable fire from many quarters, not the least of which is a group of our own Swarthmore Negro students. (This has created no little consternation and complication in our admissions efforts.)

At the time, these guidelines were realistic to the same extent that our knowledge about the problem was limited. There were obviously a number of very able Negro students graduating from secondary schools each year who were not enrolling (as, given their abilities and interests, they might have been expected to) at colleges such as Swarthmore. Many of them were enrolling at either predominantly Negro colleges or at large urban institutions, e.g., New York University. They were graduates not only of the beleaguered ghetto schools in the cities, but also of the well-funded, high calibre, integrated suburban high schools. A combination of lack of interest on the part of colleges and limited guidance on the part of their counselors led them to set

their sights on colleges, some of which were more limited in their educational resources than our own. This much we knew, but not much more.

The Rockefeller grant enabled us to make a breakthrough here, although the exact dimensions of this breakthrough are still somewhat controversial. There is no doubt that Swarthmore became visible to Negro high school students and those same students became visibly of concern to Swarthmore. All things considered, this was a significant achievement. Up to 1953, Swarthmore had enrolled perhaps a total of 7 or 8 Negro students. In the decade from 1953 to 1963, a total of 20 Negro students was enrolled. From 1964 to 1968, 61 Negro students (out of approximately 1100 students enrolled during this period) have been enrolled. And with few exceptions, this was "non-risk" recruitment, at least in terms of those factors we were able to measure (SAT scores, class rank, and grade point average).³ The point of controversy arises when it is considered where such students might have gone to college had they not been recruited by, and enrolled at, Swarthmore. Or another way of putting this: was the total number of Negro students attending the selective colleges increased by virtue of our efforts, or was there merely a reshuffling of a relatively small number of good students, all of whom would have attended a good institution anyway, some of whom may now have been thought to gain no more than an extra degree of prestige? Since the whole area of college admissions is a difficult one in which to establish "what if" proofs, we will probably never know. It must be said, however, that it is sadly ironic that schools such as New York University, with perhaps one of the best records of recruiting and enrolling able Negro students over the years, should now find themselves, as a result of this reshuffling, beset with great pressures to enroll Negro students in greater numbers, regardless of their qualifications.

Whether or not our efforts in any measure relieved the plight of the Negro student with regard to higher education, this much can be said: the choice of colleges which an able Negro student might consider was expanded by one (and, I think it can be modestly claimed, a significant one), and Swarthmore has substantially increased the number of Negro students in its student body. What we were unable to do was to ensure that our Negro student group would be predominantly male. As is generally characteristic of our entire applicant group, our Negro female applicants have been more highly qualified than our Negro male applicants. There are individual exceptions to this, of course, but when taken as a group, the number of qualified females far exceeded that of the number of males, a fact less significant when one is dealing with over 2,000 applicants (our entire applicant group) than when dealing with fewer than 100 applicants (our Negro applicant group).

Also characteristic of our overall admissions experience (but again more critically significant, given the relatively small numbers involved), among those Negro students to whom we offered admission, a higher percentage of females accepted our offer than did males. As a result, we have enrolled almost twice as many Negro women as Negro men, the opposite of our intention and that of our guideline.⁴ While there are general reasons (not universally endorsed) why I think a coed college should have a predominantly male enrollment, missing the mark as far as we have with regard to our Negro enrollment has important ramifications. First, it does not appear that we have made much of a contribution toward righting the imbalance in educational achievement which presently weighs heavily in favor of the Negro female.⁵ And within the College, we have no doubt (unintentionally) created a social context much more limited than our Negro students would desire.⁶

Another unexpected development in our special recruitment effort related to the financial need and aid aspects. Although not insubstantial, the financial need of the Negro students we enrolled turned out to be less substantial than we had imagined it would be. In the first place, many of the students come from families whose total net income is considerably above the poverty or "needy" level.⁷ In addition, because we aimed our recruitment at "non-risk" students, a surprising number of those we enrolled won outside awards (e.g., National Achievement Scholarships) which considerably reduced the aid necessary for Swarthmore to provide. As a result, we have managed to stretch the initial Rockefeller grant over a period of five years, as contrasted with the intended three. Nevertheless, the financial aid extended to these Negro students by Swarthmore has been considerable, and reflects almost exactly a very significant aspect of our overall financial aid picture which was called to the attention of the CEP last year: the tremendous outlay in financial aid required simply to meet the financial need of Swarthmore students who come from families which are essentially "middle class" or "upper middle class" in terms of their socio-economic background.⁸

The most significant development in all of this, however, has been our inability to maintain the level of success in recruitment as characterized our initial efforts. While the quality of those students we have enrolled remains high, their numbers have diminished in the past few years. Despite the increased visibility of Swarthmore which I mentioned earlier, and despite our continued efforts to contact greater numbers of Negro secondary school students, we simply haven't been able to come up with an applicant group both sufficiently large and sufficiently qualified to yield the number of enrolled students we would like each year.

The following data will give you some idea of the numbers we have been working with. Please note that "applied" means that the candidate at least began an application. Completed applications are considerably less than the number of applications given here. (For instance, for the Class of 1972, the number of completed applications is 22 for men and 43 for women.)

	<u>Applied</u>		<u>Admitted</u>		<u>Enrolled</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>
Class of 1968:	17	26	9	15	5	9
Class of 1969:	49	73	9	18	6	13
Class of 1970:	38	50	12	12	3	7
Class of 1971:	31	34	8	6	5	5
Class of 1972:	31	52	8	8	3	5

The number "admitted" as a percentage of the number "applied" should not be considered an indication of "high selectivity." In addition to the fact that many of the candidates did not complete their applications, a significant number of those who did complete them were "unrealistic" candidates. We have in fact accepted all qualified Negro men who made complete applications. While the selectivity among the women applicants has been greater, because of an attempt to correct for the present great imbalance in the ratio of Negro men to Negro women in our student body we have not accepted all of the qualified women who have applied (we had 12 Negro women on the waiting list for the Class of 1972, but because of an over-acceptance by all women applicants of our offers of admission on the one hand, and only a small return on the Negro men to whom we offered admission on the other hand, we were unable to take any of them off the waiting list).

II.

