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THE BLACK STUDENT IN THE WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES SYSTEM

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PREFACE

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, is an independent agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government. By the terms of the act, as amended by the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964, the Commission is charged with the following duties: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to denials of equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

THE STATE COMMITTEES

A State Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105 (c) of the Civil Rights Act

of 1957, as amended. The Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports to the Commission, to the President, and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission in matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

This report was submitted to the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the Wisconsin State Committee. The conclusions and recommendations are based upon the Committee's evaluation of information received as a result of investigations undertaken by the Committee from August 1970 to March 1971. This report has been received by the Commission and will be considered by it in making its reports and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

INTRODUCTION

The Wisconsin State Committee and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have received many complaints of discrimination against minority students on the campuses and in the communities which house the Wisconsin State Universities. The Committee and Commission staff reviewed the complaints and decided to conduct an inquiry into problems associated with minority enrollment, more specifically, black enrollment, in the Wisconsin State University System.

The complaints received pertained mostly to spectacular events at WSU-Whitewater and WSU-Oshkosh. In each case the local WSU administration instituted disciplinary action against a group of black students who allegedly committed acts of mass violence. In each instance special academic disciplinary proceedings were instituted by the Office of WSU Regents in Madison, and students were additionally tried in court on criminal complaints.

The State Committee deemed it necessary to include Whitewater and Oshkosh in its survey, but prudent to visit other schools in the system prior to conducting interviews on those two campuses. Platteville and River Falls were chosen as the two additional schools to visit because, while in contrast to Whitewater in enrollment size, they were reported to have high (for the WSU System) ratios of black enrollment.

The first action taken by the Committee was to send a Commission on Civil Rights staff member and a State Committee member to Madison, Wisconsin to discuss WSU problems and the Committee's prospective inquiry with Eugene R. McPhee, Executive Director of State Universities and Secretary of the Board of Regents. In this meeting, on August 10, 1970, Mr. McPhee offered assurances of WSU System cooperation in the inquiry and undertook to write the WSU presidents enlisting their cooperation.

The CCR State Committee inquiry then proceeded, with two members of the Committee and one Commission staff member composing teams

to visit the Wisconsin State Universities at Platteville, Oshkosh, River Falls, and Whitewater. Site visits took place during the period October 1970-March 1971. In addition, questionnaires were circulated to the nine WSU institutions and their four satellite campuses. This report is based upon the data and impressions gained from the extensive interviews conducted on campus and in the local communities, and from the responses to the questionnaires.

The figure which follows gives the composition of the visiting teams, the dates of visitation, and the topics covered in interviews conducted on the four campuses. It has not been possible to treat all of the topics in this report and it has been necessary not merely to omit some topics, but to give abbreviated treatment to some topics deserving of full-scale study and lengthy analysis.

We have attempted to respect the assurances of confidentiality which we gave to informants, yet accept responsibility for documenting sources of factual allegations, perceptions, and opinions which are the basis for much of the reporting and analysis which follow. We use capital letters to indicate schools code numbers for informants, and numbers for page references in file notes, to identify sources.

school informant file page
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It is thus possible, while preserving confidentiality, to respond to inquiries concerning interview materials. The letter A designated WSU-Platteville, B = River Falls, C = Whitewater, D = Oshkosh, and W = WSU System officials located in Madison.

As the interview notes, the statistical data collected by questionnaires directed to the nine WSU institutions are available in Commission files.

	A	B	C	D
	Platteville	River Falls	Whitewater	Oshkosh
Black student recruitment.....	X	X		X
Enrollment and retention.....	X	X	X	X
Geographic distribution of students.....		X		
Counseling, remedial work, orientation.....	X	X	X	X
Academic fields of concentration.....	X	X		
Problems of housing.....	X	X	X	X
Financial aids.....	X	X	X	X
Athletics.....	X	X	X	X
W.S.U. student newspaper.....	X	X	X	X
International students.....	X	X	X	X
Spanish speaking students.....			X	
American Indians.....		X		
Social groups on campus.....	X	X		
Black organizations on campus.....	X	X	X	X
Black staffing.....	X	X	X	X
Incidents.....	X	X	X	X
Campus security and local police.....	X	X	X	X
Treatment of black students in town.....	X	X	X	X
Environmental problems.....	X	X	X	
W.S.U.—community relations.....	X	X	X	X
Campus human relations committees.....	X	X		
Comment on central offices in Madison.....	X	X		X
Attitudes of local W.S.U. administrators.....	X	X	X	X

Platteville, Cornelius P. Cotter and George J. Pazik, Oct. 1-2, 1970. Oshkosh, Thomas L. Niggemann and George J. Pazik, Dec. 9-11, 1970. River Falls, Cornelius P. Cotter and Thomas L. Niggemann, Feb. 1-2, 1971. Whitewater, Cornelius P. Cotter and George J. Pazik, Mar. 10-11, 1971.

The administration of higher education in Wisconsin.

At the time of this inquiry, Wisconsin had a dual system of higher education which had been in existence for more than a century. The University of Wisconsin was first authorized by law of the territorial legislature in 1836, although it was not organized until 1848. Legislation of 1857 provided for the funding of a State normal school system and created a Board of Regents of Normal Schools. The first normal school opened in Platteville in 1866 and the ninth opened in Eau Claire 50 years later. The normal schools became State teacher colleges with 4-year programs leading to the bachelor of education degree in 1927. In 1951 liberal arts programs were authorized and they were redesignated State colleges. In 1964, with selected graduate work

and expanded programs, the Wisconsin State University appellation was attached with the place name of the schools.

The WSU System is governed by a 13-member appointive board of regents, which must include at least one woman, and which has traditionally included a member from the vicinity of each WSU campus. Although increasing numbers of Milwaukee students attend WSU's, by tradition the board does not include a Milwaukee resident. The chief administrative officer is the executive director of State universities and secretary of the board. Each institution has its own president. The individual WSU's appear to have areas of considerable autonomy, and areas in which they are held to strict conformance to central office direction. A tradition exists of close rapport between the local regent and the local WSU president.

By 1970 the University of Wisconsin—sometimes assumed to be coextensive with the Madison campus by persons not familiar with the Badger State—was a complex of associated institutions, with major campuses at Madison and Milwaukee, additional campuses at Green Bay and Parkside, and with seven additional 2-year Centers. The system is administered by a board of regents and a president. Each of the four campuses has relative autonomy under a chancellor, and the centers are responsible to a center system chancellor.

In 1970-71 the Wisconsin State Universities and the University of Wisconsin were discrete systems with separate boards of regents and administrations. In 1971 Governor Patrick J. Lucey proposed a merger of the two systems, and that merger was pending at the time this report was written.

A Coordinating Council for Higher Education,

first created under a different name in 1955, seeks to coordinate the planning and development of the WSU and the UW Systems, together with the Wisconsin schools of vocational, technical, and adult education, and the surviving county teachers colleges. The council has developed a 10-year plan for academic development of the State's public universities, 1970-80. The council is a 17-member, appointive body, which includes a regent from each of the two major university systems.

The Higher Educational Aids Board was first established in 1963 to administer Title I of the Federal Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 in Wisconsin. In 1965 it acquired substantial student financial aid responsibilities, and its present name. It is a 15-member, appointive body, with five of its members nominated by the CCHE.

SUMMARY

THE BLACK STUDENT IN THE WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES SYSTEM

Distribution of black students in the WSU System

WSU's as local resources

The tradition of localism in Wisconsin higher education is strong. While the nine WSU campuses are scattered unevenly through the State, the idea of providing college education facilities at the local level has been a guiding concept of the WSU System.

It can be questioned, however, whether the nine WSU's are to be regarded as having an exclusive or predominant responsibility to the population of the surrounding counties. Do they recognize a broader responsibility to serve as an integrated statewide educational resource for all Wisconsinites? The WSU tradition of local availability with a degree of control exercised by the regent from the local community is not a tradition which consciously nurtures provincialism or exclusion.

WSU's have a broad clientele

WSU institutions enrolled students from all 50 States and 37 foreign countries in 1970-71. Of the 1,176 minority students enrolled, 633 or 54 percent come from other States or abroad. By contrast, more than 85 percent of the white student body comes from Wisconsin.

Measured by enrollment data, the WSU System commitment to educating minority students is chiefly a commitment to international and out-of-State minority students. The data hardly depict xenophobic or even provincial institutions whose worlds are restricted to their radial counties.

Whatever their tendency toward local enrollment, the WSU's serve a statewide, nationwide, and worldwide student clientele—in that order for whites, and reverse order for minorities.

Toward a norm for minority enrollment

Because nearly three-fourths of the State's minority population is located in one county, an admission policy based only on geographic proximity would result in a segregated dual system. A State university system must think in terms of State population, State problems, and State needs in addressing the question of minority distribution. Demographic, geographic, and other factors which may relate to the limited diffusion of minority students in the Wisconsin State Universities System germane to explaining restricted minority distribution indicate that individual recruiting efforts have played as effective a role in bringing nonwhite students to WSU campuses as any other factor.

River Falls, located 315 miles from Milwaukee, has a student body of 3,586. It reported 44 Wisconsin black students in its population. On the other hand Stevens Point, with an enrollment of 7,771, numbered only 12 Wisconsin blacks, despite its considerably closer proximity to Milwaukee (155 miles). River Falls administrators attributed the large contingent of black students to their close working relationship developed with the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center (MEOC), a wing of the higher educational aids board, which conducts a talent search pro-

gram attempting to place inner-city high school students in State colleges and universities. That River Falls and Platteville have been major participants in the program was ascribed largely to the contacts which a former MEOC director had at those two schools.

A passive central administration combined with local administrations and faculties which vary from encouragement to indifference to discouragement of minority enrollment accounts for the extremely uneven pattern of minority student distribution on the nine WSU campuses.

The Wisconsin State Committee offers as norm for Wisconsin black enrollment the existing ratio of overall resident participation in the system. The WSU yearbook states that "more than 85 percent of the total student enrollment (in the WSU System) consists of young people from Wisconsin homes." In the case of minority students, only 46 percent come from Wisconsin; the majority are from out of State or abroad.

Raising the resident black enrollment to the overall 85:15 proportion would require quadrupling of the current black student population in the system. This would change the ratio of Wisconsin black students to total enrollment from the present six-tenths of 1 percent to 2 percent, which is measly in relation to need and when compared to a State population ratio of 2.90 percent. Black enrollment should more than keep pace with the expected increase in enrollment over the next decade.

The WSU System should consider relevant criteria for a more even distribution of black students and should develop incentives to local administrators and to prospective black students toward accomplishing a more rational distribution. Finally, willingness to admit black students and positive action by way of a talent search will be meaningless unless financial aid opportunities are expanded to meet the increasing needs of increasing black enrollment. Central office involvement is indispensable to this goal.

The Problem of Academic Survival

The recent and precipitous arrival of Wisconsin blacks on WSU campuses, which some believe has been stimulated by the Federal funding requirement of nondiscrimination, has resulted in manifold areas of dislocation. Black students from Milwaukee's core must be presumed to

need—in the initial years of their introduction into the WSU System at least—special scholastic and financial help and at least the minimal confidence that some black staff would provide. They must be assumed to need assurance that they are not entering a system which is hostile in its ubiquitous whiteness and rejects the black aspects of the American experience.

Recruitment, admission, retention

Minority recruitment practices, as indicated, vary in intensity among local administrations, with the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center functioning as talent supplier to the system.

Campuses visited have relaxed procedures for admitting black students. Administrators are sympathetic in making allowances for late or irregular applications for admission and financial aid. This is followed by laxness in providing scholastic help to the students who have been admitted. Estimates by authoritative sources place dropout rates for black students as high as 80 percent. If public policy dictates admission of students who will require extra academic help to survive, it likewise dictates that such help be provided. Black students perceive that without such help they will be a passing phenomenon on WSU campuses.

Treatment of international students

Quite elaborate programs appropriately exist in the WSU System to acclimate international students and to sensitize local communities to their presence. Similar orientation programs are lacking for American black students. Commission representatives discerned no inclination by administrators to regard the international experience as programmatically significant or analagous to the situation of minority students. International students are regarded as "higher class" and an asset to the community's self-image; American blacks are feared as potential trouble makers or permanent residents.

Counseling, remedial programs, curriculum change

One campus, Oshkosh, introduced a pilot program for marginal students in August 1970. Black students could not afford to attend.

Arrangements to include black students in this type of program as a form of preregistration could be extremely beneficial to new black students and to the WSU's which offer such programs. That counseling services are a hit-or-miss part time affair was a view shared by students and staff members, black and white. The need for a type of ombudsman for minority groups received frequent and across-the-board support. Curriculum changes should be introduced to include the black experience wherever this is relevant to course content.

The WSU's which attract minority students have thus far shown little concern for their survival prospects. The tendency has been to assume the school has discharged its full responsibility in admitting minority students and providing them access to higher education facilities. If the student cannot make it, that is his concern. Wisconsin's minority youth needs scholastic survival kits and systematic help in using them. These would include effective and continuing counseling, availability of remedial basic courses, and tutoring. Such programs can best be developed on the WSU campuses, with system leadership and budget aid, and with minority student participation.

Financial aids

At present the Higher Educational Aids Board designs the financial aid application and acts as a conduit for moving applications from high school to the colleges designated by applicants. Final discretion in drawing up a financial aid package and making an offer to the student lies at the campus level. This means that existing patterns of financial aid are influenced by the personal and institutional idiosyncracies of the local WSU financial aids office. Unless and until the HEAB or another appropriate agency is given central responsibility for tailoring individual financial aid programs for students and administering such programs, uneven patterns among the WSU schools will act as a source of confusion, hardship, and deterrence to students, particularly minority students.

The confusing formulae for determining loan/grant eligibility trouble incoming and returning students. Administrators and students recognize that the prominence of the loan portion of the financial aid packages is a hardship for students and deterrent for potential students. The calcula-

tion of financial need should recognize that low-income students, who earn less and must contribute more to their families, cannot save as much from summer jobs as other students.

Minority staffing

The WSU tenure rule may be regarded as affording great protection and convenience to faculty. One of its chief conveniences may be the absence of a formal process of tenure review. But it is thought by many persons that the practical need to make a decision on a person in his fourth year leads to conservatism in staffing—a tendency to let go in their fifth year any persons who seem to have boat-rocking qualities. Thus, some believe, qualities of timidity and conservatism lead to tenure and reinforcement of a timid and conservative faculty; a reformist zeal and commitment to social change leads, at best, to a job at another institution.

WSU administrators have shown varying but positive interest in black recruitment. However, this interest is strictly constrained by present institutional policies, and is not accompanied by an inclination to bend or waive them. This results in a situation most appropriately described as institutional racism.

While employment of minority personnel in every job classification is uniformly low, certain categories are especially in need of minority representation because of the critical importance they hold for minority students. These include the areas of counseling, housing, athletics, and campus security, in addition to faculty positions.

Separatism

In the absence of any prior life experience suggesting that the dominant white society is seriously interested in association with blacks in residential neighborhoods, in school, play, or employment, the predilection of the black student for the strength and security of association with other blacks becomes understandable.

Housing

The superfluity of dormitory space pressures WSU regents and administrators to force a landlord-tenant relationship upon students. All freshmen and sophomores must spend four semesters in residence halls. This forced inclusion

breeds resentment no less real although certainly less vehement than that fostered by forced exclusion.

Black students resent any hint of forced clustering, and may take "chance" concentration of blacks in a housing facility as confirmation of a policy of segregation. Black students appear inclined to cluster if permitted to follow their own preferences, and resent administrative practices which prevent them from rooming together. They object, in short, either to compulsory segregation or compulsory integration. To see a logical anomaly in this position would be rather shallow. Certainly it expresses a degree of individualism with which administrators should be able to live.

With respect to off-campus housing, in each of the four campuses visited, townspeople are obdurate in practicing housing discrimination against black students. In 1969, the WSU System abolished its policy of approving off-campus housing. Nondiscrimination had been one criterion for approval. Revocation of the approved list has removed the university as a source of sanctions to assure nondiscriminatory housing off-campus. The WSU's have instituted no fair housing programs to fill this vacuum. The officials of the WSU host communities do not place fair housing high on their agendas for action. They do seem concerned about the quality of housing offered students in town.

Black student organization

Each of the campuses visited has a black student organization. These serve a social and an action function. As the black organizations serve as vehicles for developing black student demands, WSU administrators have come to regard black organizations as unwanted separatism on campus. Official WSU System response to demands for a black cultural center at Whitewater has been to establish a multicultural center for foreign and minority students. It is revealing and not surprising that the official response should, instead of emphasizing the cultural pluralism of the United States, appear to link American minority cultures to those of the most alien and therefore exotic students on the WSU campuses, the international students. Additionally, the recently successful center at Oshkosh is expected to be moved from its present site to a multicultural setting.

Extracurricular events

Black participation in outside activities, while small, is significant. At River Falls two black students sit in the student senate, and the Winter Carnival king and queen were black. There seems to be increasing willingness among Whitewater black students to work within the system.

Athletics was frequently cited as a sharp cutting edge between the races. On three of the four campuses studied, white coaches are perceived as the most racially biased bloc on campus. Coaches recruit from white schools, and are under some pressure to favor local talent. Black students feel that blacks must be superstars or they will not be given playing time. This general indictment of athletics, extending to players, coaches, letterman groups, and fraternities met with very few exceptions among the students interviewed. Black students feel intensely aggrieved by the athletic situation.

Problems in Campus Towns

Unwelcome guests

Black students feel they are regarded as intruders in the WSU host communities. They may have a legal right to be there and to attend the local WSU, but it is difficult for townspeople and some students to see why they should want to come or why they should be tolerated, much less welcomed.

Foreign students receive a warmer reception in the WSU towns than do native Wisconsin blacks.

WSU-community relations

The schools visited lacked any formal, focused program for sensitizing the local communities toward minority students. Only informal, sporadic attempts have been made to build up community receptiveness. Sometimes these come in the wake of an incident, and die as soon as initial town furor flags.