The Swarthmore Negro Students. Not all of the students enrolled since 1964 have been "Rockefeller grant" students: that is, not all of them are

receiving financial aid from that particular grant; and while difficult to establish definitely, some of them would undoubtedly have applied and been admitted irrespective of our special recruitment effort. It was because of the grant, however, that we became especially concerned with all of the Negro students who applied, were admitted, and enrolled between 1964 and 1968, and we have therefore treated them as a group for purposes of research. The following is a brief summary of what we know about these students to date:

1. Family structure. Of the 61 students, 47 come from 2-parent homes and 14 from 1-parent homes. The latter group is broken down as follows:

- 2 women live with widowed mothers
- 7 men live with separated or divorced mothers
- 4 women live with separated or divorced mothers
- 1 woman lives with separated or divorced father

It is interesting that the percentage of these students who come from families headed by a woman (21%) reflects the situation described by Patrick Moynihan in his report, The Negro Family. In 1962, the percentage of non-white families headed by a woman was 23.2 (as contrasted with a percentage of 8.6 among white families) and by 1966 had increased to 32.1 percent.⁹

Few of the students come from large families, at least insofar as number of dependent children is concerned. Counting the students themselves as dependent children:

15	come from families with 1 dependent child
16	" " " " 2 dependent children
17	" " " " 3 " "
6	" " " " 4 " "
3	" " " " 5 " "
4	" " " " 6 " "

2. Parents' Education. Swarthmore has never attempted to determine precisely the level of education attained by the parents

of its applicants.¹⁰ It has requested the names of any colleges attended by the parents, but not the specific degrees attained. Given these limitations, the following is the most accurate information we can provide on this question:

- a. Of the 122 parents of these 61 students, 65 graduated from college (30 fathers, 35 mothers). In addition, 12 parents had some college (7 fathers, 5 mothers).
- b. In the case of 24 of the 61 students, both parents had college degrees.
- c. Of the colleges attended by the 77 parents, about half of the institutions were predominantly Negro ones.
- d. For 45 of the parents, we do not have precise information, but a strong presumption is made that they had gone no further than high school, and some not that far.

While the percentage of parents of these students who attended college is considerably below that of our student body's parents as a whole, it nevertheless far exceeds the national percentage of non-whites who have attended college.

3. Parents' Occupations. Lacking any comparative data in this area, our observations are necessarily limited. As with their educational background, the occupations of the parents of these Negro students reflect a level of achievement which undoubtedly far exceeds the norm for all Negroes in this country. And it is significant that the largest (by far) single occupation is that of teaching. There are:

23 teachers	1 military
3 guidance counselors	3 horticultural specialists
3 doctors	6 post office employees
1 dentist	1 government service
4 pastors	1 retail food
3 nurses	1 NYC detective
1 professor	13 semi-professional, white-collar
1 clinical psychologist	29 blue-collar workers (factory workers,
1 lawyer	manual laborers, clerks, department
	store sales, etc.)

4. Parents' Incomes. We have information here for only 56 students. Five students did not apply for financial aid, presumably because it was evident that they did not need it. Of the families of the 56 students who did apply, 34 had net incomes above \$10,000 (12 of them above \$15,000), and only 9 below \$5,000. Overall, the incomes were much higher than we had expected they would be, although it is significant that in 32 of the 56 cases, the net income represented that of two working parents. It is clear that the large majority of these families cannot be considered as seriously economically disadvantaged, at least with regard to income. (See Table 1.)
5. Secondary Schools of Origin. Of the 61 students, 35 came from public high schools [REDACTED], 17 from public-selective schools [REDACTED], and 9 from private schools [REDACTED]. This last group includes 2 [REDACTED] who had gone to public high schools in the south until their senior year (one spent her senior year at a private school in New York State under the ABC - A Better Chance Program, and one spent her senior year at Yale under the TYP - Transitional Year Program).

All things considered, the geographical distribution of these students is fairly broad. They come from 18 states, including North Carolina, Florida, Virginia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas and Tennessee. (See Table 2.)

6. Scholastic Achievement in Secondary School. Elsewhere I have referred to our recruitment as being essentially "non-risk." This is a relative term in admissions, varying from

college to college. We use it in the following sense: in recruiting Negro students we have sought to enroll only those students whose College Board scores, class rank, and grade point average fall within the range of those which characterize our overall enrollment. It does not mean that with regard to such measurable factors our Negro students are an exact replica of the student body as a whole. For instance, the median board scores of the group of Negro students is not as high as the median scores of the student body.

Of the 61 Negro students, only 2 have had verbal scores below 500, 6 below 550, 15 below 600. And these 15 had high class ranks and grade point averages as well as strong recommendations. On the other hand, only 7 of the 61 had a verbal score of 700 or higher. (See Table 3.) The range of scores for our student body as a whole is roughly from 500 to 800.

Class rank is a difficult measure to use in characterizing a group of students, given the variation in size of classes and quality of schools. A very able student in a small, high-calibre independent school might very well be halfway down in his class, whereas a less able student from a large ghetto high school may be in the top 5% of his class. But for what it is worth, of the 61 students, 50 were in the top quarter of their class, 40 in the top tenth, 27 in the top five percent. Of the other 11, 2 were not ranked and 5 were in small relatively select senior classes. (See Table 4.)

Of the 61 students, 16 (or 26%) are National Achievement Scholars (5 men and 11 women), and 1 is a National Merit Scholar (man).

Given the pool of possible candidates, our own overall admissions situation, and the variety of recruitment patterns among other colleges, I think it fair to describe our own recruitment to date as "non-risk." In fact, we have enrolled some very able Negro students.

7. Their Academic Experience at Swarthmore. Because of a lack of comparative data, it is difficult to evaluate the academic performance of the Negro students in terms of all Swarthmore students, or in terms of all Negro students attending colleges similar to Swarthmore. But I think it important to look at how these Negro students have fared academically at Swarthmore for a number of reasons. First, such data ought to be useful in helping us to determine which, if any, alternative recruitment programs are feasible. Secondly, such data ought to alert us to deficiencies in our present recruitment program and/or deficiencies in our educational program as far as such students are concerned. And last, such data might indicate the presence of a variety of non-academic factors which, in applying uniquely to the Negro students at Swarthmore, affect their academic performance.¹¹

The number of Negro students for whom we have data is 53. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is almost impossible to generalize about the academic performance of these Negro

students from where I sit, partly because I am sufficiently aware of individual cases where the factors adversely affecting a student's academic performance are ones common to many students here at Swarthmore and are not uniquely "Negro" problems. Therefore, I would like to simply present some data here (and in the appendix), make a few observations, and ask that you bring your own critical perception to bear on the material.

The 53 students have gained the following grades in total:

98 A's	[REDACTED]
349 B's	
433 C's	
124 D's	
40 E's	
9 Incompletes	[REDACTED]

(See Table 5 for breakdown by Classes).