The record clearly tells a story of lack of will, skill, or sense of appropriateness to develop a vigorous program of campus-community relations, under the aegis of the WSU, and having among its purposes the acculturation of the community to American minority group students.

Black students and municipal police

In many WSU campus towns, the University constitutes the major industry, generating considerable impact on local governments and local economics. One cost which rises with population influx is that for public safety. The introduction each year of a highly compacted increment amounting to one-third to three-quarters of a local community's population spells policing problems of varied quality and greater magnitude than would be confronted by a noncollege town with a stable population.

Campus security forces are in the process of enlargement and professionalization. According to the WSU System office campus security coordinator, the new coordination effort was precipitated by recent campus disturbances.

One purpose of the enlarged and better trained campus security should be to prevent, through improved human and race relations, the escalation of minor incidents into serious disturbances.

At three of the four campuses studied, black students are quite vocal in complaining about police. At Whitewater a good deal of black student resentment is directed at agencies of justice at the county seat, Elkhorn, where disciplinary hearings and trials have been held. An important and widespread black student complaint, and one which underlies their perception that they do not receive equal treatment from police, is that white complaints against blacks are treated as presumptively valid, and black students are questioned in an atmosphere suggesting that presumption. When police are called to deal with a conflict situation involving blacks and whites, they invariably talk first with the white students involved, the implication being that the white students are the most authoritative or reliable source of information.

Police authorities reply that black students are unduly sensitive.

The outstanding example of differential treatment of black students by police is at Platteville, where the practice is to transfer arrested black students to Lancaster, the county seat. White students, when arrested, are housed in Platteville.

Multiple jurisdictions

The campus, in theory at least, offers no refuge from Federal, State, or local laws. In addition, it has its own system of norms developed for the institution and sometimes enforced for behavior occurring off campus or applied to reinforce the norm of another jurisdiction. Student behavior can result in disciplinary proceedings by the WSU unit, trial in municipal, county, or circuit (State) courts, or Federal Agencies; these may follow investigation and apprehension by WSU security personnel, municipal police, or county sheriff's deputies.

Only twice in WSU history, as far as can be determined, has the board of regents intervened in campus disciplinary procedures by installing a special hearing agent of its own. In both instances the students (disciplined) so treated were black. One of the incidents, at Whitewater in December 1969, took place off campus. That incident resulted in a situation in which students accused of violating WSU rules were tried in the county courthouse, with an assistant State attorney general prosecuting.

The Oshkosh and Whitewater cases lend reality to black impressions of an interlocking white elite running an establishment which is cohesive enough to act in unity, and divided enough to permit the imposition of multiple penalties upon groups of blacks whose behavior has affronted the "system".

PART 1. DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN THE WSU SYSTEM

Distribution

WSU's as local resources

The tradition of localism in Wisconsin higher education is strong. Although compromise and historical vagary resulted in the clustering of some of the Wisconsin State University campuses and the neglect of some portions of the State (the Northeast, for example), all of the campuses were established before the era of the automobile and paved roads, and obviously with a thought to providing college education (more especially, teacher training facilities) at the local level. Thus the concept of the commuter college, applied today to urban institutions such as the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM), is but an extension of the guiding concept which resulted in the WSU System.¹

Nine out of 10 Wisconsin high school graduates live within 50 miles of a WSU campus. Geographic proximity has been a factor in quadrupling the WSU enrollment in the last decade. (*WSU Yearbook 1970-71*.) The question is whether the nine WSU's are to be regarded as having an exclusive or predominant responsibility to the population of their surrounding counties. Conceding that they may and should serve as commuter schools for surrounding communities, do they recognize a broader responsibility, and are they by public policy an integrated statewide educational resource with a collective responsibility which transcends the immediate environs of the WSU campus and extends to meeting statewide needs?

¹ Further evidence of the persistence of the tradition of localism is the current effort in the Wisconsin legislature to save the 13 which remain out of some 35 county teachers colleges in the State. These were 2-year institutions leading to a teacher's certificate, and serving local educational needs. (*Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 18, 1971.)

Platteville estimates that 50 percent of its students come from a radius of 50 miles. These tend to be vocationally-oriented, first generation college students, from families which reside in rural areas or small towns where no black families are resident. (A 1/6). At River Falls interviewers received an authoritative estimate that 25 percent of the students come from nearby Minnesota, 60 percent of the in-State students come from four or five counties around River Falls, and that the Milwaukee white contingent represents about 90 students or 3.6 percent of the student body. (B 2 3).

The very location of some of the WSU's dictates that their student population, even if predominantly local, will be interstate in character. Platteville in the Southwest corner of the State, drawing from both Illinois and Iowa. La Crosse on the Mississippi across from Minnesota and just north of Iowa, River Falls and, to a lesser extent, perhaps Stout State and Eau Claire within the orbit of Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Superior which impinges upon Duluth, all would attract nearby out-of-State students absent a legislative or regents' policy discouraging all but Wisconsin residents.

The tradition of localism referred to above would seem to be a tradition of local availability, some local control (the tradition of a regent from each of the WSU communities, and of local WSU consultation with that regent), but not a tradition of exclusion or one which consciously nurtures provincialism.

WSU's have a broad clientele

Evidence of the commitment of the local WSU institutions to reach out and serve a broad community is the positive value which they

Table 1.1

**Distribution of WSU Minority Enrollment,
Wisconsin Resident, Out-of-State,
International**

	Minority N	Enrollment percent
Wisconsin resident	513	16.17
Out-of-State (United States)	188	15.99
International	415	37.81
Total	1,176	100.00

Source: CCR WIS. SAC enrollment survey. See "note", table 1.2.

place upon having international students in residence. WSU institutions enrolled students from all 50 States and 37 foreign countries in 1970-71. (*WSU Yearbook 1970-71*.) The WSU enrollment data indicate that 38 percent of the black and other minority students on all of the WSU campuses are international students, *i.e.*, come from abroad. Another 16 percent are out-of-State students. The remaining 46 percent are Wisconsin residents. (See tables 1.1 and 1.2.) Measured by enrollment data, the WSU system commitment to educating minority students is chiefly a commitment to international and out-of-State minority students. While 85 out of every 100 WSU students come from Wisconsin families, 54 out of every 100 minority students enrolled come from other States or abroad. These data hardly depict provincial institutions whose worlds are restricted to their radial counties.

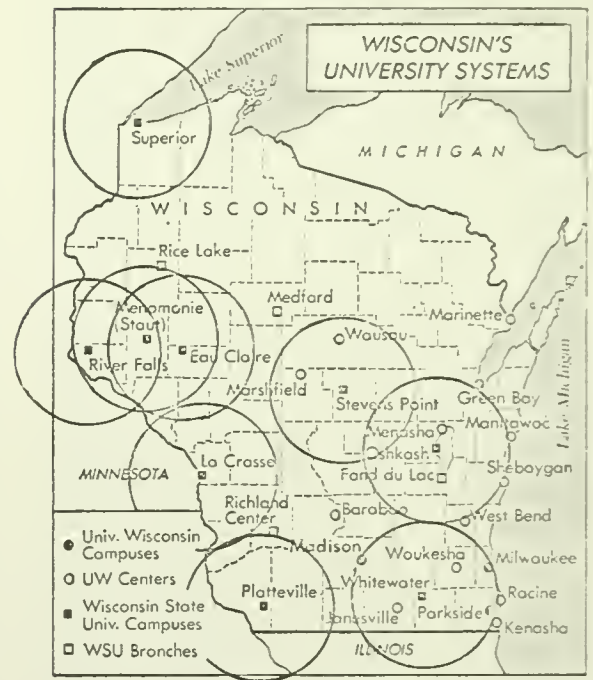
Toward a norm for WSU minority enrollment

If we were to fictionalize State policy to oblige each WSU institution to admit only from a radius of 50 miles (see fig. 1.1), and if the population of the 50-mile radial area were similar in complexion to the WSU host county population, the only WSU with a substantial obligation to enroll minority students would be Whitewater. The minority obligation of the other schools would be as slight as the minority population of their recruitment areas.

Under such a policy we might compare the black enrollment on campus with the black

population of the host county and derive an index of WSU integration by taking the difference between the percentage of blacks in the county population and the percentage of black students in the WSU enrollment. As table 1.3 shows, none of the WSU institutions has a percentage black enrollment lower than the percentage of black population in the host county. The lowest score is zero for Stevens Point, where the two percentages coincide. But when we apply this mode of analysis to UWM (not in the WSU system and used only for purposes of comparison) in Milwaukee, we begin to sense the unreality of it. UWM, with 434 black students attending in 1970-71, has a black enrollment of 3.45 percent in a host county which contains most of the minority population of the State and has a 10.05 percent black population. The UWM score on such an index of local campus integration would appear woeful when compared to the WSU scores—not merely minus, but minus 6.49

Figure 1.1



—By a Journal Artist

This map shows the University of Wisconsin and Wisconsin State Universities systems as they are now.

Circle defines 50-mile radius of the WSU.

Adapted from Milwaukee Journal, Apr. 11, 1971, p. 6. (Printed with permission of the Journal Company.)

Table 1.2

Wisconsin, Out-of-State, and "International" Minority Students at WSU's, 1970

	Black			American Indian		Oriental			Spanish surnamed		
	Wisconsin	Out-of-State	International	Wisconsin	Out-of-State	Wisconsin	Out-of-State	International	Wisconsin	Out-of-State	International
Platteville.....	38	16	14	1	1	3	4	49	3	3	ND
Whitewater.....	96	26	15	5	1	14	9	52	13	0	ND
Oshkosh.....	58	25	11	25	1	0	0	21	9	3	0
River Falls.....	44	3	10	13	1	1	2	29	2	1	0
Stout State.....	30	22	21	9	0	5	2	21	3	1	0
Stevens Point.....	12	0	4	26	0	4	2	38	3	0	0
Superior.....	7	10	12	14	2	0	2	68	0	2	0
La Crosse.....	17	9	1	7	0	2	7	28	8	1	0
Eau Claire.....	29	23	7	23	0	11	4	11	5	2	0
Totals.....	331	134	95	123	6	13	32	350	46	16	0

Note:

Platteville and Whitewater international students were not reported distributed by minority category. They have been distributed proportionately to the distribution reported by other schools. Oshkosh reported American and foreign students by minority grouping but did not break down American by Wisconsin and out-of-State. A similar distribution has been made here, based upon the proportions reported by other schools.

Source: CCR WIS. SAC survey.

Table 1.3

Index of Local Campus Integration

	Percent black in enrollment	Percent black in host county population	Index of local campus integration
River Falls.....	1.31	.16	+1.15
Platteville.....	1.28	.14	+1.14
Stout State.....	1.07	.19	+ .88
Whitewater.....	1.29	.45	+ .81
Oshkosh.....	.74	.11	+ .63
Eau Claire.....	.69	.11	+ .55
Superior.....	.62	.19	+ .13
La Crosse.....	.51	.08	+ .13
Stevens Point.....	.15	.15	.00
UWM.....	3.56	10.05	-6.49

Derived from HEW OCR enrollment data and census population data.

Walworth is taken as host county for WSU-Whitewater which lies in Walworth and Jefferson Counties.

percent. It enrolls a significantly lower percentage of blacks than the percentage of the local black population. But Milwaukee County, with 23.86 percent of the State's total population, has 71.85 percent of the State's minority population. A policy which fixed responsibility for conducting the higher education of nearly three-fourths of the State's minority population on institutions located within the county in which that population is concentrated would be a policy of segregation—in the most explicit sense a policy for a dual educational system.

It follows, then, that demographic, geographic, and other factors which may relate to the limited diffusion of minority students in the Wisconsin State Universities System are germane to explaining restricted minority enrollment, but not to justifying it.

It is necessary to abandon the containment model and to think in terms of State population, State problems and needs, and statewide facilities for meeting those needs, if we are to achieve realistic analysis.

If we accept the premise that the burden of meeting the higher education needs of Wisconsin's

Table 1.4

**Wisconsin Population and UW/UWM and
WSU Minority Enrollment**

Percentage of total population enrollment

	Black	Other minority
State of Wisconsin	2.90%	.69%
9 WSU's	.83	.82
UW Madison	2.93	.82
UW Milwaukee	3.56	.85

Sources: HEW OCR 1970 survey, Census.

minority youth is to be shared by the statewide array of public-supported institutions of higher education, it becomes desirable to frame some judgment on present performance of those institutions and appropriate future goals.

Table 1.4 employs Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights data,² and U.S. Census data to compare the percentage of black population in the State of Wisconsin and the percentage of black students enrolled in the nine WSU institutions, UW Madison, and UWM. HEW OCR reports some 447 black students in the WSU System, and 1,091 for UW/UWM combined. These 1,538 students comprise 1.74 percent of the total UW/UWM/WSU enrollment. By latest HEW OCR reports that total is 88,108. It is quite obvious from these data that the Wisconsin State Universities System is not carrying its appropriate share of the burden of educating the State's minority youth. UW Madison and Milwaukee each have black enrollment ratios which exceed the percentage of blacks in the State population. The WSU black enrollment ratio is grossly lower than both the black percentage of the State population and the UW Madison and Milwaukee black ratios, although on other minorities it is on about par with the UW system.

The argument may be made that the black ratio of the State population is an inappropriate standard for measurement. As reported by *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 29, 1971, "the proportion of black students at senior

colleges and universities still does not come close to reflecting fully the proportion of blacks in the total population," but there is a trend toward growing black enrollment and reduction of racial imbalance. Thus any gap between what is, and what should be—the latter measured by some norm, such as ratio of black population in State or Nation—is appropriately to be regarded as a problem to deal with, not a matter of self-congratulation. The U.S. Census reports that 6.6 percent of the students enrolled in American institutions of higher education in 1970 were black. This compares to a national population ratio of 11.1 percent black. The 1970 enrollment ratio is up from 6 percent in 1968 and 4.6 percent in 1965. The national norm is rising and we would expect that the State would set increasingly high norms.

We concede that a touch of arbitrariness lurks in any effort to prescribe governing norms, especially norms to be achieved by an institution other than the one which prescribes.

We cited earlier the *WSU Yearbook* statistic to the effect that "more than 85 percent of the total student enrollment [in the WSU System] consists of young people from Wisconsin homes." The statistic is presented in a context and style which suggest it is a matter of satisfaction to those who direct the system. Table 1.5 shows how the enrollment of black students would grow if the WSU System maintained at least the absolute number of out-of-State and international black students while enlarging the number of Wisconsin black students to bring the ratio to

Table 1.5

**Present WSU Black Enrollment and Black
Enrollment Projected on 85:15 Ratio:
Numbers of Out-of-State and
International Minority Students Constant**

	1970-71 black enrollment (percent)	Projected black enrollment on 85:15 ratio percent
Wisconsin	(59.11) 331	(85) 1,297
Out-of-State	(23.93) 131	(15) 229
International	(16.96) 95	
Totals	560	(100) 1,526

Source: Derived from table 1.2.

² See Appendix B for analysis of HEW OCR data in relation to CCR Wisconsin State Committee data.

85 percent Wisconsin residents and 15 percent out-of-State and international. But even so dramatic a reversal of ratios as this formula would accomplish would, in quadrupling Wisconsin black enrollment in the WSU System from 331 to 1,297 (given a stable enrollment of 54,807), have a result which is measly in relation to need and to the ratio of black population in the State. Such a change would increase the percentage of Wisconsin black students in the WSU's from six-tenths of 1 percent to 2 percent, which does not compare at all favorably with a black State population ratio of 2.90. (See tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.4.)

The present condition is so abysmal that we are driven to the conclusion the WSU's will have to make Herculean efforts if they are to bring their Wisconsin black student enrollment to a level at which it is even possible to employ norms as realistic measures of performance. The reservoir of motivated and needy students exists in Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center, with its talent search program, is anxious to be enlisted in the recruitment effort. It is reasonable to expect that the extension to Milwaukee core high schools of the same attention paid by WSU's to other high schools in the State, and cooperation with the MEOC, would increase the black enrollment.

Translation of the 85/15 ratio into absolute numbers in table 1.5 is predicated upon stable enrollment. Commission representatives heard predictions of stable or declining enrollment on WSU campuses visited. If any credence is to be placed in the projections published by the Wisconsin Coordinating Council for Higher Education (CCHHE) in 1969, enrollments will increase from the present 60 percent of projected capacity to about 100 percent by 1980. (See table 1.6) Black enrollment should more than keep pace with this development.

Finally, willingness to admit, and positive action by way of a talent search, will be meaningless unless financial aid opportunities are expanded to meet the increasing needs of increasing black enrollment. We review financial aid problems later in this report.

Accounting for the present distribution of black students on WSU campuses

WSU officials concur black enrollment will increase—whether by the norm expressed above

Table 1.6

WSU 1970-71 Enrollment as Percentage of Projected Maxima for 1980

	1970-71 enrollment	CCHHE 1980, maximum	1970-71 enrollment as percent of maximum
Stevens Point	7,771	11,000	70
Whitewater	8,512	12,500	68
Oshkosh	9,525	15,000	63
Superior	1,293	7,000	61
River Falls	3,586	6,000	59
Eau Claire	7,195	12,500	57
Stout State	4,557	8,000	56
Platteville	1,205	8,000	52
La Crosse	5,163	10,000	51
All WSU's	51,807	90,000	60

Sources: 1970-71 enrollment data HEW OCR; maxima, Wisconsin Coordinating Council for Higher Education, *Academic Plan 1970-80, 1969 Annual Report*.

or some other. The distribution of black students among the nine WSU campuses in 1970 has some pattern, but is also highly idiosyncratic. Large campuses geographically proximate to Milwaukee seem, as one would expect, to attract black students. But so do some of the smaller schools, remote from Milwaukee. Indeed, putting Whitewater and Oshkosh aside, the pattern of minority enrollment on the WSU campuses is so varied as to suggest that a neutral central administration and local administrations and faculties which have pronounced preferences for or against minority enrollment or are themselves indifferent must in combination explain a good deal of the variance. Inevitably the question is raised whether, in a period of rising and stimulated black enrollment, the WSU System should consider what criteria are germane to the distribution of black students among the nine campuses, and should develop incentives to local administrators and to prospective black students toward accomplishing a more rational distribution.

Table 1.7 makes possible a rude, visual estimate of the intercorrelation of factors seemingly related to the spread of black enrollment in the system. We assume that what we want to explain is the proportionate sharing in total WSU black enroll-

Table 1.7

Correlates of Distribution of Total WSU Enrollment—1970

	Total WSU black enrollment ³		Local WSU black enrollment ³		Wisconsin blacks on campus ⁴		Enrollment ⁵		WSU from Milwaukee ⁵	
	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Number	Rank	Total	Rank	Distance (miles)
Whitewater.....	1	21.60	2	1.29	1	96	2	8,512	1	50
Oshkosh.....	2	15.88	5	.74	2	58	1	9,525	2	81
Platteville.....	3	12.08	3	1.28	4	38	7	1,265	3	152
Eau Claire.....	4	11.18	6	.69	6	29	1	7,195	6	250
Stout State.....	5	10.96	4	1.07	5	30	6	1,557	7	276
River Falls.....	6	10.51	1	1.31	3	11	9	3,586	8	315
La Crosse.....	7	6.08	8	.51	7	17	5	5,163	5	218
Superior.....	8	6.01	7	.62	9	7	8	1,293	9	110
Stevens Point.....	9	2.68	9	.15	8	12	3	7,771	4	155
		100.01								

³ HEW OCR enrollment survey.

⁴ CCR WIS. SAC enrollment survey.

⁵ Wisconsin Automobile Club estimate.

ment by the nine campuses. Thus the first column totals 100 percent and tells what the percentage distribution is among the campuses of the 447 black students reported in the system by HEW. The presumption is that enrolling a high proportion of the system total of black students should intercorrelate with four other characteristics: having a high black ratio to local campus enrollment, having a high absolute number of Wisconsin black students on campus, having a high total student body, and geographic proximity to Milwaukee. If, in terms of the coarse measurement essayed, these factors were to intercorrelate perfectly on a given campus, the difference between the rank order of each would be zero. A large difference between the rank order of the highest and lowest rankings for a row suggests a discrepancy from the postulated relationship warranting explanation.⁶

⁶ A series of regression analyses was performed on data sets which reflected aspects of the WSU environments (distance from Milwaukee, home county populations, etc.) and the WSU internal systems (number of students, number of faculty, etc.). However, the small size of the sample (9) and the obvious idiosyncratic factors involved in minority student enrollment prevent the drawing of meaningful generalizations from the regression output. Therefore, tables reflecting these analyses have not been included in this report but are available on request.

The rank difference scores are as follows:

1. Whitewater.
2. Eau Claire. Superior.
3. Stout State. La Crosse.
4. Oshkosh. Platteville.
6. Stevens Point.
7. River Falls.

A high-rank difference score by no means necessarily implies a negative judgment on the performance of the school. Indeed, as in the case of River Falls, it may raise the question of why a school which, by every other indication, should have a low proportion of blacks on campus has such a high proportion when compared to the other WSU schools. A low-difference score merely suggests a high correlation, but cannot tell us performance is good, for we are not stipulating a desired standard in this context.

Whitewater has the lowest rank-difference score, quite sensibly, it would seem. As the WSU campus closest to Milwaukee and as the school with the second largest enrollment, Whitewater is first in the share of WSU System black enrollment (nearly 25 percent), first in

the number of Wisconsin black students enrolled, and second in ratio of blacks on campus to local enrollment. Eau Claire and Superior have rank difference scores of two. Eau Claire, sixth farthest from Milwaukee (250 miles compared to 105 miles to downtown Minneapolis), varies between four and six in the other rankings. Superior, with rankings of seven, eight, and nine, is the most geographically remote of the schools from Milwaukee and is part of the Duluth-Superior standard metropolitan statistical area, as defined by the Bureau of the Census.

With Stout State and La Crosse we reach schools whose rank difference scores seem to invite explanation. On the map Stout seems far, and is far—a hefty 276 miles—from Milwaukee. Seventh-ranking in distance from the area of concentration of the State's minority population, sixth in the size of its student body, it ranks fifth in the absolute number of Wisconsin black students on campus and in share of the total number of black students in the WSU System. Further, it is fourth in the percentage of black students in its enrollment. (Stout is 87 miles from downtown Minneapolis.) La Crosse, which is the modal school in terms of distance from Milwaukee and size of enrollment (four schools are farther and four closer, four have higher enrollments, four lower) ranks a surprising seventh in number of Wisconsin black students on campus and percentage share of total WSU black enrollment. It is next to last of all the schools in percentage of its black student body. (La Crosse is on the Mississippi River, across from Minnesota and just north of Iowa.)

Oshkosh and Platteville each has a rank difference score of four. Oshkosh, with the highest total enrollment in the system, 34 miles farther from Milwaukee than Whitewater, is first in size of total enrollment, but fifth in percentage of black enrollment. It is second to Whitewater in the proportion of WSU System black enrollment on its campus, but significantly second, in that there is an 8.72 percentage-point spread between it, the largest school, and Whitewater, the second largest, on this measure. No other consecutively ranked schools approach this point spread. It is second in the number of Wisconsin black students on campus, but Whitewater, with 89 percent of Oshkosh's total enrollment, has 65 percent more Wisconsin black students; if one controls for enrollment, Whitewater has 85 percent more Wisconsin black students than

Oshkosh. These disparities raise questions in the minds of persons knowledgeable about the WSU campuses. It is not our purpose to state the questions, much less answer them, in the immediate context. Whatever questions might be asked toward explaining the variance between Whitewater and Oshkosh on black enrollment are not answered by simply referring to "Black Thursday", November 21, 1968, which resulted in the expulsion of 94 black students from Oshkosh. Whitewater had its "Black Tuesday" December 16, 1969 when a racial incident occurred at the Phi Chi Epsilon house which resulted in the expulsion of 10 black students.

Platteville's rank-difference score of four is accounted for by the disparity between relatively low enrollment (seventh) in the WSU System, and relatively high black enrollment proportionate to the number of students on campus. Insofar as there may be a positive correlation between high overall enrollment and high proportion black, low overall enrollment and low proportion black, this may be offset in part at Platteville by geographic proximity to Milwaukee. It is the third closest WSU to Milwaukee—152 miles away. (It is, incidentally, 180 miles from Chicago, and the visitor to the campus is given the impression that the school falls within that orbit, also.)

Stevens Point, with a rank difference score of six, and Platteville with a score of seven, put more of a strain on the assumptions of correlation stated above than do any of the other WSU's. Yet the correlation seems to hold for the other schools with sufficient consistency that the inquirer is inclined to think something is amiss at Stevens Point, rather than with the thesis. Third in number of students on campus, fourth in distance from Milwaukee, Stevens Point is eighth in number of Wisconsin black students on campus, and ninth in share of WSU System black students and proportion of its enrollment black. Why?

The disparity is greater for River Falls, but it is necessary here to account for the high rank in proportion of its black enrollment (first in the system) conjoined with what we have assumed to be a major indicator of low black enrollment, namely, distance from Milwaukee. River Falls, 315 miles from Milwaukee, is only less far from the State's metropolis than Superior. First in proportion of its student black body, River Falls is third in the number of Wisconsin black students

Table 1.3

Out-of-State Black Students as Percentage of Total Black Enrollment on Local WSU Campuses

	Black enrollment				Out-of-State as percent of total	
	Wisconsin	Out-of-State	International	Total	Percent	Rank
Eau Claire	29	23	7	59	38.98	1
Superior	7	10	12	29	31.18	2
La Crosse	17	9	1	27	33.33	3
Stout State	30	22	21	73	30.14	4
Oshkosh	56	25	11	91	26.60	5
Platteville	38	16	14	68	23.53	6
Whitewater	96	26	15	137	18.98	7
River Falls	14	3	10	27	5.26	8
Stevens Point	12	0	1	16	.00	9

Source: Derived from CCR WIS, SAC enrollment survey data.

on campus, although sixth in its share of the total WSU System black enrollment.

In this analysis parenthesis note has been taken of the proximity of a school to the Wisconsin border, or the assumption that the school falls within the orbit of a city in a bordering State. River Falls is 57 miles from downtown Minneapolis, and the Twin Cities is the metropolitan reference point and transportation center for the campus. It is plausible to assume that the Eau Claire-Stout State-River Falls trio, closer by far to Minneapolis-St. Paul than to Milwaukee, might swell their black enrollment with a disproportionately large number of out-of-State black students. This would, for example, be a convenient explanation of River Falls' relatively high rank on black enrollment. The Minneapolis-St. Paul SMSA has a population of 1.8 million, 2.76 percent of it minority; Chicago with a population in the SMSA approximating 7 million, has an 18.70 percent minority population, 1.2 million of this group blacks. Duluth-Superior has a slight minority population, and Dubuque, near Platteville, even more slight.

If proximity of rurally located WSU's to cities in adjoining States, or to their orbits, correlates with relatively high black enrollment, it is not

because those schools are in each instance attracting disproportionately large numbers of out-of-State blacks. The attached Table 1.3 gives the ranking of WSU's by percentage of total black enrollment on each out-of-State campus. Eau Claire ranks highest, and could be explained by Minneapolis-St. Paul. Superior, which is second, cannot be explained by proximity to a metropolis with a significantly high minority population. La Crosse is similarly inexplicable by this criterion. Stout State, which has a relatively high proportion, is one of the three schools within the Minneapolis-St. Paul orbit. But although it ranks fourth on ratio of out-of-State blacks to total black enrollment, River Falls, which is the closest of the three to the Twin Cities, has a small proportion of out-of-State blacks although a high relative black enrollment. Oshkosh, Platteville, and Whitewater presumably would be affected by proximity to Chicago.

An explanation of black enrollment at River Falls would be that black students are attracted to campuses which, even if located in a rural setting, are close to big cities. This thesis is contradicted by interview data which suggest that black students are unhappy with lack of transportation and with the isolation of River Falls.

PART 2. BLACK STUDENTS ON THE WSU CAMPUS: PROBLEMS OF ACADEMIC SURVIVAL

Academic Survival

The need for academic assistance

A large variety of policies and practices can be imagined and have been applied to the education of young people who happen to be black. The most obvious is not to educate them. The economic logic of this would be persuasive for a society which was adamantly determined to exclude the minority black population from all but the most menial labor. This policy, which has guided a number of States in the U.S. in more or less degree right into the second half of the 20th century, was, in its extreme form, found inconvenient even in a slave society. Owners of human property found that value was in part a function of the skills of the chattel owned. As opportunities for menial employment decrease and the responsibility of the State for support of the unemployable becomes more explicit, this becomes a clearly expensive and inconvenient practice in a free democratic society.

A second alternative is to put black youth on an educational track leading to semiskilled jobs and excluding the option of a college education. A practice, once predominant, is still prevalent in the United States, namely, that of counseling black high school students into curricula which preclude college and even rule out white-collar clerical and sales positions not requiring college. The Commission on Civil Rights has taken ample testimony on the practice of tailoring the curriculum of black or predominantly black high schools so as to reinforce the constriction of employment opportunity correctly gauged to exist in society. Especially in a segregated society, this alternative is modified to permit the training of a few black professionals to serve as physicians and teachers to the black population.

The society which rejects a policy of keeping a racial minority uneducated, and which recently has taken steps to end the practice of constricting educational opportunity for that group, finds the transition period perplexing and traumatic. First of all, it is most likely that the decision to end discriminatory practices came in response to the insistent demand of a minority population, increasingly self-assertive, one which is not about to express shuffling gratitude for the reluctant bestowal of basic rights. Thus black youths move from high schools to colleges in a demanding, not a submissive, mood. Because the core schools are more crowded, less well equipped, have more restricted curricula, and offer less learning opportunity than white schools, black college entrants are likely to be less well prepared than whites. Cultural distinctness, educational inadequacy, and a firm determination to have a college education as a matter of right are qualities which in combination are unappealing to college faculty and administrators. Since college faculty and administrators are human, we must assume that some of them will have been imbued with notions of racial inferiority and will be all the more lacking in sympathy to what they take as an arrogant demand from an inferior group.

The Wisconsin State Universities System, like many other systems of higher education in the Nation, is beset with problems of transition today.

In this segment of the report we review the role of the individual Wisconsin State Universities in bringing Wisconsin minorities, particularly black youths, to campus. Because the nine institutions have considerable experience in accepting, recruiting, orienting, and educating international students, many of whom are minorities, we review this related experience. Our thesis is that black students from Milwaukee's core must be

presumed to need—at least in the initial years of their introduction into the WSU System special scholastic and financial help and the minimal assurance that some black staff would provide, that they are not entering a system which is hostile in its monochromatic whiteness and rejects the black aspects of the American experience. These aspects of the WSU effort to serve Wisconsin's black population are also treated here.

Recruitment by WSU institutions

Professors and administrators on various WSU campuses take credit for recruitment of black students, and apportion credit to the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center. Although this study deals solely with WSU participation in recruitment, the MEOC figures prominently in any discussion of the trend of black students toward selected WSU's in the 1960's. Differences of opinion exist as to the motives leading some WSU campuses to seek to attract black students. The opinion is widespread that the schools decided at some point within the last decade that new Federal funds, or the retention of funding at old levels, would be contingent upon a demonstration of an integrated student body. According to this interpretation, black students were recruited in order to have token blacks to display and report as statistics. (B/3/5). Also current is the impression that faculty and administrators, at some point in the sixties, realized the WSU's had an unmet responsibility to minority people in the State and set about to recruit minority students. (B/3/4). There is feeling that each of the campuses needs more black and other minority students and faculty, in large part to further the education of the predominantly white student body. (B/12/32).

The September 1970 appointment of Edward M. Spicer, former head of MEOC and of the UWM Upward Bound program, as "minority specialist" for the WSU System marks the establishment in Madison of an office specifically concerned with minority enrollment and problems of minority students on the State University campuses. In announcing Spicer's appointment, Mr. McPhee said: "He will help plan special minority group student programs included in the Board's budget request to the 1971 legislature." (WSU press release, Sept. 17, 1970.) This may be a long step toward programmatic

concern for the minority student in the WSU System.

President William L. Carter at Whitewater associates the increase of black students with the inception of Federal and matching State programs during the 1960's. Whitewater applied for and received funds to support an Upward Bound program for Summer 1966. This attracted about 90 black students and some Indians. About 15 or 20 stayed on for the regular school year. The school applied again for 1967, received funding, and experienced another successful Upward Bound program. In 1968 the third and last such program was, from the vantage point of the school, a disaster. Black Upward Bound students and white students on campus clashed and outside intervention was required to curb violent behavior. (C/4/11).

The former chairman of the human rights committee at River Falls recalls making a trip to the MEOC office in Milwaukee early in 1967 to be certain they had materials on River Falls. This was followed by a visitation from MEOC, led by Richard L. Aukema, who is remembered as having attended River Falls. (B/13/35). Subsequently five River Falls faculty visited North High School, the South Side, and North Side offices of MEOC, where they interviewed students. River Falls admission staff was encouraged to visit the core high schools in Milwaukee. (B/13/35). The administrative vice president at River Falls reports the school continues to work closely with MEOC. (B/2/3). Although black students in residence protest they would never recommend so isolated and rural a school to their friends, the impression persists among faculty, and is made plausible by the admission records, that black students are bringing their sisters and brothers to the school. (B/13/37).

Faculty and administrators at Platteville also recall working through MEOC. Like River Falls, Platteville respondents report Richard Aukema as a former student—indeed, in this case, as a graduate. (A/8/29). It is his personal interest in the school, and also to the interest of Edward Spicer (now on the WSU staff in Madison) that early black enrollment growth is attributed. (A/8/29). Platteville basketball coach Richard Wadewitz, who had coached a black high school team in Milwaukee before moving to the college level, is also credited with attracting Milwaukee blacks to the Southwestern corner of the State.

(A/7/25). President Bjarne R. Ullsvik mentions Custer and Western Division as high schools in which Platteville has recruited black students. (A/A/1).

Recently students from the Black Cultural Center at Oshkosh invited 110 black high school students from Milwaukee to spend 2 days on campus, and guided them through an orientation program. (D 1/2). One current view at Oshkosh is that black recruiting should focus on the outlying Milwaukee schools rather than on the inner core, since any effort to provide a college education for students from the inner-city schools must be tied to a special program with special financial aids—the source of which is not now apparent. (D, 4/6).

Admission standards

Harold Beals, vice president for student affairs at Platteville, outlined WSU admission standards as follows:

Upper three-fourths of class if graduates of accredited Wisconsin high schools. If out-of-State, upper two-fifths of class, or upper three-quarters with an ACT (American College Testing) score of 17 or higher.¹

All applicants must take the ACT for placement and counseling.

Open admission for summer school, together with the provision that one can demonstrate eligibility to attend a WSU by passing six credits of college level work, provides an alternative route to admission.

WSU Board regulations also require that a student be recommended by his high school principal or counselor. In some cases the school may admit a student despite an adverse recommendation. Black students at Platteville expressed the opinion that some black applicants are refused because of an arrest record—which, it is argued, is easily acquired by a black youth from the Milwaukee core. In his discussion of admissions practices and policies, Beals argued that to the best of his knowledge no black student had been refused admission at Platteville because of an adverse recommendation from his high school or an arrest record. (A 8 '29-29A).

Talks with faculty, administrators, and students suggest that the WSU's visited have fairly

relaxed procedures for admitting minority students, are quite outgoing and sympathetic in making allowances for personal, social, and economic factors which might cause late or somewhat irregular application for admission and for financial aid. However, these somewhat casual attitudes—which constitute permissiveness when applied to admissions—persist following the point of admission. This has caused black students and interested faculty to charge that the academic needs of black students are neglected. If public policy dictates admission of students who will require extra academic help to survive, it likewise dictates that such help be provided.