Of these 53 students, 20 have at one time or another been placed on academic probation or were required to withdraw, or both; 8 have been required to withdraw; of these 8, 1 has returned and is doing satisfactory work, 2 returned and were required to withdraw again, and 2 are eligible to return. In addition to these 8, several students left the College while in academic difficulty (on probation), although ostensibly for other reasons. Of these, 1 will definitely not return, 1 plans to return this fall, and 1 may return at some future date. There is one student in severe academic difficulty, but because of incompletes in two courses the case has not been acted upon by the Committee on Academic Requirements.

You can get an idea of the retention and attrition of these students, by various categories, by looking at Table 6. As is the case with college students everywhere, several of these students have left the College while in good academic standing, some of them to get married and continue their education elsewhere. There is little indication of any significant number of the Negro students transferring out of Swarthmore for reasons which could be said to relate uniquely to their situation as "Negro students at Swarthmore."¹²

Because of the relatively small size of our sample (53 students), we have not attempted to run correlations on all of the data we have collected. And I think we should be very cautious that we not over-interpret the data we do have. We did, however, try to determine whether there exists a significant correlation between their verbal-aptitude scores and their cumulative averages at Swarthmore. The results are interesting. The students with the highest and the lowest verbal scores tended to do better than those whose scores were in the middle. (See Table 7.) Of the 13 men with verbal scores above 600, 6 do not now have a passing (2.0, or "C") average, while of the 6 men with scores below 600, only 1 does not have a passing average. A similar situation exists with the women. Of the 27 women with verbal scores above 600, 11 do not have passing averages, and of the 7 women with scores below 600, only 1 does not have a passing average.

Our first inclination in assessing these facts was to claim that the ones with lower scores "really had to be good" in order to get by us. But retrospective analysis aside, it is not apparent that these students had any better class rank, grade point averages, or teacher recommendations than those students with higher verbal scores who have done less well at Swarthmore. Perhaps, at the time of admissions, we did perceive some element of strong motivation in each of these students (undoubtedly we did), but it is likely to be the case that we thought we perceived it in the others also. Considering the records of all 53 students, there is some evidence that the quality of the secondary school may count for more than either SAT scores or class rank. A number of the students who have done better than their SAT scores would have led us to believe they would, come from high-quality, public-selective high schools. This factor by no means explains all of the variations in performance, but it is apparently a significant factor. In other words, (and this observation applies to non-Negro students as well) a high-ability student from a poor high school probably has a more substantial gap to close at this College than a less able student from a very good high school.

This "gap," which I do not think should constitute a fatal handicap in admissions, obviously varies from student to student: in some cases, it is a matter of culture shock; in some cases, it is a matter of inferior academic preparation. In any event, there are students of high ability who must nevertheless overcome significantly greater obstacles at Swarthmore than those which confront their no more intellectually able classmates. Often these obstacles are matters of style, experience, and intellectual discipline. Our success in dealing with such students depends on the extent to which we can recognize these obstacles and help them get over them.

The overall academic performance of these Negro students, then, has been quite mixed. From the admissions viewpoint, there are some unexpectedly good results and some unexpectedly bad ones, a situation which is only slightly more exaggerated than the norm. The number who have been on academic probation seems high, as does the number who have been required to withdraw for academic reasons. And as is the case with the student body as a whole, the best academic performances have come more often than not from those students with the best credentials who have been educated in the best secondary schools.

The majors which have been selected by 32 of the 61 Negro students who have enrolled at Swarthmore since 1964 are broken down as follows:

<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Honors</u>	(m/f = male/female)
1	Soc/Anthro	
1	Pol Sci	
1	Psych	
	<u>Course</u>	
4	Math	
3	Soc/Anthro	
3	Psych	
3	Economics	
3	History	
3	Eng. Lit.	
2	Chemistry	
2	Civil Engg.	
1	French	
1	Phil	
1	Span.	
1	Fine Arts	
1	Pol Sci/Int Rel	
1	Bio	

It is obvious that the Negro students are "underrepresented" in Honors, but the spread of majors seems fairly broad and diverse. The science majors are significant in that Negroes are generally "underrepresented" in the sciences in colleges throughout the country.

III.

The Recruitment Process. On other occasions I have remarked that I think certain aspects of the admissions process can be described quite accurately as "recruitment." However many applications we receive, there are certain kinds of students whose applications we must actively seek. The term "recruitment" very definitely applies to our efforts to enroll Negro students.

Such recruitment has consisted of: visits to predominantly Negro high schools, visits to special programs (e.g., Upward Bound) for "disadvantaged" students, establishment of a communication and referral system with various agencies (National Scholarship Service for Negro Students, Transitional Year Program, A Better Chance Program, Friends Guild, etc.) dealing with Negro students, recruitment week ends at Swarthmore held in cooperation with the Swarthmore Afro-American Society, as well as the usual amount of letter-writing and pamphleteering characteristic of our regular admissions process. When it seemed advisable, we waived the application fee of fifteen dollars (the majority of our Negro applicants have not been required to pay an application fee). We have also sought the assistance of our alumni. Some Negro students apply on their own, of course. The net result of such efforts has been on the order of 80 "applicants" per year, 20 of whom do not complete their application. Of the 60 who do complete, the number offered admission has ranged from a high of 29 to a low of 16. In all but a few cases, admissions decisions reflected academic criteria alone, i.e., if we thought they could do the work, they were admitted. Obviously, a number of these Negro students would have gained admission in normal competition, regardless of whether or not we had a special recruitment program.

The recruitment of Negro students is now a very competitive process and is not as simple as the publicity about such efforts would make it appear. Some of the problems are:

- a. The pool of candidates who can meet our minimum admissions requirements is really very small. It is generously estimated that not more than 15% and perhaps as few as 10% of Negro high school seniors will score over 400 on the verbal SAT, and only about 1 or 2 percent above 500.¹³ And of these, some will not go to college at all, many will attend predominantly Negro colleges near their homes, and a significant number will attend large state institutions where the costs are considerably less than at the private, selective colleges. A large percentage of the students who score over 400 will come from upper class Negro families,¹⁴ and especially significant for us, a large percentage of them will be women. Despite the fact the SAT scores are not perfect predictors of college grades, they cannot simply be thrown out. The verbal ability they measure is central to most college curricula, and there is as yet no evidence to suggest that Negro students with low verbal scores will perform at a higher level on the verbal tasks involved in college than do white students with similarly low scores.¹⁵ Two other indications of the size of this pool: 56% of the Negroes who take the Armed Forces Qualification Test, which roughly measures the ability which ought to be found in an average 7th or 8th grader, fail the test (a rate four times that of the whites who take it);¹⁶ and from my own experience on the National Merit Selection Committee, I have gathered that of 14,000 National Merit finalists in a year, less than 20 are likely to be Negroes. These figures are suggestive of the dimensions of the pool of qualified candidates.