Retention and future enrollment

Retention experience and projections of future enrollment of black students are important aspects of WSU education of minority students.

In its report to the Commission on Civil Rights, Platteville listed 38 black Wisconsin residents, and 16 out-of-State black students enrolled. President Ullsvik's impromptu estimate was a total of about 60 black students in residence in 1970, a figure which he thought fairly constant for the previous 5 years. (A/1/1). The data submitted by Platteville to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for 1970 indicate that the black enrollment is 1.28 percent of its total enrollment, and that the school has 12.08 percent of the black students enrolled in the entire WSU System. (See table 1.7.) While we did not secure from President Ullsvik projections for the future, the context of discussion suggests his anticipation of gradually rising black enrollment. If the prognosis for black enrollment at Platteville is good, this contradicts the impressions stated by black students now in residence. They suggest that for each junior and senior who has survived at Platteville, 10 have left or been asked to leave. They see little incentive or likelihood for stable or increasing black enrollment leading to taking degrees. (A 4/23).

River Falls reported to the Commission the presence of 41 Wisconsin blacks, three out-of-State and 10 black students from abroad. Administrators and students concurred in estimating 30 black students on campus when they talked to the State committee and Commission staff members. (B/2/2; B/8/21). By HEW reports, the school has the highest black enrollment

¹ Out-of-State admission requirements have since been brought into conformity with in-State requirements.

proportionate to its total enrollment, 1.31 percent. It enrolls 10.51 percent of the black students in the WSU System. Black students say enrollment is "drying up". They speak of graduating "and leaving the place white and normal." (B/8/25). They believe one black student graduated in 1966 or 1967, and none since that year. (B/8/25). On the other hand, a faculty member sympathetic to minority problems believes River Falls has a higher than average retention rate for black students in the WSU System. (B/3/4). President George Field expresses eagerness to receive more black students. He can offer no projections for the future, but is wary of any expectations that enrollment of blacks can be radically increased in the near future. (B/10/27).

Whitewater reports 96 Wisconsin black students on campus, and 26 from out-of-State. The school's HEW data suggest that 1.29 percent of the Whitewater enrollment is black, and that it enrolls nearly a quarter (24.60 percent) of the black students within the WSU System. The estimates which the Committee members received on campus accorded with the number of students reported to HEW. President Carter expresses the opinion that, in the face of declining enrollment, Whitewater will continue to increase the number and proportion of black students. (C/4/15). Dr. Carter does not think the retention rate is good at present. Among the 600 graduates from Whitewater in January 1971 were three black students, and the 1,000 graduates in June 1971 are expected to include nine or 10 black students. (C/4/12). Another authoritative source estimates that 80 percent of the black students who go to Whitewater do not graduate. (C/3/8).

Oshkosh reported 83 American black students (it did not distinguish Wisconsin and out-of-State residents) and 11 black students from abroad. The Oshkosh enrollment data reported to HEW reveals a black enrollment of 0.74 percent of the full-time students on campus, and 15.88 percent of the total black enrollment in the WSU System. The total of black students in residence today is substantially below the 120 which Vice President Richard G. Netzel estimated enrolled at the time of the November 21, 1968 incident which resulted in expulsion of 94 black students. (D/2/5). We do not have authoritative opinions of faculty and administrators on the retention experience at Oshkosh or on projected black enrollment in the next few years. Black students say that only three blacks have graduated from

Oshkosh in recent memory, and this indicates that something is radically wrong. (D/9/10).

Recruitment of Wisconsin minority students—and more specifically Milwaukee's blacks to WSU institutions has, then, been a result of an active talent search by HEAB and MEOC conducted with Federal support, ad hoc initiatives on a few of the WSU campuses, and accidents of geography.

Treatment of international students

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 show that the nine WSU schools currently enroll 145 international and 543 Wisconsin minority students. International and out-of-State (188) combined exceed the Wisconsin minority enrollment, and international exceeds Wisconsin black enrollment by over 100.

Discussions on four campuses indicate the WSU's take considerable pride in their attractiveness to foreign students. This attraction is seen as a measure of the quality of the academic programs on campus, as an opportunity for the school to make a contribution internationally—frequently to developing Nations and in support of that Nation's or United States policy—and as an opportunity to contribute to the education of American students on campus by exposing them to cultures different from their own. (A/1/1).

Platteville has set up an Institute of International Studies to coordinate international programs on campus and to recruit international students. The 80 foreign students on campus at the time of the Commission visit came from 25 countries. For the most part, Commission representatives were told, they had come on their own. Many had had help from their governments. Those in need and academically qualified could secure scholarship help of some kind on campus. Platteville's receptivity toward foreign students has received international notice, it is felt, and contributes to the flow of students from abroad. Some scholarship funds are administered toward attracting students from countries underrepresented or not represented on campus and to achieve more balance. Taiwan and Hong Kong are chief sources of students. (A/14/39). Some Chinese students come to Platteville for orientation and go on to other schools for specialty training. (A/14/41).

The director of the Institute of International Studies at Platteville is concerned with the recruitment, orientation, performance, and wel-

fare of the international students on campus. The school tries to avoid students with academic deficiencies, but language is frequently a problem and remedial work is offered. The director also sees it as his job to generate demand for international students as speakers and participants in programs in surrounding communities, thereby making the students a resource for the area. (A/14/40). Friends of Foreign Students is a community organization which arranges family invitations for foreign students and generally attempts to ease their acculturation to the community and that of the community to them. (A/14/40).

At River Falls responsibility for international students on campus is one of a number of assignments for a member of the counseling and guidance staff. There is a program largely concerned with integrating international students into the community. River Falls has a particularly difficult problem resulting from the absence of public transportation, and host families attempt to meet incoming international students at the airport or other place of arrival in the Twin Cities area. Efforts to utilize international students in public programs are less vigorous than in the past. (B/3/5).

Comment from townspeople and faculty indicates that international students belonging to minority ethnic groups are regarded as "higher class" than American minority groups. The international students are perceived to mix more readily in the local communities and to be disinclined to associate with American minority group members. (B/17/45; D/1/1).

Commission representatives visiting the campuses discerned no inclination whatsoever to regard the WSU experience with international students as relevant to dealing with the problems of black students from Wisconsin and out-of-State on campus and in town.

Scholastic help and curriculum change

The question we wish to explore is whether there must be more by way of program to accommodate the campus and community to the black influx and the black students to college life than has been instituted thus far by the nine WSU's. Our response to the question is affirmative. And since the schools in the WSU System do not have complete autonomy but look to the system office in Madison for leadership, funds,

and definition of basic policies, the administrative hierarchy and the regents of the system must contribute incentive, guidance, and resources to developing such programs—at least during a transitional period.

The State universities are experienced in acculturating international students who, in terms of numbers on the campuses, at least equaled nonwhite Wisconsin residents at the time of this study. Wisconsin blacks do not need acculturation, but the effort expended upon acculturating local communities and the student body and faculty to international students must be at least matched for Wisconsin's minorities.

Beyond efforts to minimize social hindrances in the community and on campus, the WSU's must systematize and place on a firm programmatic basis their hitherto sporadic efforts at orientation, counseling, remedial work, tutoring, and curriculum change. As part and parcel of such an effort, black professionals must be recruited to participate in such programs, and sustained concern must be shown for retention of black students. The objective must be a 90 percent black student retention rate.

Students say that the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center, which is active in recruiting for college, does not offer much help on campus. (B/8/24). The implication is that MEOC might see the new students through a period of orientation. MEOC does have mimeographed materials which forewarn the new college student of problems to be anticipated. Some observers on campus believe the increasing presence of upperclassmen among black students will contribute to the socialization of new black students and ease their initial sense of disorientation. (B/15/42). On the other hand, black students express resentment at the excessive reliance which they think the WSU administrations place upon self-help. They think that black student leaders get bogged down in efforts to help the group, end up neglecting their own academic work, and swell the nonretention statistics. (C/18/40).

Orientation

It is argued that a good deal of the alien quality of the new black student's experience would be removed were he to see a few black faces in the crowd of authorities who seem to be running things during new student orientation

week. Black assistant deans at Whitewater and Oshkosh may perform this, among other functions.

Oshkosh presented a "Pilot Program for Incoming Marginal Freshmen" in the last week of August and first week of September 1970. Approximately 300 incoming freshmen whose high school percentile rank was between the 25th and the 50th percentiles and whose ACT score was below 17, or whose high school percentile rank was below the 25th percentile but whose ACT composite score was 17 or above were invited to participate and 55 did.

Program students were housed on the tenth floor of Gruenhagen Hall, one side being reserved for men and the other for women, with visitation hours. Conditions were kept similar to those of the academic year, including quiet hours and relatively unstructured recreational activities. Residence hall staff assisted the students in becoming acquainted with the campus and available facilities.

The regular summer orientation activities were interspersed into the program schedule. These included an informational slide and tape presentation on available student services, campus tours, diagnostic and placement testing, information on registration, and various rules and regulations.

The program introduced students to "efficient textbook study and review techniques, listening and note-taking practice, and . . . taking exams." . . . "The students responded positively toward almost all aspects of the program and indicated strongly that they now had a better understanding of college class requirements." (Interim Report on the WSU-Oshkosh Pilot Program for Incoming Marginal Freshmen, Aug. 24-Sept. 4, 1970).

The Oshkosh report does not give the racial distribution of the 300 eligibles or the 55 participants (the section of the report captioned "Student Sample" merely offers a breakdown by sex—29 men and 26 women). It does, however, note that financial aid was available to students who qualified for it—presumably toward defraying the estimated student subsistence and materials cost of \$71.50. Black students report, and an Oshkosh administrator confirms, that while blacks were invited to the program, none could afford to go. (D/9/11; D/2/4-5). Many black students fall into the eligible group for such a program,

and a large proportion would probably participate if financial barriers were removed.

Were it possible to couple a program like that at Oshkosh to preregistration, under circumstances permitting individual attention to the needs of each student, the result could be extremely beneficial to new black students and to the WSU's. Assembly line mass registration, which is irritating and disadvantageous to all students, can be destructive to the survival prospects of new black students. The result of the process is likely to be a course schedule which is practicable at best for the modal student, but emphatically dysfunctional for the new entrant from Milwaukee's core.

WSU administrators appear ready to disengage new black students from the lockstep of traditional and depersonalized registration procedures. Leadership and funds now seem forthcoming from the WSU Madison office toward instituting a systemwide orientation and preregistration program with financial aid to participants.

Counseling

Black students express lack of confidence that there is any one person on campus to whom they can go with the certainty of receiving understanding and sensitive help on a broad spectrum of problems. Orientation, catalogs, and rule books do not tell the black students all they need to know. They sense the need for someone available to help them understand and cope with "the system", dealing with such problems as a course schedule into which a student has been shunted but which he is convinced he cannot handle, or a computer which a student thinks is spitting out F's when it should be reporting incompletes or a passing grade. (A/4/15; A/4/24). Students complain that they have never heard of counseling, that counseling is too procedure- and rule-book-oriented, that it is just inadequate—not discriminatory, just not enough.

No one used the term, but it is quite clear that black students have in mind, when they speak of "proper" counseling, a function which would include activities associated with an ombudsman. They want someone who will search out problems as well as listen to those brought to him, someone who has a broad discretion to go to the source of a problem and do something about it. This would be a broad and ranging jurisdiction, impinging upon the jurisdictions of numerous other au-

thorities, and requiring access to high officialdom on campus, and perhaps in town and at the county and State level.

Staff members with counseling responsibilities express the sense of being barred and frustrated. It would seem that the WSU's can afford special counseling only by fitting the individual who is to provide that service into an existing budgeted position and saddling him with the functions associated with that position as well as with counseling tasks. Commission representatives received, at each campus visited, complaints of excessive spans of ill-assorted responsibilities. Special counseling for black students, insofar as it is available, is a hit-or-miss, part-time affair. Black staff, particularly, chafe at the need to treat a traditional job description as a distracting subterfuge which makes it possible to do a little where much is required. Where black staff has been recruited to deal, in part at least, with the problems of black students on campus, the staff feels lost in a smothering hierarchy. These are experienced administrators and it is not the novelty of bureaucracy which frustrates them, but the sense of being isolated, or of reporting to the wrong official in the wrong chain of authority. (C/3/4; D/2/3-5; D/3/6; D/13/14).

Remedial programs and tutoring

A faculty member at River Falls who had been chairman of the human relations committee on campus thought it necessary to avoid oversolicitousness in dealing with black students. (B/13/38). And at Platteville a professor cautioned against the assumption that all black students require remedial work—"they might object to being lumped together" in this manner. (A/6/25). The day previous to the Platteville discussion, Commission representatives had heard from black students the comment that a large part of the black problem on campus is inadequate preparation. Yet in the same conversation, black students complained of a white tendency to assume that if you are black you are inadequately prepared and perhaps inadequate. (A/5/21).

Oversolicitousness and a tendency to over-generalize the traits associated with a racial grouping need not attend a program for identifying the portion of an incoming group of students most likely to require help, and either making such help available on a volitional basis

or making admission conditional upon participating in a remedial program. The Oshkosh program, so administered as not to exclude blacks, and administered as introductory to a freshman year which would include remedial work as indicated by testing, is worthy of adoption by all of the WSU's. Tutoring is an appropriate adjunct to remedial course work, and persons who have had remedial work might be watched to determine their need for possible tutoring in other courses taken simultaneously or following remedial work. Remedial work and tutoring will not prevent attrition due to low motivation or inadequate preparation, merely reduce it. Experience with such programs should be the subject of study, as is proposed by the faculty responsible for the pilot program at Oshkosh. Patricia Wilms at River Falls has written an M.A. thesis on remedial course work experience of students with ACT scores below 17, conclusions of which should be relevant to the design of remedial courses. (An ACT score of 17 is minimum requisite for admission to the WSU's—hence the tendency to define categories of students presumed to need help in terms of an ACT score below 17.)

The need for remedial programs is recognized on the four campuses visited. There was, perhaps, a less clear recognition at Platteville than at the other three. President Roger Guiles at Oshkosh stressed the need to close the gap between incoming freshmen from white suburban high schools, and those from the schools of the inner core, and seemed to recognize a responsibility for offering remedial work. (D/1/2). President Carter at Whitewater stressed remedial work and tutoring as major program objectives. (C/4/10). Staff with responsibility for remedial work at Whitewater say that 99 percent of the black students need help and much less than half are getting it. Some students cannot pass remedial courses. If they are regarded as promising enough to retain, they can be helped only by associating tutoring with remedial work. (C/14/33).

River Falls has been offering remedial courses since at least 1967. In that year letters were sent out to 200 students with ACT scores under 17 apprising them of the availability of special courses. The human relations committee on campus undertook to counsel black students who seemed to need such work into remedial courses. (B/3/8; B/13/37). English 50 and 20 and Chemistry 100 are the core of remedial course work. The Chemistry 100 course has the

unusual feature of being paced to suit the student. Passing the course consists of taking 10 tests. A student may take one, two, or three quarters to complete the 10 tests and get credit for the course. About one-third of the Chemistry 100 students are minority students. (B/13/33).

At the time of our visit, Whitewater was preparing to set up a counseling center and establishing a program of tutoring under the direction of W. George Pattern, a black academician, who has been discharging the varied functions of an assistant dean and attempting, in addition, to play a number of helpful roles in relation to minority students on the campus. (C/3/6). Another black academician, Assistant Dean Curtis Holt at Oshkosh, has stated the need succinctly: (1) more black faculty, (2) more support and remedial programs, (3) special courses to help minority students master communication skills, and (4) financial realism. (D/4/7). Pattern at Whitewater was, at the time of interview, seeking Federal funds to support the projected tutoring program. The WSU's can show some budgetary imagination and initiative, taking money out of travel and putting it into remedial work, but there are strict limits to the amount of effective programing which can be pieced together in this ad hoc manner. Here, again, leadership, commitment, and funding at a systemwide level is clearly necessary. (C/4/11).

Curriculum change

Discussions of curriculum change to take into account the needs of minority population groups newly emergent on campuses will cover various kinds of change. Remedial courses, where previously regarded as unnecessary, represent a profound change in the orientation of the school administration and faculty to the student and the assumption of a significant new service function. In the specific context of the black student, there is the familiar and valid suggestion that when the black experience is relevant to course content, the readings, lectures, and discussions should refer to it. Literature, sociology, history, and the political science courses are obvious candidates for examination to determine whether accuracy, balance, and completeness require more or less detailed reference to the contribution and experience of black people. A third type of suggestion on curriculum, and one on which generalizations can be offered with

less authority, is that entire courses be devoted to the black experience. One can readily imagine courses on Black Literature in America, Black History, the Sociology of the Black Community, Black Politics, and so on. The merit of the course would necessarily be judged on content, readings, qualifications of the instructor, how it fits into the relevant curriculum. The most contentious suggestion is that a coherent body of work be made available to students, under a title such as "Black Studies", and that a major or a minor be permitted in this area.

Oshkosh offers a minor in Afro-American studies, starting in spring semester 1971. (D/8/9; WSU Faculty News, December-January, 1970-71.) Whitewater has developed courses on Introduction to Afro-American Literature, Sociology of Minorities, and The History of Black America, the continued offering of which is cast in doubt by staff reductions and by what some faculty regard as a lack of sympathy with such courses in administrative quarters. (C/25/1-2).

The WSU's which attract minority students have thus far shown little concern for their survival prospects. The tendency has been to assume the school has discharged its full responsibility in admitting minority students and providing them access to higher education facilities. If the student cannot make it, that is his concern. Wisconsin's minority youth needs scholastic survival kits and systematic help in using them. Such programs can best be developed on the WSU campuses, with system leadership and budget aid, and with minority student participation.