b. Whatever the size of the pool, the number of colleges seeking to enroll Negro students has greatly increased in the past two years, bringing about what one astute observer has called "an all-out recruiting war," where the victories to be won are few, whether by the students or the institutions. When the heat is on, whatever ethics exist in admissions practices of various colleges become the first casualties. Students are offered much more in the way of financial aid than they actually need to attend a given college. Some are given wardrobes by alumni. Some are simply hustled. The students themselves become aware that they are valuable commodities for colleges, and the least qualified may insist on knowing what we will offer to get him before discussing whether or not we are the appropriate college for him to attend. Apart from this, and more significant, there is a considerable overlap among candidates applying to the selective colleges. In the New York Times of April 14, 1968, the story on Negro recruitment was captioned: More Negroes Accepted by Ivy League Colleges. On May 13, after the returns were in, a similar story in the same paper was captioned: Ivy League Colleges Found to Lag in Enrolling More Negroes. What had happened of course was that in a great many cases they were offering admission to the same candidate. This has been our experience also. Almost every Negro male to whom we have offered admission in the past few years and who has declined that offer has enrolled at one of the Ivy League colleges. As understandable as this is, the prospects for doing much

more than running madly just to stay in place in the next few years are not bright under such conditions. As things now stand, however, among the approximately 30 colleges with which we normally overlap in candidates for admission, Swarthmore is very near the top in terms of the percentage of our student body who are Negroes. (For figures on Negro enrollment at other institutions, see Table 8.)

- c. Whatever the size of the pool, and whatever the nature of the competition, the small size of our freshman class is itself a limiting factor in recruitment. In the first place, the ratio of applicants to places available is so very high (2200 applicants for 300 places) that we annually find ourselves unable to offer admission to a large number of highly qualified candidates. However inevitable this is, individual applicants, counselors, schools, and parents find it hard to accept. Our relationships with these schools (and their relationships with the students and parents) are understandably strained when it appears that we have gone out of our way to recruit and enroll a less able student simply because he or she is a Negro. (Negro students who are highly qualified obviously present no problems in admissions.) The fact that we consider the situation of the Negro student exceptional, and the cause a just one (as do many high schools), doesn't lessen the strain in relationships. In high schools which are both integrated and of limited resources, the fact that we as a college are singling out from among all students whose educational aspirations and chances have been stunted

because they are poor and culturally deprived, only Negro students, rankles them, and in my opinion rightly so. But beyond our relationships with high schools, there are other problems related to our small size. For instance, sooner or later we must answer questions such as the following: given the nature of our present applicant group of 1100 men, and given only 170 places available for men in the freshman class, how many of those places should be given over to Negro students who, while able to do the work, would gain admission largely because they are Negro? Or, if we could agree on the number of places but were unable to fill them with students who could do the work without remedial programs, what number of places could we then conscientiously set aside for such students?

- d. In soliciting applications from Negro students we have had to walk a thin line. While we seek greater numbers of Negro applicants, we have tried to avoid encouragement of unrealistic ones. This is terribly difficult to do, if for no other reason than the fact that it is commonly thought that any college with a special recruitment program for Negro students has therefore embarked on a special educational program (usually of a remedial nature, and for "risk" students) for such students. In addition, not knowing exactly what grades mean in some of the high schools from which these students come, it is almost impossible to make a judgment about whether their application would be realistic or not until such an application is in fact completed. On one

recruitment week end last fall, when 40 or 50 Negro students came to campus, we interviewed throughout the week end and came to the conclusion that we would have to somehow politely discourage the large majority of them from applying. To imply to any student that he should not file an application is a very sensitive matter; with these particular students, it was doubly so. (Anyone who thinks they are expert at selecting "diamonds in the rough" should spend a week end thusly, and I guarantee greater modesty on their part.)

- e. In terms of correspondence, our recruitment efforts have been national; in terms of travel by the admissions office, the efforts have been largely in the area between Philadelphia and Chicago, and Washington, D. C. and Boston. These efforts are obviously not on the scale of those of the colleges with which we compete for these students (Harvard, Yale, and Princeton each have admissions staffs numbering from 15 to 20 men, as compared with our 3; since their applicant groups number only about 2-1/2 times our own, they are obviously at a great advantage in recruiting in the field. Nor does this allow for the fact that their alumni groups are many times larger than our own, and generally more willing to spend time "recruiting" students for their colleges).
- f. It of course helps to have Negro students already enrolled at the college when it comes to recruiting Negro students for admission. It is not an unmixed blessing, however. The "black student" movement has complicated things. A militant "black student" group which dominates the Negro subculture

on a campus and which is separatist with regard to life on the campus may be a deterrent to attracting some Negro students to enroll here. Many Negro students are interested in finding an "integrated" situation at college. Not all Negro students are militant or believe in separatism. One Negro student we interviewed at the college, after being talked to by members of SAAS, declined to apply; she explained to us that having come from a segregated background, she was interested in going to a college where she could comfortably integrate. In another instance, some of the SAAS students informed me that "light-skinned Negroes don't count" as far as Negro admissions go. Again, this summer, a bright Negro student expressed concern that should he come to Swarthmore he would be pressured to become militant by SAAS. We're still trying to find our way with this particular problem. Some members of SAAS have helped us in our recruitment efforts, putting ideology aside for the moment, but there is no doubt that all Negro students today are going through considerable self-analysis with regard to what role they should play in the predominantly white colleges in which they are enrolled or hope to enroll. Another aspect of the situation of the Negroes on campus that is related to our admissions efforts has to do with the social situation: specifically, the number of the opposite sex available for dating. While interracial dating occurs, the militant separatism of many of the Negro students leans against it, and a number of the SAAS students have expressed

their concern over a social situation which they consider quite limited. A less than ideal social situation is of course a factor taken into consideration by prospective Negro applicants.

- g. Lastly, in our efforts to recruit Negro students, we have come up against all of the myths and misapprehensions about Swarthmore which plague our overall admissions process. Even the most able students are afraid they wouldn't make it through. Some think it impossible to be accepted, so why apply. Those who think they might be accepted, nevertheless think they wouldn't "fit in," believing that one must be either "kooky" or "politically radical" (or both). And on and on.

Over and above the difficulties inherent in assessing applications and credentials, the problems discussed above are the practical ones with which we must wrestle in our efforts to recruit Negro students for the College. To the extent that these problems are ones generally characteristic of the entire admissions process, we can cope with them. To the extent that they reflect an unresolvable disparity between our stated goals and the only available means of achieving them, it is then a matter of serious policy questions which must be faced by the College itself.

IV.

The Problem of Social Diversity. The decision to more aggressively recruit and enroll greater numbers of Negro students did not in itself constitute a significant policy problem in admissions as long as such recruitment was of a "non-risk" nature and did not involve any significant departures in our

regular academic program and requirements. If, however, we find ourselves unable to enroll more Negro students without making such departures, then it is apparent that a full discussion of our present policy and alternative policies be undertaken. While recognizing that the problems encountered in our Negro recruitment are the immediately precipitating elements in such a policy review, it would seem to me lacking in foresight to focus discussions of possible departures in either our admissions criteria and/or our academic program solely in the area of Negro recruitment. Ultimately, the Negro recruitment problem is only one part of the larger problem of achieving and maintaining a significant degree of social diversity among our student body.

In a memorandum on "Social Diversity," prepared for the Commission on Educational Policy and submitted to them in February, 1967, I raised the following questions:

Among the issues that one could expect to be drawn in any discussions having to do with admissions criteria, there is one which requires immediate and considerable attention: to what extent and under what conditions should (and can) the goal of social diversity within the student body be a factor in the admissions process? More specifically, to what extent should socio-economic background on the one hand, and minority group membership (particularly Negro and Puerto Rican) on the other hand, be operative factors in admissions?

The memorandum went on to point out that while the majority of colleges and universities in the country, certainly all of the prestigious ones, presently seek socially diverse student bodies,

Swarthmore, with its emphasis on - and reputation for - social consciousness, may bring to the problem of social diversity a commitment which exceeds that of the simple desire to reinforce the educational process by bringing students of different backgrounds together. The desirability of social diversity from an educational viewpoint may be reinforced by an institutional feeling of social responsibility.

Data were presented to show the dimensions of social diversity at Swarthmore in recent years and to indicate the sizeable amount of scholarship money

spent each year simply to enable students from middle-income families to afford the costs of our educational program. Swarthmore does not educate very many students from the lower end of the socio-economic scale, just as it does not educate very many students from families of substantial wealth and semi-aristocratic, or patrician, background. Between these extremes, however, our students are predominantly from families whose incomes are among the highest in the country.¹⁷

The trends with regard to this matter of social diversity among the student bodies of various colleges have been somewhat paradoxical. The public institutions of higher education, founded on the basis of an "open door" admissions policy, have responded to the ever-increasing numbers of applicants by creating "branches" and establishing a pecking order among them. By making some "branches" more selective than others, they have thereby reduced the socio-economic range and the range of interests and career plans among the student bodies within each branch. On the other hand, the private colleges which have for some time been most capable of "highly selective" admissions have been the ones consciously choosing to seek greater diversity despite their ability (and the temptation) to admit only those students who rank academically in the top 1 or 2 percent in the country.¹⁸

But can a college like Swarthmore, given its small size and the nature of its academic program, hope to achieve more than token social diversity? There is a real dilemma here, for there is no doubt that the higher the objective standards of admission at a college, the more narrow the range of social diversity among the student body. Most of the research in this area has shown a positive correlation between socio-economic status and objective measures of educational achievement. For instance, National Merit reports that while only 2 percent of National Merit finalists (294 out of 12,418 in 1964) come from

families with net incomes less than \$3,000, over 21 percent of the families in the United States fall below this income level. And while 11 percent of the finalists come from families of net incomes less than \$6,000, nearly 50 percent of all U. S. families fall below that level.¹⁹ Moreover, both socio-economic status and scholastic ability are themselves major determinants of college students' career choices, with the result that not only socio-economic background but also career interests among students become more narrowly represented as the objective measures of academic achievements used in admissions are raised.

This is not to imply that there are no highly academically qualified students from poor families. If one takes the top ten percent of all high school graduates in a year (rather than just the National Merit finalists), there are certainly thousands of very poor but very talented students. Swarthmore has in fact enrolled such students when it could find them. But to reach them requires extraordinary recruitment efforts of the kind which, up to now, we have expended largely on behalf of the Negro students. It is also necessary to recognize that such students are not likely to present at entrance to college the unusually high level of academic credentials characteristic of the average Swarthmore student. As with the Negro students, if we were to decide to significantly broaden the range of social diversity among the student body, certain departures in our present admissions policies would be necessary.

I submitted a memorandum to this effect to the CEP in February, 1967 and their response to the problem is included in the section on admissions in the Critique. Diversity was accepted as desirable, but it was argued that:

...a certain uniformity of background is the price of a high level of academic performance...Students who are very bright but poorly educated are difficult to assimilate into a high-pressure system like Swarthmore's. We regretfully conclude

that for many such students Swarthmore is the wrong college, and that this important social function can be better performed at institutions with greater resources and facilities, though we hope the Admissions Office will continue to seek the sort of disadvantaged students who do seem capable of succeeding at Swarthmore.

This may in fact be the last word on the subject. But there are at least three debatable assumptions here: first, that a high level of academic performance by the College must rest on a uniformly high level of previous academic preparation on the part of its students (in this sense, we are perhaps one of those colleges aptly characterized in one of Peter DeVries' novels thusly: 'Sure they turn out good students. That's all they take. Getting an education at these schools is like getting a loan from a bank: you can't get it unless you can prove to them that you don't need it.'²⁰); second, that Swarthmore should not seek to acquire the resources or facilities necessary to assimilate such "bright but poorly educated" students into our student body; and third, that the Admissions Office is capable of threading the needle in sorting out the disadvantaged students who "can make it." This latter task is no mean feat, given the fact that our present students, selected largely from the top 1 or 2 percent academically in the country, somehow find themselves spread out across the full A to E scale each year at Swarthmore.

I guess it is clear by now that I think this problem of social diversity as an admissions criterion deserves a fuller hearing. Certainly any review of policy concerning our recruitment of Negro students will of necessity involve a discussion of the assumptions inherent in the CEP statement. I have raised the broader concern of social diversity in the present report because it appears to me that the recruitment of Negro students is but one aspect of a more fundamental problem: that of finding ways to recruit, enroll, and educate a given number of able young men and women who, because of limited backgrounds, might require more supportive measures than we are accustomed to provide, but

who, at the same time, would stand to gain more from - and to contribute more to - Swarthmore. I am suggesting, in other words, that the College should give serious consideration to setting aside a certain number of places in each freshman class for students who are "bright" but who will need support in order to be "assimilated" into our rigorous academic program, and that wisdom and foresight dictate that such places not be strictly limited to Negro students.