Financial aids

The Wisconsin Higher Educational Aids Board. In the span of 5 school years, 1965-66 to 1969-70, total aid resources extended to Wisconsin college students increased from \$9.5 to \$43.5 million, and the State of Wisconsin's share of this aid increased from \$2.6 to \$19.4 million. (Wisconsin Higher Educational Aids Board, *Student Financial Aid Handbook, 1970-71*, p. 7.) This represents not merely a fourfold increase in total aid, but an increase in Wisconsin's assumption of responsibility from 27 percent of the aid administered in 1965-66 to 45 percent in 1969-70. One of the Higher Educational Aids Board's (HEAB) functions is to rationalize and coordinate the administration of financial aids in the State.

The HEAB is the chief Wisconsin contact with the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in carrying out HEW's responsibilities under the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The board seeks to enlarge the amount of financial aid available to Wisconsin students, in part by assuring that the State avails itself of Federal grant opportunities, and it seeks to rationalize the distribution of available funds. As a part of the effort to rationalize distribution, HEAB has played a catalytic role in introducing economically disadvantaged and minority youth to higher educational opportunities in Wisconsin. It performs this role through the Northside and Southside offices of the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center which counsels low-income and minority youths toward college. It has secured a planning grant under Title I, Section 105 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to develop a transitional education program for Milwaukee's disadvantaged youth.

HEAB has been influential in channeling minority students from the Milwaukee core onto college campuses. It has developed a single financial aid form accepted by all public and private colleges in Wisconsin. These are distributed to students in high schools which transmit them to HEAB. The Higher Educational Aids Board checks each form for completion, residency, and program eligibility and then sends a copy to each school listed on the application by the student. (HEAB, *Student Financial Aid Handbook, 1970-71*, p. 11.) Final discretion in drawing up a financial aid package ("funds are now being disbursed in financial aid 'packages', i.e., combinations of scholarships, grants, loans and employment") and making an offer to the student lies at the campus level. Thus, for financial aid applications, as for talent search, HEAB serves as a conduit. It distributes information, elicits interest, collects applications, and in general puts the prospective student in touch with the college.

The transitional education planning grant may be a prelude to an enlarged role for HEAB, seeking to assure that the underprivileged and minority youth it recruits for college campuses have transitional preparation to increase their retention prospects and the extra services they require available when they get there. Unless and until the HEAB or another appropriate agency

(such as the Board of Regents of the WSU System) asserts central leadership and guidance of the development of such services on the individual WSU's, the State will be in the position of recruiting minority students to attend WSU schools which are in no respect programmed to meet their special needs. Such central control should extend also to tailoring individual financial aid packages for students, and administering them.

The CCR Wisconsin State Committee's observations lead it to concur in an appraisal of financial aid programs for disadvantaged which was framed by Richard H. Johnston, Administrator, Division of Student Support, HEAB, in November 1968. Although 3 years have elapsed, HEAB stands by this appraisal today: indeed, it is feared that reduced funding at the Federal level has worsened conditions.

It is amazing, considering the current interest in aiding the disadvantaged, that there are relatively few State or Federal student financial aid programs specifically designed to aid this group of students. During the 1968-69 academic year, for example, only the Indian Scholarship program (\$77,000) and the Teachers Scholarship program (\$240,000) will provide specific State financial aid for disadvantaged students. The inflexibilities of both of these programs, however, undoubtedly inhibits their positive impact on disadvantaged students. The recent decisions of the U.S. Office of Education regarding the Educational Opportunity Grants program suggest that this Federal program also has not been meeting its primary objective of serving disadvantaged students.

It might be argued that the financial aid structure with its commitment to universal educational opportunity and distribution of funds on the basis of need is by its very nature responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged. Unfortunately, however, ample evidence abounds which leads to the conclusion that little of the available financial aid is reaching the disadvantaged. One phenomenon which has been noted is the tendency of many institutions to provide "self-help" financial aid to high-risk students. The overemphasis on loans and employment seems to be an inappropriate way to aid disadvantaged students. Students in this category who are required to work even a minimum number of hours will

find it difficult to devote the amount of time to studying which is needed to overcome existing academic deficiencies. Disadvantaged students who are required to take on large debts, on the other hand, face the psychological fear of not being able to repay the loans. Finally, a disadvantaged student who tries and fails in his attempt to achieve in higher education is not likely to have the resources available to repay the debts he has incurred, and, in addition, the collection efforts which follow in the case of loan defaults are likely to reinforce the negative self attitude resulting from such a failure. It is also likely that current financial need analysis techniques do not recognize the unique financial circumstances of most ghetto families. Even in the case of those families with relatively high income (both husband and wife working), poor money management, high credit costs and high consumer prices prevent ghetto families from contributing at the level expected by traditional need analysis methods. Another important point is that most financial aid programs require that students be enrolled full-time in order to be eligible. This is inconsistent

with recent innovations in institutional academic programs which provide reduced credit loads for students along with noncredit remedial or enrichment courses. Many students taking these special courses find themselves ineligible for financial aid because they lack full-time standing. Important educational opportunities are available to the disadvantaged in vocational and technical training programs. In this case, however, the accreditation criterion of most financial aid programs prohibit their use by needy students. (Paper delivered by Richard H. Johnston to the Conference on Increasing Human Potential Through Educational Change, Wisconsin Inter-agency Conference on the Educationally Deprived, Nov. 21-23, 1968.)

Financial aids on the WSU campus

The 1970-71 Yearbook of the Wisconsin State Universities System details the cost of attending a WSU and describes the financial aid programs under which students may seek help, and the way to apply for such help. Tables 2.1 and 2.2, and the descriptive matter which immediately follows, are taken from the publication.

Table 2.1

State and Federal Financial Aids

SCHOLARSHIPS AND GRANTS—Need not be repaid. Refund policies may apply if student withdraws.			
TYPE	VALUE/TERMS	ELIGIBILITY	DURATION
Wisconsin Honor Scholarship	\$100 to \$800, dependent upon student's assessed need.	Highest ranking Wisconsin high school graduates from top 10% of their class as selected by the high school.	For freshman year only.
Wisconsin Leadership Grants	Up to 67% of student's assessed need.	Wisconsin residents "who during their high school or college courses were good students, are in financial need and possess qualifications for leadership."	One year. Students may reapply annually.
U.S. Educational Opportunity Grants	\$200 to \$1,000, not to exceed 50% of student's assessed need. Must be matched by other awards.	U.S. citizens or residents of Trust Territories who are defined under Federal regulations as exceptionally needy students.	Program continues during term of enrollment based on annual analysis of need. (Duration, 8 semesters)
Nursing Scholarship	Up to \$1,000 per year.	U.S. citizens or residents of Trust Territories already accepted into a school of nursing, who show financial need and professional promise.	One year. Students may reapply annually.
State Veterans Educational Grants Contact: County Veterans' Service Officer	Reimbursement, upon satisfactory completion of courses, of cost of fees and textbooks for part-time study. Application must be made prior to completion of any course.	Veterans who qualify as Wisconsin residents and enroll at an accredited institution located in the State for part-time or correspondence study. Benefits extend to unmarried widows and children of qualified deceased veterans.	For lifetime of qualified veterans. (Continued next page)

Table 2.1 (continued)

LOANS—Repayable with interest as noted.

TYPE	VALUE/TERMS	ELIGIBILITY	DURATION
National Defense Student Loans	Up to \$1,000 for undergraduates; up to \$2,500 for graduate students. Interest-free while student is enrolled on at least a half-time basis. 3% interest computed annually beginning 9 months after student graduates or leaves school; up to 10 years for repayment. (Special cancellation features for teachers and nurses.)	Financially needy students who are U.S. citizens or residents of Trust Territories.	One year. Students may reapply annually.
Wisconsin State Loans	Up to \$1,000 for undergraduates; \$1,500 for graduate students. Interest-free until 9 months after graduation or termination of university attendance; thereafter 7% interest computed annually. Repayment period of up to 10 years.	Residents of Wisconsin in good standing with the institution who show financial need.	One year. Students may reapply annually to a maximum limit.
Guaranteed Loan Program (Available from private lending institutions) For information: Wis. Higher Education Aid Boards, 115 W. Wilson St., Madison, 53702.	Up to \$1,000 per academic year; \$250 per summer session. Interest-free until after graduation or student leaves school. Thereafter 7% interest during repayment period of up to 10 years. No Federal interest subsidy. 7% interest from inception with up to 10 years for repayment.	For students from families with annual adjusted gross income under \$15,000. For students from families with annual adjusted gross income over \$15,000.	No set limit.
State Veterans Loan Contact: County Veterans' Service Officer.	Up to \$2,000, repayable at 3% per annum.	Veterans who are Wisconsin residents and show financial need. Benefits extend to unremarried widows and children of qualified deceased veterans.	Non-renewable.

OTHER AID PROGRAMS

TYPE	VALUE/TERMS	ELIGIBILITY	DURATION
U.S. Work-Study Program	Compensation on hourly wage basis determined by the institution.	U.S. citizens or residents of Trust Territories in good standing with their institution who show financial need.	Allows for an average of 15 hours per week while classes are in session and up to 40 hours per week during vacation periods.
Social Security Contact: U.S. Social Security Administration	Varied amounts up to \$160 per month.	Students up to age 22 whose parents are retired or deceased.	While enrolled in full-time educational program.
Graduate Assistantships	Non-teaching assistantships are available throughout the State Universities System and are directed by the individual university.		
Federal-State Funds for Vocational Rehabilitation	Varies.	For handicapped U.S. citizens who qualify. Contact nearest State Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Division	For term of undergraduate study terminating with granting of baccalaureate degree.

Source: *WSU System Yearbook, 1970-71.*

Table 2.2

Wisconsin State Universities System Fee Chart (Undergraduate), Academic Year 1970-71

University	Undergraduate tuition and fees ²		WSU room and meals	Total W.S.U. charges	
	Wisconsin resident	Nonresident		Wisconsin resident	Nonresident
Eau Claire	\$130	\$1,360	\$880	\$1,310	\$2,210
La Crosse	147	1,377	880	1,327	2,257
Oshkosh	106 ³	1,336 ³	925	1,331 ³	2,261 ³
Platteville	140	1,370	930	1,370	2,300
River Falls	129	1,359	870	1,299	2,229
Stevens Point	121	1,351	900	1,321	2,251
Stout	139	1,369	900	1,339	2,269
Superior	436 ³	1,366 ³	888	1,324 ³	2,254 ³
Whitewater	121	1,351	880	1,301	2,234
Barron County	433	1,363		133	1,363
Fond du Lac	396 ³	1,326 ³	(⁴)	396 ³	1,326 ³
Medford	385	1,315	(⁴)	385	1,315
Richland	440	1,370	(⁴)	440	1,370

² Figures include basic tuition fee of \$320 for Wisconsin residents and \$1,250 for nonresidents at all universities, plus university service fees which vary. For graduate school, Wisconsin residents add \$58 per year and nonresidents add \$300 to figures given in chart.

³ Does not include fees for textbooks.

⁴ No facilities.

Note: Students may elect to pay fees and room and board costs under a new optional installment payment plan. Information is available from the Director of Admissions at each university.

Source: *WSU System Yearbook, 1970-71*.

Financial Aid Information

Most of the various financial aid programs available to students who intend to study at a State university are administered through the university and are covered by a single standard application form obtainable from the high school counselor or principal or from the university financial aid officer.

The student financial aids office at each university provides assistance in obtaining these forms of aid when a student and his family do not have sufficient funds to cover all of his educational expenses. The amount a student and his family can be expected to pay is computed from information supplied by the family on a standard form which is analyzed by a national organization. The university then helps the student to obtain the additional amount needed to cover his educational costs for the year.

Such financial help is provided in the form of (1) scholarships and grants which need not be

repaid, (2) long-term loans, and (3) employment which enables student to earn money while attending the university. Usually the student is offered a "package" consisting of a combination of these forms of help.

For example, the cost of attending a State university in the 1970-71 academic year for a Wisconsin student living in a university residence hall is approximately \$1,700 for fees, books, room, meals, and personal expenses. If analysis of the family financial statement indicates that the family can pay \$600, the financial aid director can set up a plan for the additional \$1,100 needed with a grant of \$300, a loan of \$500, and a job enabling the student to earn \$300 during the school year.

How To Apply

High school seniors who will be college freshmen may obtain and submit the proper forms through their high school guidance counselor or principal.

Upperclassmen should apply directly to the financial aid officer at the university. For other special forms of aid such as social security, veterans benefits, guaranteed loans, and vocational rehabilitation funds, application must be made directly to the proper State or Federal agency.

Timetable

Applications for scholarships and grants administered through the university must be submitted by March 1. The financial aids offices at the universities then determine the aid "package" each student will be offered and send this information to the students between April 15 and May 15. Students have until May 31, or 2 weeks after they receive the aid offer, to advise the university whether they wish to accept all or part of the "package" offered.

Students who apply for financial aid after the March 1 deadline normally are not eligible for regular scholarships and grants, but may receive financial aid in the form of loans and employment.

Edmund Hayes, Director of Financial Aids at River Falls, briefed Commission representatives on the aid picture from the local WSU perspective. He administers three principal sources of Federal funds, and three sources of State funds. The Federal programs include Educational Opportunity Grants (EOG), National Defense Student Loans (NDSL), and College Work Study (CWS). State funds are channeled into Wisconsin legislative grants, the Wisconsin Student Loan program, and college employment. As he sees it, HEAB processes State student loans, but Wisconsin legislative grants and Federal funds are administered through the Board of Regents. Prior to 1969-70, he reports, individual WSU's sought Federal funds separately. Beginning with that school year responsibility was consolidated, and it became possible for the Board of Regents to transfer funds from one campus to another to meet changing needs. For example, one campus might have a surfeit of EOG funds allocated and, through the board, exchange some of this for work study or loan money in time of need. (B/5/12).

Total funds available at WSU-River Falls for 1970-71 for grants and loans amounted to \$1,541,000:

\$330,000 EOG.
191,000 NDSL.

220,000 CWS.
150,000 Wisconsin legislative grant.
650,000 State loans.

The three Federal programs—EOG, NDSL, and CWS—amounted to less than one-half, but a substantial 48 percent of River Falls' aid budget. Perhaps more significantly, from the viewpoint of the economically disadvantaged student, Federal and State loan funds comprise 55 percent of the total financial aid available to River Falls students. (B/5/12).

A high proportion of black students attending WSU's receives financial aid, administered in packages which include grants and loans. About 50 percent of the WSU-Platteville students receive such aid—some 3,075 in 1969-70 if student employment by the school is included—and all but two black students in attendance received aid in 1969-70. Financial aid officials at Platteville also estimate that black students receive higher levels of financial aid than do whites. (A/10/33). The report at River Falls was that 30 black students were receiving financial aid in 1970-71. (B/5/14). Forty-seven black students were reported enrolled at that time. (HEW/OCR). Whitewater officials administered financial aids to some 3,500 students or about 42 percent of the total enrollment. (C/15/34).

Interviews with local WSU financial aids officers substantially reiterated the process and formula for financial aids described in the *WSU Yearbook*. Some officials, and a great many of the black students, discussed problems which they had found in the administration of such aids. The *Yearbook* advises that applications for grants and scholarships administered through the individual WSU's must be submitted by March 1. Talks with WSU officials on four campuses indicate that February 15 is the standard submission date for any applications which must be routed through HEAB, and it may be that the schools prefer to receive applications by that date also. Whichever the date, however, black students newly entering a WSU, do not tend to get their financial aid applications in that early in the year. Freshmen black students typically are late applicants—sometimes coming in September with application in hand. (A/10/34).

WSU officials appear to have been willing to stretch the rules and accommodate late applications. Commission representatives have no reason

to believe black students have been denied opportunity to attend a WSU solely because of late application for needed financial help. But the February-March application deadlines are regarded unrealistic by black students. We assume that it takes a good deal of improvisation by aid officials to respond to timely applications stating meritorious cases for aid while somehow reserving funds for a block of late applicants.

Scholarship help is contingent upon factors in addition to financial need, and is in short supply. Wisconsin Legislative Grants are administered by the WSU Board to require that applicants be in the upper half of their class. Educational Opportunity grants require that the applicant demonstrate that his parents' income falls below a certain range. For a number of reasons, a substantial amount of the aggregate financial aid administered will take the form of Federal and State loans. The individual student receives an aid package which is calculated to meet his need, and that package will include loan as well as grant money. Administrators and students complain at the practice of recruiting minority students, encouraging them to overcome social, economic, and academic obstacles and embark upon an academic journey which is inherently risky, and then virtually trap them into financing a considerable part of the cost through loans. The successful student may pile up a financial obligation which will depress his life style for years after graduation; the unsuccessful student drops out, or is dropped, and keeps a substantial debt as memento of the experience. The need to finance the enterprise through an aid package including a large segment of borrowing deters minority students from enrolling. (D/4/6).

Administrators and black students voice concern about the reality of the formula for calculating needed aid when applied to minority students. The budget for 1970-71, for a male student, is calculated at \$1,700 for tuition, room, board, and incidentals. Under the standard formula, the student is presumed capable of saving \$400 from summer earnings, making for a net financial need of \$1,300. (C/15/34). Some administrators have concluded that students from low-income families are expected to contribute to the family larder and cannot save money for college during the summer. The family may be a financial drain upon the student during the academic year. Family or personal emergencies may create a situation in which the student must have *ad hoc*

financial help or withdraw from college to deal with the problem. (A/10 34; B 6 16; C 15 34; D/5/7).