V.

Where Do We Go From Here? Whether the College decides to take the broader and long-range view of the problem, or whether it focuses solely on the immediate problem of Negro recruitment, we will have to give some thought to practical alternatives to our present policy. Two problems stand out: first, given the relatively small size of a freshman class here, how many places could be set aside for students who would require a supportive program; and, second, what would be the nature of such supportive programs? Certain possible answers to these questions come immediately to mind, at least one of which I think should be rejected: that of following some sort of national quota system with regard to race (e.g. 11% of the student body ought to be Negro). Referring to the demands of the Harvard black student group that both the faculty and the student body ought to be 11% Negro, Moynihan has recently written of the undesirable implications of thinking in terms of quota systems.²¹ Possible answers which seem to me feasible are here suggested as hypothetical examples:

A. Social diversity recruitment:

1. Each year, somewhere between 20 and 30 "disadvantaged" students, evenly divided between Negro and non-Negro men and women, would be enrolled under a special support program.

B. Negro recruitment only:

1. The College would first admit all those Negro students who competed on even terms with the entire applicant group in the admissions process, but that in the event

the number enrolled fell below a designated number (e.g. 15 or 20), that designated number would be met by enrolling additional Negro students who would require a support program.

2. Whatever number of Negro students enrolled under our regular, competitive admissions process, a given number of additional Negro students requiring a support program would be enrolled.

(Or any combination of the above alternatives)

In other words, with regard to Negro enrollment, the College might decide: 1) that it has no obligation to go beyond attempting to enroll Negro students who can meet our normal admissions requirements; or, 2) that if it were not successful in recruiting such qualified students, it would then have an obligation to recruit ones who required academic support; or, 3) that however successful it was in recruiting qualified Negro students, it nevertheless has an obligation to make a greater dent in resolving the plight of the Negro with regard to higher education by enrolling some additional Negro students who would require academic support.

With regard to what I have termed "supportive" programs, there are several possibilities we ought to consider. The first to come to mind is simply a "program" (although perhaps not as highly structured as that term implies) whereby students from relatively limited academic backgrounds were able to take fewer courses per semester over a greater number of semesters. A second possibility is to create a pre-freshman program (to "beef up" academic preparation in some areas) for some part of the summer immediately preceding their entrance into Swarthmore (e.g., special seminars in literature, English, a foreign language, math, or science). A third possibility is to attempt to identify such students in the Philadelphia area schools at the end of their 11th year in school, and to bring them to the campus once a week for one seminar each semester during their senior year. Such a program might also have recruitment

advantages. And lastly, with the alternatives above or any others that might be considered, there would have to be a special counselling program (probably including senior student advisers, special tutorials, or other enrichment devices) undergirding them. This list of possibilities is not meant to be exhaustive but merely suggestive; I hope it will serve as a point of departure for faculty discussion.

Whatever decisions are reached on the problems discussed in this report, they of course must be considered in light of the costs (educational and social, as well as financial) of the various alternatives. The point at which the College can meet the needs of society without sacrificing its own integrity and genius is both a sensitive and difficult one to establish. And it is obvious that Swarthmore cannot hope to undertake programs of the size, complexity and cost that larger colleges and universities could undertake. But even if we were to do no more than carry on our present Negro recruitment program, it will be necessary to seek additional scholarship funds, and I suggest we approach the Rockefeller Foundation to seek a three-year renewal of their original grant to us.

There is no summing up. The Admissions Committee will consider this problem early in the fall. I will be happy to discuss any questions arising out of the presentation of this report.

Fred Hargadon
September, 1968

TABLE 2: States in which they attended secondary school*

Pennsylvania	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
New York	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
D. C.	[REDACTED]			
Maryland	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	
Massachusetts	[REDACTED]			
Illinois	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]		
New Jersey	[REDACTED]			
Connecticut	[REDACTED]			
North Carolina	[REDACTED]			
Florida	[REDACTED]			
Ohio	[REDACTED]			
Michigan	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]		
Virginia	[REDACTED]			
Arkansas	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]		

*one student attended school in New Jersey, but lives in Alabama
one student attended school in Connecticut, but lives in Texas
one student attended school in New York, but lives in Tennessee
one student attended school in Connecticut, but lives in Mississippi

TABLE 3: Verbal and Math SAT and English Achievement Scores

(N=61 students: 22 men and 39 women)

	Verbal			Math			English		
	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>
750-800	■	■	■	■■■■■■			■■■■■■		
700-749	■	■■■■		■	■	■	■	■	■
650-699	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
600-649	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
550-599	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
500-549	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
450-499	■	-	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
400-449	■■■■■■			■■■■■■			■	■	■
N/A	■■■■■■			■■■■■■			■	■	■

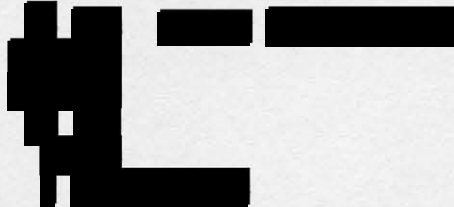
TABLE 4: Rank in Class*

Within the Top:	Size of Senior Class					Totals
	1-75	76-150	151-300	301-600	600 plus	
5%	1 [REDACTED]	4 [REDACTED]	5 ([REDACTED]	12 [REDACTED]	5 [REDACTED]	27
10%		4 [REDACTED]	2 [REDACTED]	5 [REDACTED]	2 [REDACTED]	13
15%					1 [REDACTED]	1
20%	1 [REDACTED]		2 [REDACTED]	1 [REDACTED]		4
25%	1 [REDACTED]		3 [REDACTED]	1 [REDACTED]		5
30%	1 [REDACTED]	1 [REDACTED]		1 [REDACTED]	2 [REDACTED]	5
40%	1 [REDACTED]			1 [REDACTED]		2
50%	1 [REDACTED]					1
75%		1 [REDACTED]				1

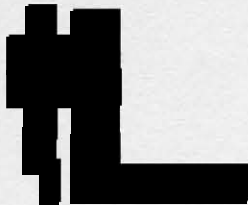
*2 women (the ABC and TYP students) were not ranked in their senior year.