Some black students feel the financial aid is doled out to them, and that they are expected to be grateful for small favors. (D 9 10). This is not an unusual observation from recipients of financial aid programs. More important is the confusion which black students express at being assured of a stated amount of aid, in the form of a combination of grant and loan, but then arrive on campus to discover that they are expected to have additional resources adequate to permit them to make a deposit at the time of signing a residence hall contract and for other expenses. They see elements of flimflam involved in securing money from various sources and juggling their personal financial accounts in order to observe relatively small but multitudinous deposit and fee requirements which they had assumed to be directly paid or waived by the WSU. (B 8/20). The academic administrator may have this problem, among others, in mind in suggesting that black students have a money-management problem. (A 10 34). Black veterans complain that every time their Government check is late they must apply for a waiver of late fee for tuition. Since the WSU knows that the VA tends to be tardy in getting the checks out, why can't the school just forget about, or grant a general waiver on late fees for tuition payment by veterans, they ask. (B 8 24). Particularly galling is the tendency of academic administrators to use deposits, late fees, and comparable funds as convenient techniques for disciplining students to desired behavior, and to apply such checking devices in ways which extract, in the form of deposit or penalty, funds granted or loaned toward the ostensible end of meeting the student's financial need.

Probably a good deal of apprehension and developing resentment which black students experience in approaching the financial aids office would be lifted were they to see at least one black staff member. Whitewater has employed a black student in the financial aid office and the opinion there is that this has been helpful for all concerned.

Minority staffing and the minority student

Generic staffing problems. A number of non-racial factors contribute to a stagnant staffing

picture for the WSU's. Forecasts of reduced enrollment, changing degree requirements which can lessen need for staff in some departments without enlarging need in others, and a state-wide austerity budgeting mandate which translates into a hiring moratorium are among these factors. In a buyer's market, the WSU System has approved more stringent qualifications for professorial positions:

The new minimum requirements specify a doctoral degree or equivalent and 10 years of full-time teaching in higher education for a full professorship, a doctoral degree or equivalent and at least 5 years of teaching or other appropriate experience for an associate professorship, and a master's degree or equivalent plus one full year of graduate work in a degree program for the rank of assistant professor.

Exceptions to the minimum requirements may be made by the Board of Regents for faculty in such areas as the performing arts, at the request of the university president, wherever exceptional experience or special credentials comprise the best preparations for instruction in the assigned discipline.

The proportions of faculty in each rank at each university were established as 10 to 25 percent, full professors; 25 to 40 percent, associate professors; 25 to 40 percent, assistant professors; and 20 to 40 percent, instructors.

(*WSU Faculty News*, vol. 2, no. 3, December-January 1970-71.)

Tenure for WSU faculty is defined by statute. (Wis. Stat., 1969, ch. 37.31.) After receiving an academic appointment for a sixth consecutive year, a faculty member is by statute deemed to have employment which is "permanent, during efficiency and good behavior". That is, he has a tenured position. Schools conforming to American Association of University Professors (AAUP) rules give an individual notice by the end of June that the coming year will be a terminal year's appointment. This tenure rule and AAUP rules translate into a situation best understood by use of example. Candidate X receives an initial appointment at a WSU institution (his first year of teaching experience anywhere) for September 1975. If he is not to secure tenure automatically by operation of the statute, his last year of teaching must be his fifth year at the institution, 1979-80. If the AAUP rule is observed,

it will be necessary that he be given notice by June 1979 that the impending year is a terminal year appointment. In order that he be given timely notice, it will be necessary for the academic department to review the case on its merits and in relation to academic needs about December 1978, thence processing its recommendation through tiers of administration.

The WSU tenure rule may be regarded as affording great protection and convenience to faculty. One of its chief conveniences may be the absence of a formal process of tenure review. But it is thought by many persons that the practical need to make a decision on a person in his fourth year leads to conservatism in staffing—a tendency to let go in their fifth year any persons who seem to have boat-rocking qualities. Thus, there is a widespread belief that qualities of timidity and conservatism lead to tenure and reenforcement of a timid and conservative faculty: a reformist zeal and commitment to social change leads to a job at another institution.

The new rule requiring the doctorate for promotion to associate or full professor would, if stringently enforced, lead departments to avoid granting tenure to those who lack the degree. Thus the rule on the doctorate and the statutory provision on tenure would combine to increase the hurdles to WSU employment. At this point in history, increased hurdles correlate directly with lower opportunity for blacks. One black student suggests the tenure rule results in a one-third turnover every 2 years, "and those who have tenure are no good." (A-4/23). The Association of WSU Faculty, which is the group representing tenured faculty in the system, does not seem to reciprocate this ill feeling. The AWSUF representatives with whom we spoke did not see the presence of black students in increasing numbers as a threat to the senior faculty in terms of imposing extra work, altering demands upon faculty, and so on.

Charges have been made that the administration of at least one WSU institution—Whitewater, which, incidentally, has been under AAUP censure since 1968 (*AAUP Bulletins*, Spring 1968, Spring 1971) because of an incident which antedates the appointment of its incumbent president—engages in a variety of practices, the cumulative result of which is an academic atmosphere which is authoritarian and repressive, at least for a substantial segment of the faculty. Thus, it is said, curriculum changes are introduced

with the purpose of retaliating against departments which are out of favor with administration, department chairmen are summarily fired because they stand up for what they believe to be departmental and faculty rights, and faculty members are summarily suspended because of assertion of causes unpopular to the administration. (See, e.g., Milwaukee Sentinel, Feb. 15, 1971, pt. 1, p. 10; Milwaukee Journal, Feb. 23, 1971, pt. 1, p. 1.) A faculty review panel found four faculty members so dismissed innocent of misconduct, and reiterated that finding after President Carter complained that its findings of fact were "defective". (Milwaukee Journal, June 17, 1971, p. 30).

Feelings on the Whitewater campus are high. That the Commission has not received equally strong complaints from other WSU campuses does not mean the Whitewater complaint is unique. But we have not sought such complaints, and in receiving them have wanted to know their relevance to a study of the problems of black students at WSU's. Faculty members who are informed, involved, and who feel strongly about the tone of administration at Whitewater allege that the behavior which is being punished by the administration is behavior associated with militant support of black causes and effort to accommodate the curriculum, facilities, and mores of WSU-Whitewater to the needs of black students. We cannot pass upon the merits of this assertion. But it is our opinion that, intensely as some faculty may believe that their issue with the president of Whitewater is a black issue, the black students at Whitewater are inclined not to be drawn in. This perception also applies to black involvement—or rather noninvolvement—in radical white student causes on all of the WSU campuses visited.

Whatever the merits of allegations of repression at WSU-Whitewater, we believe that the qualities which make for freedom of pursuit of truth in a university also associate positively with openness and receptivity toward people who differ with or are different from the dominant white ethnic on campus.

Black faculty

If the proportion of black faculty at a college is infinitesimal, and if faculty and administrative interest in recruiting black faculty is absent, sporadic, or curbed by institutional constraints

such as budget limitations or hiring rules, the low level of black employment may be taken as *prima facie* evidence of discrimination. It is discrimination by lack of effort, covert rather than overt. Such a pattern warrants the Commission on Civil Rights' investigation of employment practices *per se*, in accordance with more than a decade of history of CCR inquiry and recommendations on employment. In this report our emphasis is on black student problems in the WSU community and staffing is of instrumental concern: if a practice of overt or covert discrimination in employment were documented, the institution could hardly be considered receptive to minority group enrollment. If, in the absence of overt discriminatory hiring practices, the minority faculty ratio is extremely low, minority students are deprived of the numerous benefits which would flow from having on the faculty a reasonable number of persons with whom they could identify socially and culturally.

Aside from overt and covert discrimination, there are practices which are not intrinsically race-related, but conducive to "institutional racism". In a society in which undeniably there are indistinguishable racial groupings which have been excluded from the mainstream by policy and practice, any hurdle to accomplishment is magnified for those who have been excluded and any arbitrary or nonessential bar to advancement will operate differentially to screen out proportionately more minority group members than whites and to make the obstacle course relatively more difficult for the surviving minority group members than it is for the whites. Thus, tenure rules which include an "up-or-out" provision and mandate a Ph.D., requirement that non-Ph.D.'s continue to take course work in a doctoral program as condition of employment, seniority practices whereby reductions in force eliminate the most junior nontenured staff first, a preference against hiring part-time instructional personnel, and other practices and rules which are generally accepted, even hallowed, in academe, may, in the context of the American society, add up to "institutional racism". Measured by motive or intent, the pejorative "racism" may not seem fair in given contexts, but measured by effect it may be factually descriptive.

We assume that patterns of institutional racism connote a failure on the part of an institution to discharge its legal and moral responsibilities in the light of contemporary social policy at the

Table 2.3

WSU Minority Faculty Employment

	Black		Percent of systemwide black faculty employed by local WSU	Other minority		Percent of systemwide other minority employed by WSU ¹
	N	Percent of local WSU faculty		N	Percent of local WSU faculty	
Platteville.....	3	1.0	18.7	0	0	0
Whitewater.....	3	.6	18.7	7	1.3	13.7
Oshkosh.....	4	.9	25.0	11	2.7	21.6
River Falls.....	1	.4	6.2	5	2.2	9.8
Stout State.....	0	0	0	2	.8	3.9
Stevens Point.....	1	.2	6.2	11	2.5	21.6
Superior.....	0	0	0	2	1.2	3.9
La Crosse.....	1	.3	6.2	4	1.3	7.8
Eau Claire.....	3	.8	18.7	9	2.4	17.6
	16	-----	99.7 ⁵	51	-----	99.9 ⁵

¹ Do not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: CCR WIS. SAC WSU survey.

State and national level. We also assume that minority group members are denied equal access to State-supported facilities when, as students, they attend schools characterized by institutional racist practices.

The proportion of black faculty on the nine WSU campuses is appallingly low. We conclude that recruitment efforts by the various institutions have been sufficiently passive, desultory, or curbed by institutional constraints, and have sufficiently lacked central stimulus from the system administrators in Madison as to warrant the charges of institutional racism and denial of equal access to public educational facilities against the WSU System.

The Wisconsin SAC survey collected information on a population of 3,172 faculty and administrators on the nine WSU campuses. Inadvertently, the categories under which the WSU's were asked to report faculty omitted "instructor" and this probably accounts for the major part of the discrepancy between the 3,172 figure and the 4,422 faculty members reported by the WSU System office as employed on the nine principal campuses and four branch campuses in 1970-71. (*WSU Faculty News*, December-January 1970-71.) The analysis which follows is based upon the Commission survey and rests upon the assumption that gross as the

discrepancy (1,250) between the WSU total and the CCR figure may be, it does not alter the black ratio data in a manner unfavorable to the WSU System. Indeed, unless the WSU's have a startling number of black instructors—and visits on four campuses discount this—the use of the lower faculty total probably inflates the black ratio. In the one instance in which a WSU reported black administrators but did not include them as faculty, we report them as faculty. (Oshkosh).

Sixteen black faculty were employed on the nine WSU campuses in 1970-71. Stout and Superior reported no black faculty and the remaining seven schools reported from one to four black faculty each. The story on other minority groups is a bit more bright, with a total of 51 distributed among the nine campuses. Only one campus, Platteville, reported no other minority faculty; the number per campus ranges from two to 11. The highest percentage of black faculty on any one campus is 1.0 percent at Platteville; the highest percentage of other minority is found at Oshkosh, 2.7 percent.

As table 2.3 shows, four schools account for more than three-quarters of the total WSU System black faculty employment. They are Oshkosh, which employs a quarter of the total, Platteville, Whitewater, and Eau Claire, which

account for 18.7 percent each. Table 1.7 earlier showed that Whitewater, Oshkosh, and Platteville are the three top-ranking schools in percentage of total WSU System black enrollment. And Whitewater and Platteville rank second and third, respectively, in percentage of their total enrollment which is black; Oshkosh ranks fifth. River Falls, which ranks highest of all the WSU's on this scale, occupies the modal position on proportion of its black faculty and is among the lowest five of the schools in share of total black faculty. We do not have enough data to permit informed conjecture upon the significance of Eau Claire's standing on black faculty employment.

Rankings and comparisons among the WSU institutions involves the use of a low standard of black enrollment or employment. Using the total employment figure of 3,172 faculty and administrators reported to the Commission, black faculty and administrators comprise one-half of 1 percent; using the *WSU Faculty News* total of 4,422, the ratio is reduced to one in

every 300 rather than one in every 200. The employment figure for other minorities is only less bad than that for blacks: 1.6 percent of the total reported to the Commission or 1.1 percent of the WSU figure.

There seems concerted expressed opinion that the WSU System needs more black faculty. The need is stated not merely in terms of enlarging the black faculty ratio at those institutions which are receiving increasing numbers of students from the Milwaukee core; some stress that positive benefit will accrue to the entire system from reaching out to secure a faculty which is more representative of the national and statewide population than now is the case. How to do this, and more particularly, how to do this without so altering existing staffing rules so as to weaken the quality of the faculty, will be the topic of debate. The black student, given his knowledge of American society, is inclined to look at the facts as evidence of institutional purpose, and at the debate as a cover screen for pursuing purposeful discrimination.

PART 3. BLACK COHESION AND INTEGRATION AT WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES

If not impossible, it would be highly artificial to compartmentalize a discussion of black problems on the basis of a campus and town distinction. Yet it is convenient to group a number of problem areas which seem to have major roots on campus, and another set which are at least equally well rooted in town, or are a predominant problem which black students experience in town. This is the distinction between parts 4 and 5 of this report. In part 4 the discussion of problems on campus will frequently reach to their town aspects; in part 5 the discussion of problems in town will, in the case of police, for example, begin with a review of the security arrangements on campus.

Separatism at the WSU's

As black students began to reach the WSU's in the early sixties, they quickly sensed that campus and community attitudes required that they hang together. In the early days of black students on campus, the presence of merely one or two sufficed to evoke episodic expressions of racism. President Ullsvik at Platteville recalls in 1962 or 1963 seeing a dummy labeled "jig" suspended in a tree, and getting it down before very many people had the opportunity to view it. (A/A/1). Black students continue to sense racial animosity on campus. These problems, a rising black enrollment which made possible the quest for group identity on campus and probably assured the requisite leadership, and national events associated with the rise of the black power movement seem to be the incubus for black separatist efforts on campus.

The cumulative experience of race violence

during the 1960's, followed hard by mounting campus unrest, undoubtedly intensified the apprehension and resentment with which the WSU communities watched the new black arrivals. Townspeople, faculty, and students had watched television newsclips of rioting in Harlem (July 1964), Newark, Detroit, nearby Milwaukee (July-August 1967), and Washington (April 1968). In April 1968 the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., brought demonstrations of rage and sorrow to most campuses, and for some WSU towns raised the specter of violence as black student marches and memorial services spilled from the campus into town.

The events at Platteville in April 1968 are typical. Black students requested dismissal of classes for the day of Martin Luther King's funeral. A memorial service was scheduled for the Methodist Church in Platteville. This was followed by a march to the Student Center on campus. President Ullsvik thinks that attendance at the service was 99 percent black, and that 150 or so blacks from Dubuque and Milwaukee participated in the march. The events were traumatic for the townspeople and for some students. On the return to the Student Center, a racist football player taunted the blacks, some of whom gave chase. Seventy-five or so students were involved in the resulting altercation. Although the city police came, they did not interfere. Upon arrival at the Student Center, Ullsvik attempted to ease tensions by talking with the group of 70 to 80 blacks and some 20 whites who remained from the march. The next day he headed off a mass exodus from campus in response to the nervous telephone summons of parents. (A/1/2-4).

This is a small part of the background against which the clannishness of black students on campus should be considered. This clannishness is disturbing to some administrators and faculty. Their concern is probably, in part, a result of commitment to middle class liberal values which, for educated whites in their forties, fifties, and sixties, would likely include a high regard for racial integration as instrumental to achieving racial equality in society. President Carter at Whitewater, for example, expresses a deep philosophical aversion to the idea of black students isolating themselves on campus. (C/4/13). A black professor serving as advisor to the black student organization on another WSU campus counsels avoidance of separatism, which he equates with insecurity and an unhealthy "turning in on themselves" by blacks. (B/15/42).

The black student from the Milwaukee ghetto goes to a WSU campus without any prior life experience that would suggest that the dominant white society places any particular value upon associating with him in residential neighborhoods, in school, in play, or in employment. He moves to college from a ghetto society conscious that he is entering a white domain in which he will be judged by whites by standards which he regards as much white as they are academic. All consideration taken into account, is he likely to heed an authoritative white exhortation to integrate himself, or is he more likely to seek the strength and security of association with the other black students on campus?

Problems in housing

Dormitory housing. Restricted access to housing is a critical point on the circle of causation which accounts for the depressed status of black people in American society. The 1970 census reports that Milwaukee and Minneapolis are the hubs of the segregated suburban housing to be found in the United States. Black students radiating out to Wisconsin State University campuses are sensibly concerned about housing. When they arrive at the college the question is not whether their concern is warranted, but the degree to which it will be vindicated.

Institutional problems—the origin of which are remote from the influx of black students to the WSU's—vex the lives of students and administrators, and are disproportionately disturb-

ing to the newest group arriving on the campuses. One such problem is a glut of on-campus dormitory facilities, which causes pressures on WSU regents and administrators to force a landlord-tenant relationship upon students as a condition of attending college. (A/9/30). All freshmen and sophomores must now spend four semesters in residence halls. (A/9/32). This forced inclusion breeds resentment which is no less real, although certainly less vehement, than that fostered by forced exclusion. If there is merit to the separatist aspirations of black students, this rule, which seems in practice to dictate that freshmen and sophomores live on campus while juniors and seniors are free to live off campus, cleaves a racial and cultural group which draws needed strength from close association.

At Whitewater the director of housing is responsible to the dean of students. Under the director of housing are hall directors for each residence hall. Each hall director has eight resident assistants (RA's). The housing director handles room assignments on an automated basis. He receives a copy of each admission notice, and sends to the newly admitted student a housing packet which includes a contract and a form on which to indicate certain information, including preferences as to residence hall and roommate. A preference for roommate can be honored only if the roommate is named and the preference is mutual. Freshmen room assignments occur in late July, at which time an effort is made to match rooms with the data earlier punched onto cards. (C/13/30-32).