TABLE 5: Grades Achieved by Classes

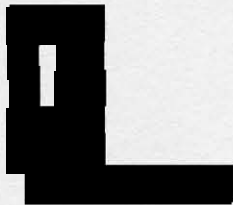
Class of 1968 (14 students)



Class of 1969 (19 students)



Class of 1970 (10 students)



Class of 1971 (10 students)



[The redacted table below details how many students of each gender and class year had graduated, were still in progress, had left in good standing, and were required to withdraw. 11/20/14]

-37-

TABLE 6: Retention/Attrition by Classes

Class of 1968

5 men entered

[REDACTED]

9 women entered

[REDACTED]

Class of 1969

6 men entered

[REDACTED]

13 women entered

[REDACTED]

Class of 1970

3 men entered

[REDACTED]

7 women entered

[REDACTED]

Class of 1971

5 men entered

[REDACTED]

5 women entered

[REDACTED]

TABLE 7: SAT Verbal Scores and Cumulative Averages
(N = 53)

<u>Verbal SAT</u>	<u>Swarthmore Cumulative GPA</u>	<u>No. Semesters</u>
755	2.64	
723	2.47	
717	3.00	
703	2.81	
703	2.23	
699	2.33	
696	2.56 (3.00 trf, 2.43 SW)	
690	1.85 + 1 inc.	
683	3.31	
683	1.93	
682	1.87	
679	2.89 + Honors	
675	2.68	
675	1.90	
670	1.67	
669	3.74	
667	2.15	
666	1.44	
664	3.04	
664	2.69	
659	.43	
656	1.78	
654	2.38	
649	1.33 + 2 inc.	
647	1.75	
647	1.87	
644	2.93	
638	1.73	
636	1.59	
631	2.13 (2.71 trf, 1.67 SW)	
631	2.72 + 1 inc.	
629	2.83	
628	2.18	
623	1.69 + 1 inc.	
614	2.44	
612	.75	
610	1.00	
607	2.56	
604	2.22	
600	1.78	
598	2.71	
597	2.26	
592	2.43	
580	2.25	
560	2.62	
554	2.33 + 2 inc.	
553	2.04 + 1 inc.	
547	2.86	
533	2.08 + 1 inc.	
529	2.50	
521	1.44	
489	1.28	

TABLE 8: Negro Enrollment at Other Colleges

(Source: Chronicle of Higher Education, 22 April 1968)

	<u>Negro Students</u>	<u>Total Number Students</u>	<u>Negro Students as % of Total</u>
Swarthmore	51	1019	5.0
Harvard	172	4861	3.5
Brown	42	3655	1.1
Yale	90	4058	2.2
Princeton	63	3211	2.0
Pennsylvania	118	6941	1.7
Columbia	210	5744	3.7
Dartmouth	74	3147	2.4
Cornell	155	9387	1.7
Radcliffe	29	1207	2.4
Barnard	60	1892	3.2
Bryn Mawr	31	792	3.9
Vassar	36	1617	2.2
Mt. Holyoke	56	1795	3.1
Wellesley	21	1736	1.2
Smith	27	2346	1.2
Amherst	34	1210	2.8
Williams	32	1248	2.6
Wesleyan	75	1395	5.4
Haverford	18	574	3.1
Carleton	38	1373	2.8
Reed	28	1015	2.8
Grinnell	50	1163	4.3
Occidental	44	1651	2.7
Oberlin	126	2479	5.1
Antioch	109	1906	5.7
MIT	28	3857	0.7
Cal Tech	5	730	0.7
Pomona	12	1320	0.9
Stanford	113	5923	1.9

Footnotes

- ¹ Swarthmore was one of seven colleges to receive such grants at this time. The others were: Antioch, Carleton, Grinnell, Oberlin, Occidental, and Reed.
- ² The guidelines varied according to the particular college. Antioch, for instance, undertook a "high risk" program, recruiting and enrolling students who, while they had done poorly in high school, had achieved outside the school in some recognizable way, e.g., being a gang leader. In other cases, such as that of Occidental, it was expected that their geographical location would be especially conducive to recruiting not only Negro students but also students from other minority groups, e.g., Mexican-Americans and Chinese-Americans. Carleton seemed a natural for American Indians.
- ³ For the sense in which I use the term "non-risk," see Section II of this report.
- ⁴ As for those Negro students whom we accept but who enroll at other colleges, our experience is very similar to that which characterizes all of the students we accept but who enroll elsewhere: they attend either Ivy League or Seven Sister colleges. This year, for instance, of the 5 Negro men we accepted but who did not come, one each went to Amherst, Brown, Harvard, MIT, and Princeton. The figures for all Negro students we accepted but who did not come, from 1964 through 1968, are:

<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
Harvard	11	Radcliffe	8
Princeton	2	Mt. Holyoke	2
Penn	2	Smith	2
Yale	1	Cornell	1
Brown	1	Pembroke	1
MIT	1	Fisk	1
Amherst	1	Brandeis	1
Bowdoin	1	Chicago	1
Lafayette	1	Occidental	1
Earlham	1	don't know	2
don't know	2		

- ⁵ The male-female ratio problem is an intractable one. Dr. Daniel Thompson, of Dillard University, reported in January, 1965 that, having examined the honor rolls in Negro high schools for about 10 years, he found that as a rule from 75 to 90 percent of all Negro honor students were girls. Too, of all of the applications for the National Achievement Program financed by the Ford Foundation for outstanding Negro high school graduates, 70 percent are from girls, despite special efforts by high school principals to nominate boys; and of the finalists in the program, about 43 percent have been male (in contrast to the National Merit Scholarship program, where approximately 67 percent of the awards go to males). ("The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," by Daniel P. Moynihan, reprinted in The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy, by Lee Rainwater and William Yancey, MIT, 1967.)
- ⁶ The social dimension is a complex one. Attitudes toward interracial dating have, until recently, been matters of individual preference. The growth of a militancy and a separatist ideology among a number of the members of the Swarthmore Afro-American Society (SAAS) has certain group pressures on

this question now, and Negro students of both sexes have expressed a desire for greater numbers of the opposite sex in order that their social life on the campus could be a more varied one.

- 7 In many cases, the incomes represent that of two working parents. For purposes of determining financial need, the College Scholarship Service does not distinguish between total incomes representing that of one working adult and those representing two working adults.
- 8 Not all of our Negro students are receiving Rockefeller scholarship aid, although all can be said to have been recruited under this program. As for the cost in financial aid to maintain an essentially "upper-middle-class" student body, some data we gathered on the freshman class which entered Swarthmore in the fall of 1966 is revealing. This was a class on which we spent \$130,000 in financial aid.

Estimated Parental Income	Swarthmore College			4-yr colleges nat'l norms		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Less than \$4,000	2.9	1.8	2.4	6.8	7.7	7.2
\$4,000 - \$5,999	3.6	1.8	2.8	13.2	13.3	13.3
\$6,000 - \$7,999	8.6	4.4	6.7	17.5	16.8	17.1
\$8,000 - \$9,999	10.8	7.1	9.1	17.2	15.9	16.6
\$10,000 - \$14,999	21.6	27.4	24.2	24.6	24.4	24.5
\$15,000 - \$19,999	12.9	20.4	16.3	8.9	9.7	9.3
\$20,000 - \$24,999	14.4	16.8	15.5	4.3	5.0	4.7
\$25,000 - \$29,999	6.5	4.4	5.6	2.4	2.7	2.5
\$30,000 - or more	18.7	15.9	17.5	5.0	4.5	4.8

(Based on 252 respondents)

Another perspective is gained by looking at the distribution of income by families for the entire country: (in percentage terms)

Family Income	Percent of Families	Cumulative National %	Cumulative Swarthmore %
Less than \$4,000	27.2	100.0	100.0
\$4,000 - \$5,999	20.1	72.7	97.7
\$6,000 - \$7,999	19.3	52.6	94.9
\$8,000 - \$9,999	13.4	33.3	88.2
\$10,000 - \$14,999	14.5	19.9	79.1
\$15,000 - \$24,999	4.4	5.4	54.9
\$25,000 and over	1.0	1.0	23.1

(Data is for 1963, from Statistical Abstract of the US: 1965 p. 341, and from Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, This U.S.A. (1965), p. 126. The Swarthmore data is from the ACE analysis of the Class of 1970).

It would appear that not only are our students from among the most highly academically qualified in the country, but they are also predominantly from families whose incomes are among the highest in the country.

Still another perspective on the problem of social diversity is provided by the following data, also from the present freshman class and gathered by the ACE.

Father's Education	Swarthmore College			4-yr colleges nat'l norms		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Grammar school or less	2.1	1.7	1.9	9.8	8.7	9.3
Some high school	3.5	0.8	2.3	15.3	13.9	14.6
High school graduate	7.6	8.3	8.0	29.5	28.3	28.9
Some college	9.7	11.7	10.6	18.1	19.6	18.9
College graduate	29.2	30.0	29.5	16.7	17.8	17.3
Post-graduate degree	47.9	47.5	47.7	10.7	11.7	11.2
Mother's Education	Swarthmore College			4-yr colleges nat'l norms		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Grammar school or less	0.0	0.8	0.4	6.0	5.3	5.7
Some high school	2.8	3.3	3.0	12.7	12.0	12.4
High school graduate	20.1	15.8	18.2	43.1	40.5	41.8
Some college	17.4	17.5	17.4	18.7	21.8	20.3
College graduate	41.0	45.8	43.2	16.5	17.3	16.9
Post-graduate degree	18.8	16.7	17.8	3.1	3.1	3.1

(Based on 264 respondents)

- ⁹ See Moynihan, in Rainwater and Yancey, op.cit., p. 107, and also Moynihan, "The President and the Negro," Commentary (February 1967), p. 37.
- ¹⁰ By administering the American Council on Education freshman survey each year now, we are finding out more specific information in this area for those students enrolled in the College. See footnote 8 above.
- ¹¹ While I am generally reluctant to have our students carry an additional burden, that of being objects of research, it does seem to me that we ought to give serious consideration to creating a small group of faculty and deans whose task it would be to measure the impact of the Swarthmore experience on these Negro students (and vice versa). Such a group might very well call problems to our attention, and their findings might contribute also to shedding light on the entire problem of educating Negro students in colleges such as Swarthmore in the next decade.
- ¹² It is always difficult to know precisely why a student in good academic standing leaves the College where there is no clear-cut reason, e.g., illness, marriage, or a desire to undertake an academic program not offered at Swarthmore. Conversations with students, particularly dormitory representatives, have indicated that in one or two cases a Negro student may have left because of a desire to escape either the conflict and/or pressure arising out of the militancy/separatist movement among black students on the campus.
- ¹³ See "The Coming Segregation of Our Selective Colleges," by S. A. Kendrick, of the College Board, in College Board Review (Winter 1967-8), p. 8.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 9.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 9.
- ¹⁶ See Moynihan report in Rainwater and Yancey, op. cit., p. 86.
- ¹⁷ See footnote 8 above.

18 For a discussion of these developments and the entire question of social diversity in higher education, see Fred Glimp, "Student Diversity and National Goals in Higher Education," pp. 18-28, in The Economics of Higher Education (College Entrance Examination Board, 1967); B. Alden Thresher, College Admissions and the Public Interest (College Entrance Examination Board, 1966); and, "Social Stratification and Mass Higher Education," Ch. 3 (esp. pp. 97-154) in The Academic Revolution, by Christopher Jencks and David Reisman (Doubleday, 1968).

19 See Robert Nichols, The Origin and Development of Talent (National Merit Research Report: Vol. 2, No. 10, 1966), and The Financial Status of Able Students (National Merit Research Report: Vol. 1, No. 3, 1965). The following table, constructed from information gained in the Project Talent 1960 High School Senior Sample, is suggestive of the influence of socio-economic status and academic aptitude on college entrance:

PER CENT OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES GOING TO
COLLEGE THE FOLLOWING YEAR, BY ACADEMIC APTITUDE,
SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, AND SEX, 1960

	Socio-economic Status					
Academic Aptitude	<u>Low</u>	<u>Lower-Middle</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Upper-Middle</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>All</u>
Males						
Low	10	13	15	25	40	14
Lower-Middle	14	23	30	35	57	27
Middle	30	35	46	54	67	46
Upper-Middle	44	51	59	69	83	63
Upper	69	73	81	86	91	85
All	24	40	53	65	81	49
Females						
Low	9	9	10	16	41	11
Lower-Middle	9	10	16	24	54	18
Middle	12	18	25	40	63	30
Upper-Middle	24	35	41	58	78	49
Upper	52	61	66	80	90	76
All	15	24	32	51	75	35

(Source: Christopher and Jencks, op.cit., p. 103)

20 What Peter DeVries put rather succinctly in the context of a novel, a recent piece of serious research, studying the effects of institutional quality on student achievement, concluded in fact. See, "Undergraduate Achievement and Institutional 'Excellence,'" by Alexander Astin, in Science, 16 August 1968, pp. 661 ff.

21 See "The New Racialism," by Daniel Moynihan, in Atlantic, (August 1968), pp. 35 ff.