The late July scheduling of room assignments assures that rooms are being assigned only to those students who did not avail themselves of the July 15 deadline for room-deposit refund. This \$50 deposit, which must be made in order to secure a room, presents a formidable and unexpected financial hurdle for some black students. Students also complain that living in the dormitories involves the purchase of a meal ticket and a variety of other unavoidable expenses. Thus, correctly or incorrectly, black students see mandatory dormitory residence as imposing burdens which might otherwise be avoidable. (A/4/14).

Black students at Whitewater reside together only if they have requested specific roommates, or as a result of coincidence, the director of housing reports. He has received complaints from white students assigned to room with

blacks. (C/13/30). At River Falls white parents are forewarned that their daughters may room with international students, Orientals, or blacks. (B/14/39).

Black students at Platteville are convinced that whites are asked their preference as to living with blacks. (A/4/13). Black students at Whitewater seem to express a preference for the west complex of residence halls, and this preference is honored if stated. However, students new to the residence halls may recognize the desirability of a change of halls only after settling in. The housing director is not inclined to engage in avoidable reshuffling after the semester has begun. He received, for example, a complaint of harassment from three black girls who wished to move from one hall to the west complex. Upon investigation he refused to move them, although promising to investigate any further allegations of harassment. (C/13/30).

Black dormitory residents are conscious of patterns of behavior and usage of the dormitory facilities which set them apart from their white fellow residents and seem to grate upon the latter. (A/4/13). Some hall directors appear disturbed by the behavior of black students, or hostile to them. (A/4/13).

An argument between a hall director and a black resident at Whitewater was followed by an article in the hall paper lecturing on appropriate black student behavior. (C/10/26). At River Falls black students complain that the "housemothers" are snoopy. The housemothers know about long-distance calls which have come in, black students believe they sometimes receive their mail late (and that this has significance), and feel under scrutiny. (B/8/21).

In one dormitory the housemother is said to have decided six black women should be grouped together. (B/8/21). Black students at River Falls are convinced they were segregated on a single floor and in a single wing of a residence hall in 1969-70. The entire town knew of their location, we were told, and anyone in town having business with a black student would go directly to the black residence sector. (B/8/21). About 21 black students are currently residing in dormitories at River Falls. (B/8/21). About 30 black students are in residence halls at Platteville, and we are informed that one wing of Porter Hall is black (seven black girls) and the remaining students are scattered. (A/9/31). Cross-racial pairing at Platteville involves six black students.

Fourteen black students requested pairing, and about 10 live in single rooms. (A/9/31).

To the charges of segregation, housing authorities at River Falls respond that no matter how black students are assigned to rooms, they tend to cluster. All rooms are assigned in a manner to preclude discrimination. Choice is by lottery, with priority given to seniors, juniors, and sophomores. All freshmen room assignments are random unless specific and mutual roommate preferences are stated.

Black students resent any hint of forced clustering, and may take "chance" concentration of blacks in a housing facility as confirmation of a policy of segregation. Black students appear inclined to cluster if permitted to follow their own preferences, and resent administrative practices which prevent them from rooming together. They object, in short, to either compulsory segregation or compulsory integration. To see a logical anomaly in this position would be rather shallow. Certainly it expresses a degree of individualism with which administrators should be able to live.

Are the WSU dormitories social systems run by whites, but to which blacks are permitted entry? River Falls has no black resident assistants. (B/8/21). One black woman student applied for an RA position in 1970-71. She was carefully considered and turned down on personality grounds without racial implication. This is on authority of Dean of Women Nancy K. Knaak. (B/14/40). The school did have a black RA about 5 years ago, and this girl was also Homecoming Queen. A young black woman now is a substitute night hostess (must be over 21). (B/14/40). Whitewater had three black resident assistants in 1970-71. Three students applied, all were qualified, and all three were accepted. (C/13/31-32). We lack information on black RA's at the other two campuses studied. Insofar as black RA's provide assurance of free opportunity to participate in the governing of the residence halls, we lack evidence on which to base a conclusive opinion.

Off-campus housing

Whitewater appears unique in having a black fraternity which provides housing for some students. Alpha Phi Alpha was located on fraternity row in 1969-70. The house it occupied has been converted to apartments and it now

makes do with part of a house. (C/18/39). Also at Whitewater, a good many black students reside in University Inn, a privately owned off-campus residence which has the appearance of a converted bowling alley. (C/13/32).

About 10 black students are estimated to live in town at Platteville, and five at River Falls. (A/4/14; B/8/21). Two facts seem very clear. Some black students are able to find housing in town. In each of the four communities we visited, the townspeople are obdurate in practicing housing discrimination against black students. Some town-gown friction is to be expected in any college community. Some local residents will feel antipathy toward the students who descend in engulfing numbers upon the community. We find that these "normal" tensions exist in varying degree in the communities visited, and above and beyond these, intensifying the problems confronting students away from home, is racial hostility which leads property owners who will rent to white students to refuse blacks. Thus every black student who finds private housing represents a special instance. Usually a concession has been made, a subterfuge has been successful, a premium of some kind has been paid. And many black students in residence in WSU dormitories are there not because they fall into the category of students required by regent rule to reside in college residence halls. They reside on campus because they are excluded from the community which is host to the campus. (A/4/13).

Until 1969-70 the WSU regents required juniors and seniors under 21 to reside in approved housing on- or off-campus. That meant an effort to impose certain standards upon persons offering private housing to students. It also at least implied an effort to police the behavior of students in private housing. The revocation of this rule coincided with the spread of Milwaukee blacks to the WSU campuses. Undoubtedly, however, it was revoked as part of a general movement away from colleges assuming an *in loco parentis* role toward students. (C/13/31). We are told that revocation also responded to popular student demand, and to the increasing dissatisfaction of the WSU administrators with the results of their effort to play third party to an unenforceable contract. (A/9/30).

Apparently some landlords were willing to rent to students so long as the school was in some way a party to the relationship, but not

otherwise. The impression in Platteville, at least, is that elimination of the approved list led to some withdrawal of housing in town. Thus, as the school relaxed the restrictions upon student choice of housing, the housing market constricted. (A/9/30). If this were the general experience, it further compounded the problems of black students seeking private housing in a discriminatory market.

Nondiscrimination was one standard apparently applied by the schools in the days of approved housing. The housing director at Whitewater, for example, tells of removing landlords from the approved housing list when satisfied they were refusing to rent to black students. (C 13 31). The WSU's continue to maintain housing lists for the convenience of students and landlords, and appear ready to remove landlords from the list if they discriminate. When discrimination is called to the attention of housing officials they may make direct efforts to find a black student a room. (A 4 23; A 9 30; B 11 29). On cursory observation it would seem that elimination of the approved housing list has not extricated college housing officials from a situation in which they have a presumed responsibility at least to help students secure off-campus housing, but no inducements or sanctions to employ to secure housing.

Interviewers heard from numerous sources at Platteville the story of some black students who a few years ago left town owing rent. (A 9 31). The maxim generalized from this is: "Don't rent to black students or you will lose out." Campus officials do not seem to think recent history supports this generalization, but say it is a fact of life in town. This is, perhaps, the rationale on which a black student who did find off-campus housing in Platteville was compelled to pay a full semester's rent in advance. (A 4 13). Other students report they have secured housing in town by subletting from white friends who have gotten rooms or apartments. (A 4 14; C 13 39).

Black staff has trouble, or anticipates trouble, in locating housing also. If they have secure housing, it is a result of subterfuge and pressure. (B/15/41). Or they may commute considerable distances from cities in which housing is available to minorities to the WSU town of employment. (A/3/12; C/3/6). The officials of the WSU host communities do not place fair housing high on their agendas for action. They do seem concerned about the quality of housing offered students in

town. (B/17/45; C/17/38). Attempts by the WSU's to alter community mores on housing and public accommodations would require direct and sustained personal leadership by the presidents. The presidents of the schools seem to recognize the problem, but restrict their involvement to expressions of personal concern, exhortation, creating committees which bridge town and gown, and sponsoring public events at which expressions of mutual regard and pleas for "human understanding" are part of the program. (A/9 31).

Black student organization

Separatism is currently important to black students. The impression on each of the campuses visited is that 1970-71 has been a quiet and relatively withdrawn year for black students. In some sectors, black students are seen as demoralized and disillusioned, nursing their wounds in privacy. In other quarters they are seen as hostile and arrogant. The most optimistic interpretation of the meaning of the black experience on campus this year was offered by a Whitewater professor who speculated that the "black students feel they have to get themselves together before they get together with whites." (C/5/17; C/2/2; D 1/1).

Each of the four campuses visited by CCR representatives has a black student organization. At Platteville it is the Ebony Club. At Oshkosh and Whitewater, it is the Afro-American Society. At River Falls it is the Black Student Coalition. On each campus a black center is a major issue.

Oshkosh has a black cultural center, owned by the Student Union and supported by student activity fees. It was established after the campus allocation committee awarded \$27,000 to the Afro-American Society for that purpose in the wake of the 1968 mass suspension. The unusually large amount of the grant is thought to be a form of reparation for punishing so many black students for the events of "Black Thursday". The large budget has enabled the students to undertake recruitment programs, to bring in current talent such as Cannonball Adderly, and to engage in other promotional efforts. The center's location is in a single-family house, somewhat remote from the campus. An assistant dean, Curtis Holt, who is one of two black administrators on campus, is in charge of staffing the center. (D/2/4). The Oshkosh

Cultural Center is unique in the WSU System; its hold on life as a culturally discrete activity is, however, tenuous. (See p. 63.)

On April 23, 1971, the WSU regents approved a "multicultural center" for foreign and minority students at Whitewater. (Milwaukee Journal, April 21, 1971.) President Carter of Whitewater told the regents "the new center . . . will include a black heritage area but will be much broader in concept. It will take in students who belong to all minority groups, as well as foreign students." The president estimated the annual operating cost at \$12,000 to \$15,000. Edward Spicer, minority specialist at the WSU office in Madison, evidently envisages the multicultural center as performing social, scholastic help, and community relations functions. Emphasis would be placed on "multi" and separatism would be eschewed. (Spicer memorandum, June 3, 1971.)

Whether Wisconsin black students will accept the multicultural center as responsive to their longstanding demand for a separate "black house" at Whitewater remains to be seen. The "multi" and the emphasis upon integration as a center policy may be face-saving euphemisms under the guise of which the regents are giving the black students a facility which they anticipate will, in fact, be used almost exclusively by blacks. Perhaps this is how it will work out, regardless of the regents' intent. At any rate, it is revealing, and not surprising, that the response to demands for a black cultural center should, instead of emphasizing the cultural pluralism of the United States, appear to link American minority cultures to those of the most alien and, therefore, exotic students on the WSU campuses, the international students. The Journal story cited quotes Edward Spicer to the effect that one main function of the center would be to provide advisers to help minority and foreign students, particularly in their first year. If we gauge accurately the problems of the Wisconsin black student on WSU campuses and in WSU communities, lumping the black students with the international students will only exacerbate the blacks' sense of being shortchanged.

The regent action is in response to prolonged agitating by the Afro-American Society at Whitewater. An early and continuing form of the effort was to seek space in the University Center building for the exclusive use of black students. This request has repeatedly been turned down on grounds of lack of space and on grounds

of principle. No space in the structure can be set aside for the prolonged exclusive use of but one segment of the students on campus, it is said. (C/2/2; C/16/35).

Black student resentment at Whitewater was compounded by administration efforts at compromise which took on the character of halfway measures shortly regretted and rescinded. In March 1969 President Carter authorized the use of a dining hall area for a black cultural center, and in February 1970 closed it after black students resisted its partial use as emergency classroom facilities following the loss of 47 classrooms in the Old Main fire. (C/4/13; *Royal Purple* story, Feb. 12, 1970.) A WSU Whitewater *Royal Purple* story of February 12, 1970 says in part: "During a press conference Tuesday afternoon, Carter said: 'I'm going to wait until some responsible black students propose a plan for a black cultural center which will work, and the majority of black students here for an education will make it work, before a cultural center is opened again.'" This attribution of a conditionally favorable attitude toward a black cultural center does not jibe with the president's statement to Commission representatives in March 1971 that he took a proposal for a black center to the WSU Board on March 5, but without recommendation. His reason for lack of recommendation was his basic philosophical belief that it is unhealthy for blacks to isolate themselves on campus. (C/4/13).

A black center became a principal issue at Platteville in early 1970. The center was one of about 18 demands presented to President Ullsvik by black students. Faculty and townspeople were divided on the issue, and much attention was given to the demand in the WSU Platteville student paper, *The Exponent*. The "demand" was refused on grounds of regents' policy. (A/2/10). At the time of the Commission visit, the United Campus Ministry across Main Street from the campus appeared to be a center for black students.

The Black Student Coalition at River Falls submitted a plan for a black center in October 1970, but by February 1971 had heard nothing in response to its request.

The new multicultural center proposed for Whitewater seems to represent the preferred format which the regents and administrators will seek to establish or convert on each of the campuses. The Black House at Osbkoshi is

slated for demolition and the activity will be relocated in the Student Union building in a multicultural setting. (D/2/2; D/13/14).

Black participation in extracurricular events

Commission representatives heard of little black participation in the regularly scheduled extracurricular activities on campus, but that little was significant. Black students at River Falls have participated in student affairs in 1970-71. Two black students sit in the student senate, and black students Veronica Terrell and Moses Racks, as the Black Student Coalition entries, won the Winter Carnival King and Queen contest in 1970-71. (B/1/1). White and black students agree that while there may have been some anti-Greek sentiment in the vote, it is in large part a measure of the quality of black organization and participation in the event. (B/4/10).

Black students at River Falls had a cheerleader in the first quarter of 1970-71. About 10 black girls tried out for choir in 1969-70 and none was accepted. This is assumed evidence of discrimination by blacks. (B/1/12). On the other hand, a professor of music, very sympathetic to the cause of black students, reports that six blacks tried out for the choir and one was accepted. He further is confident the reason for rejection was straightforward: inability to sightread music. (B/3/8).

At Whitewater black students have participated—on stage—in theatrical productions, two black students work with the *Royal Purple*, a black student has served on Homecoming Committee, the black fraternity is represented in the Interfraternity Council, and it is believed that black students are being rushed for formerly all-white fraternities and sororities. All this is suggested by the editor of the *Royal Purple*. (C/7/19-20). Black students have been invited to participate on the University Center committees, and have served. Blacks were also included in the planning for Iceorama, and participated in this event. This year the black students held their own Homecoming. (C/10/25). A minister close to the campus scene at Whitewater believes there is increasing willingness on the part of black students to work within the system, but for different objectives from those of the white students. (C/10/25).

At Platteville black students complain that they pay the student activity fee, but that campus entertainment is not black oriented. They report Platteville has just recently reached the point of talking about black representation on the entertainment committee. (A/4/17).

Athletics

Black students are convinced that all phases of athletics on the WSU campus are hostile to them. It is believed that, insofar as athletic departments recruit for intercollegiate teams, they consciously recruit white athletes; that white athletes are favored in selecting varsity teams; that black members of varsity teams tend not to be played; that black students are discriminated against in physical education classes; and that the lettermen's associations are racially biased. This is a general indictment to which very few exceptions were made by the students interviewed on four WSU campuses. On three of the four campuses the athletic department was seen as housing the most racially biased faculty members on campus. Athletics is one of the areas in which the lack of black staff is startlingly evident. The CCR State Committee believes that any program for improving relations between athletic personnel and black students must include the hiring of competent black coaching staff.

Overt bias is attributed to some coaches and instructors. A black staff member at one WSU, for example, was told by one coach to "take your boys out of here, they don't belong here anyway." (D/9/11). This is typical of other stories heard by Commission representatives. Sometimes the memory of a former coach lingers and black students are reluctant to test a climate which they formerly knew to be hostile. Black students at Whitewater were unhappy with basketball under an earlier coach. They reported they had not tried out the new coach. (C/18/40). Black students who are on teams may quit because they feel they are not getting a fair deal. Black basketball players at River Falls quit the team this year on grounds they were not being played. (B/1/1).

Some of the discrimination alleged is subtle. In football, black players may be played defensively but never offensively, or the tendency in all sports may be to play them only in the last minutes of the game. (B/8/19). Coaches are

under pressure by alumni and the press to show preference to players from the local area. (D/9/10). This kind of discrimination, it is suggested, "dents" the performance of black players in ways that may not be obvious to a casual observer. (B/8/19). Students making such charges tend to follow up with discussion indicating they are clearly aware that the talents of players vary and that coaches must discriminate on the basis of ability. They believe that under cover of doing this, racial discrimination is being practiced. (B/8/19; B/15/43).

Coaches see misunderstanding rather than discrimination underlying student complaints. One coach who took this line, when asked about recruiting, reported that he does recruit in Milwaukee high schools but doesn't go to core high schools because he does not feel familiar with them. (B/7/18). It is this kind of unfamiliarity which probably causes much of the black sense of being discriminated against. And the coaches have some complaints of their own. President Guiles at Oshkosh voiced a complaint which was paraphrased by some coaches: black students are sometimes pressured by their fellow blacks not to participate in college athletics, and these pressures are thought to cause them to play less well than they otherwise might. (D/1/2). Coaches complain that black team members "gang up" when they have a problem rather than handling it as individuals. Black players, it is said, tend to stick together and stay apart from the white players. (C/12/28). A chief problem with black players, it is said, is "keeping them scholastic"—that is, scholastically eligible to play. (C/12/28).

It is common knowledge that athletic departments have been resistant to the counter-culture styles of personal appearance and interpersonal relations. We hear frequent expostulations on the tradition of hard, tough coaching and playing, with heavy emphasis upon discipline and teamwork, which is associated with college athletics. Criticism or suggestion for change in the traditional way of doing things are frequently interpreted as threats to "use football to correct social ills" and prompt responses extolling ability, discipline, teamwork, and athletic promise. (C/12/28). We felt some coaches, in referring to their colleagues, used the imagery of the tough, uncompromising authoritarian as a euphemistic way of saying that the individual described either did not like or did not get along with black

students. It is clear that ample opportunity exists to use the verbal gloss of college athletics to excuse antiblack attitude and behavior. It is also clear that blacks in action and in word are evidencing their conviction that WSU athletics—viewed as part of the curriculum and as an intercollegiate activity—discriminates against blacks.

A number of incidents have resulted from race-related spectator behavior at athletic events. A chief provocation to whites has been the refusal

by black students to stand for the National Anthem or flag salute. White baiting of black players and black student cheering for the visiting team are examples of spectator expression of animosity which can result in violence. Thus, the tendency of some coaches to express concern that black loyalty to race exceeds loyalty to institution or team is given credence by spectator behavior. (C 12 28). This concern may be accurate but naive, or it may be a measure of the distorted perception of some coaches.

PART 4. PROBLEMS IN TOWN

Unwelcome guests

Black students feel they are regarded as intruders in the WSU host communities. They may have a legal right to be there and to attend the local WSU, but it is difficult for townspeople and some students to see why they should want to come or why they should be tolerated, much less welcomed.

It is assumed that the Oshkosh Chamber of Commerce exemplified prevailing community attitudes when it precipitously circulated among its members some 500 petitions calling for permanent expulsion of the black students involved in the November 21, 1968 demonstration on campus. The petitions were later withdrawn under criticism, but withdrawal, if it emphasized the ineptness of the affair, did not soften its overtones of racial hostility. (D 10 13; Oshkosh Advance-Titan, Dec. 5, 1968).

A woman is said to have asked black students at an Oshkosh committee meeting: "We let you come to school up here, what more do you want?" "We are not here to please anyone," the students respond. (D 9 11). The native Wisconsin black student is made to feel like an outsider—and an unwanted outsider—in his own land. This is particularly galling to the black resident of a supposedly enlightened Northern State. And while he may lack knowledge of the statistic on relative Wisconsin investment of public education resources in furthering the education of international students and Wisconsin minority residents, he senses that an accent or exotic dress denoting alien status would make him much more welcome in the WSU community and more valued on campus.

At Platteville, where black students have been a source of great local concern, local residents are proud of the Fresh Air Program of the Joint Social Action Committee, which maintains a store front educational center in the inner-city area of Chicago, and since 1965 has brought

black youths from Chicago for "Fresh Air" visits with area families. Seventy-one black children came to Platteville in July 1970 under the program. "We would never have known what Negro people are like," one participant in the program is quoted as saying. "You just don't believe they'll be as much like you as they are. It's a great experience for us younger kids." (The Platteville Journal, July 14, 1970.)

A militant might use a variety of derisive phrases to depict the Fresh Air Program and the evidence of ethnic parochialism which can be read into the quotation. We are concerned merely with pointing out the lack of carry over of attitudes of hospitality and attractively naive interest with respect to young blacks brought by the community from Chicago. The relevance of such hospitality to black students who come to the WSU host town to do their own thing en route to a college degree—college being a major industry of the town—is just not seen.

We are not authority for the position that expressions of interest and efforts at hospitality on the part of citizens of WSU host towns will not be misconstrued—interpreted as condescension or the kind of tolerance which is bred of contempt. Laudable motives of the sort which lead to invitations to black children for fresh air visits—a pleasant respite from the concrete and asphalt of Chicago—might translate into overtures which black college students from Milwaukee would see as benevolent paternalism at best. We think the risk should be taken.

WSU community relations programs

WSU-Platteville has a **Pioneer Roundtable** at which President Ullsvik meets 16 times a year with anyone who wishes to discuss campus problems. (A 1 7). Black students do not value it highly, saying that the president refers all questions to his administrative staff for response,

and the meetings are highly formal. (A/4/24). The WSU-community version of this is the University Roundtable, which meets twice yearly. These meetings are attended by WSU representatives, representatives of service clubs, the chamber of commerce, city officials, and others. The WSU representation includes administrators, the local regent (W. Roy Kopp, who is also the president of the Board of Regents), members of the faculty, the student senate, and other representative groups. The Ebony Club has been invited to attend, President Ullsvik reports, but has not done so. (A/1/8).

WSU-Platteville officials are reluctant to use their influence in the community. As the chief local industry, they believe the local community is sensitive to and resentful of WSU pressure. (A/9/32). President Ullsvik is aware there is some town resentment of the WSU community, but believes it to be minimal. (A/1/8). In addition to the University Roundtable, the Pioneer Patrons—"virtually a *Who's Who* for Southwestern Wisconsin"—meets twice yearly, to tour the campus, hear briefings on WSU affairs, and attend a dinner at the Student Center. Every 2 or 3 years the international students are the subject of a Pioneer Patrons program. (A/1/8-9).

At WSU-River Falls President George R. Field told Commission visitors that community relations is a part of the WSU president's job, but in order to get his job done, he has to delegate responsibility and this has been given to the campus human relations committee. He sees it to be his job to support the HRC. (B/10/27). HRC spokesmen report the committee tried to get a community relations program established at River Falls in 1968 but, somehow, it did not take. (B/13/37).

At WSU-Whitewater, President Carter created a Community-Campus Committee after the December 1969 Phi Chi incident. He wanted to employ this as a device for exposing black students to community service clubs, churches, and other groups. The committee held some meetings, but nothing came of them. A human relations committee functions on campus with, he hopes, increasing effectiveness. (C/4/14). Whitewater ministers have taken some initiative on race relations, have marched with black students, and one church in town held a black history series. Ministers feel their parishoners have not appreciated such activity. (C/10/24). The ministers

also feel they have been effective in bringing black students and the new city manager and police chief together for talks. (C/10/26).

In December 1970 President Roger E. Guiles reported to Commission visitors that a rap session had recently been held on the WSU-Oshkosh campus, at which business and political leaders and student representatives discussed WSU-community relations. The only black person in attendance was Ted Mack, head of the local brewery which now produces People's Beer. No black student or faculty member attended. (D/1/1).

The record clearly tells a story of lack of will, skill, or sense of appropriateness to develop a vigorous program of campus-community relations, under the aegis of the WSU, having among its purposes the acculturation of the community to American minority group students.

Black students and local police

Enrollment of each of the nine principal campuses in the WSU System amounts to a significant proportion of the host city population, ranging from about one-twelfth to three-quarters. Four campuses enroll students in numbers which swell the host city population by 40 percent or more of its U.S. Census population figure. These data, and table 4.1, demonstrate the school-year population impact of the WSU's on their communities. This impact translates into income and cost terms for the WSU cities. One cost which rises in dollar and human terms with population influx is public safety.

Although we list the WSU's in rank order according to the magnitude of the student enrollment in relation to the city population, and have visited the three schools with the highest magnitudes, we do not wish to impute sophisticated meaning to the table. The visiting team did not set out to visit the three WSU schools having the largest ratio of enrollment in relation to local population. Too many variables would have to be held constant, and too much data collected under carefully defined circumstances, to permit facile generalizations from the table. Suffice it to say that the introduction each year of a highly compacted increment amounting to one-third to three-quarters of a local community's population spells policing problems of varied quality and greater magnitude than would

Table 4.1

Local WSU Enrollment in Relation to Population of Host City

WSU	City	Population	WSU enrollment	
			N	As percent of host city population
River Falls.....	River Falls.....	4,857	3,586	73.8
Whitewater.....	Whitewater.....	12,038	8,212	68.2
Platteville.....	Platteville.....	6,957	4,205	60.4
Stout State.....	Menomonee.....	11,275	4,557	40.1
Stevens Point.....	Stevens Point.....	23,479	7,771	33.0
Oshkosh.....	Oshkosh.....	53,221	9,525	17.8
Eau Claire.....	Eau Claire.....	44,619	7,195	16.1
La Crosse.....	La Crosse.....	51,151	5,245	10.2
Superior.....	Superior.....	32,237	2,493	7.7

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR 1970. Population—U.S. Census 1970 for cities over 10,000; Wisconsin Bluebook, 1970 (1960 U.S. Census figures) for Platteville and River Falls.

be confronted by a noncollege town with a stable population.

Add to this a cohesive urban black student enrollment where the local black population is nil, and the policing problem takes on added dimension. The three schools with the largest enrollment in relation to local population are also the three with the largest enrollment of black students proportionate to total enrollment on campus. They arrange in varying sequence on the two lists, but comprise the top three of each. (See table 1.7.) To the extent to which black students bring with them an apprehension concerning all police, the local police are by definition a subjective problem for black students. To the extent to which police are made apprehensive by the mere presence of blacks, or by cultural mores which black students observe which distinguish them from the white community, although not in a way violative of law, the police can be an objective problem for black students. Obviously, if black students break the law in a manner which courts police attention, the police problem for the blacks concerned is objective, incurred, and reciprocal. And this is what we mean when we speak of black students as a police problem and police as a black student problem.

At River Falls, Whitewater, and Platteville black students are quite vocal in complaining about police. With the exception of a single

practice complained of by students and conceded by a police chief, Commission representatives could not evaluate the student complaints or the training, policies, or practices of the city police departments. We did not receive complaints concerning the Oshkosh Police Department and, indeed, heard considerable praise of it from faculty and black students. If we were inclined, even on slender evidence, to indict police departments, we would confront grave problems of fairness resulting from change of personnel, and presumably policies and practices, the last two, one would hope, being in response to enlarged understanding of student-police problems in a college community.

At Whitewater a good deal of the resentment of black students is directed at agencies of justice in the Walworth County seat, Elkhorn, where disciplinary hearings and trials have been held. Black students and persons cognizant of their problems say that they don't get a break at the hands of the law enforcement officials of Whitewater or Walworth County. The city manager, Allen M. Perkins, and Police Chief Donald R. Simon are both new at Whitewater and unencumbered by participation in the upheavals of 1969 and 1970. Both have gone out of their way to meet with student groups, including black students, and speak a sensitive and enlightened brand of law enforcement. (C, 17/37). The city manager is quoted in the March 9, 1971,

Royal Purple to the effect that police must be sensitive as well as tough. Black students at Whitewater are likely to continue to judge the police as a part of the white community helping to impose its will and exact its retribution on blacks until new leadership, policies, and practices show tangible effect challenging that impression.

Black students at River Falls believe the local police began carrying shotguns in police cars after arrival of the blacks a few years ago. (B/18/48). Patrolling cars are looked upon as a personal menace. (B/8/22). Police respond that area police departments have carried shotguns in their cars since an armed robbery suspect shot a Hudson police officer 10 years ago. (B/18/48). Black students insist they are harassed by local police who are suspicious and hostile toward them. Local police insist that black students are treated the same as other students, and one police chief, at least, goes so far as to say that students are treated, or will be treated, on the same basis as other citizens. (C/17/37). Probably the view of Platteville Police Chief Clay Mellor, that black students are unduly sensitive and become agitated over things which seem irrelevant to the police authorities, is fairly widespread. (A/15/45).

The single outstanding example of differential treatment of black students by local police is a practice complained of at Platteville. There the blacks intensely resent, and Chief of Police Mellor readily admits, the practice of taking all black students arrested and held by the police to the jail in Lancaster, the county seat. Any arrested person kept longer than overnight is transferred to Lancaster. But white students arrested and kept overnight will be held in Platteville, whereas black students arrested and held overnight are dispatched to Lancaster. The chief ascribes the practice to a tendency on the part of black students to congregate at the jail when they hear that one of their fellows has been arrested. At the time of conversing with Commission representatives in October 1970, he could recall taking four or five black students to Lancaster. (A/15/45). This is a clear infringement of equal protection rights, and black students understandably regard the practice as evidence of official and invidious community discrimination against them. Police Chief Simon at Whitewater, where substantial unrest involving black students has been experienced, says that the arrest of a

black student does not result in a mob scene at the jail. None of the 18 students arrested and held in jail in Whitewater during calendar 1970 was black. (C/17/37A).

An important and widespread black student complaint, and one which underlies their perception that they do not receive equal treatment from police, is that white complaints against blacks are treated as presumptively valid, and black students are questioned in an atmosphere which accepts that presumption. Black complaints against whites are treated by the police with skepticism. When police are called to deal with a conflict situation involving blacks and whites, the police invariably talk first with the white students involved. This, again, implies that the white students are the most authoritative or reliable source of information.

Black students also resent what they take to be the practice of storekeepers in town to shadow them when they enter stores. All eyes are on the black student when he shops. "A white friend," complains one Platteville black student, "could clean out the display window while the manager watched me." (A 4/23-24). In River Falls the complaint is heard that clerks are always in the same aisle as black shoppers and "want to help you before you arrive." Black girls feel that the "accidental" opening of dressing room curtains while they are trying on clothing is malicious. (B/8/22). In Oshkosh students talk of "the Oshkosh stare". (D/8/9). Black students find that store managers are too ready to accuse them of shoplifting and to apprehend and hold them for the police who then come, search the student, and find no evidence of shoplifting. (A 4/14).

Platteville police report the chief complaints received on black students are shoplifting and disturbing the peace. Shoplifting is a problem with students, white and black. Disturbing the peace is an offense on which police will attempt to avoid an arrest. (A/15/45). River Falls police estimate that petty larceny (shoplifting) and drunkenness and disorderly conduct are the chief student offenses. Upon consulting their records, they reported that 39 shoplifting cases went to court in calendar 1970, in 34 of which students were involved. A rough estimate of black student involvement would be five or six out of the 34. (B/18/47). The Whitewater police estimate that 35 percent of all complaints came from the university, including fraternity row

and Harmony Hall in calendar 1970. Chief Simon at Whitewater does not regard student shoplifting as a big problem. (C/17/37).

WSU-city police cooperation

The Board of Regents and the county and municipal police have concurrent law enforcement jurisdiction on campus:

The board of regents shall have concurrent police supervision over all property under its jurisdiction. The duly appointed agents of the board of regents may arrest, with or without warrant, any person on such property violating a state law or a rule made under this subsection, deliver such person to any court having jurisdiction over such violation, and execute a complaint charging such person with such violation.

This subsection does not impair the duty of county or municipal police officers within their jurisdictions to arrest and take before the proper court persons found in a state of intoxication, engaged in any disturbance of the peace or violating any state law on any property under the jurisdiction of the board of regents.

(Wisconsin Statutes 1969, ch. 37.11 (c), (d).)

One should not conclude from the statutory provisions that all WSU campus security personnel have full police powers, including authority to arrest. The regents, in September 1970, approved the award of Board of Regents arrest powers to security personnel who have completed the Beloit Police Academy program (some 400 hours of training) or equivalent and completed 6 months' probationary service. Under this rule, four WSU security personnel, all located at Whitewater and all put through the Beloit program at WSU expense, qualified for Board of Regents arrest powers. Other security personnel are locally deputized, deriving their arrest power from county or municipal authority, or lack the arrest power. (W 3/3). In March 1971, the regents amended the rule to bring the standard into conformity with the less rigorous Wisconsin Law Enforcement Standards Board requirement of 240 hours of training, which may be taken under LESB auspices, plus 80 hours of training locally. (W/3/4). As of July 1971, in addition to Whitewater, which had security personnel

authorized to exercise Board of Regents arrest powers, Eau Claire and Superior had personnel qualified to exercise such powers under the new regents' rule. Six schools, Eau Claire, Platteville, River Falls, Stout, Superior, and Whitewater, had locally deputized security personnel, and the security personnel of three WSU's, La Crosse, Oshkosh, and Stevens Point, lacked any arrest power. (W 3/6).

The WSU campus security forces are in the process of enlargement and professionalization. Since 1969 campus security on the WSU campuses has moved from a watchman operation, run by the physical plant department on campus, to a professional policing operation, usually reporting to a vice president. Andrew Kundrat, WSU Systems Office Security Coordinator (an office created in 1969) attributes the recent security developments to belated recognition of the need to modernize any response to national and WSU campus unrest. He cites as three precipitating events Black Thursday at Oshkosh, the Old Main fire at Whitewater, and the ROTC demonstrations at Stevens Point. Security has been tightened, not in response to a black problem on campus, he reports, but in response to a variety of expressions of unrest. (W/3/4-5).

Mr. Kundrat mentions, incidentally, that in November 1968, at the time of Black Thursday at Oshkosh (discussed in the next section), President Guiles had no effective way of signalling the campus security that he required help. Communications have improved since then. This alerts us to the possibility, however, that a well trained WSU campus security, versed in human and race relations, could be an effective force for preventing escalation of small incidents into large disturbances requiring the summoning of large-scale police reinforcements from off-campus. We presume this is a purpose the WSU System administration has in mind for the campus security.

As security coordinator, Kundrat has been in general charge of formulating proposed campus security policy and supervising its administration at the campus level. (W 3/1). WSU-Platteville has the only police science program in the system and efforts have been made to draw upon it as a source of recruitment and expertise. The hope is to recruit police science trained security directors for each of the campuses. As further part of an effort to enhance their profes-

Table 4.2

**Comparative Strength of WSU Security
Forces and Local Municipal Police
Departments**

	WSU Security Force	Municipal Police Department
River Falls.....	7	7
Whitewater.....	11	20
Platteville.....	7	13
Stout State (Menomonee)....	7	25
Stevens Point.....	7 or 8	31
Oshkosh.....	11	74
Eau Claire.....	7 or 8	57
La Crosse.....	11	75
Superior.....	7 or 8	60

Sources: WSU Security Force—Andrew Kundrat, WSU Security Coordinator. Municipal Police Departments—Stevens Point, Oshkosh, Eau Claire, La Crosse, Superior, from Municipal Year Book 1969; Whitewater and Menomonee, telephone inquiry; River Falls and Platteville, information collected at time of CCR visitation.

sional qualifications and to improve rapport with faculty and students, campus security personnel are encouraged to take coursework at the WSU. (W/3/2).

Security personnel do not wear guns or carry batons. Mr. Kundrat reports. They may carry mace. They are under instruction to avoid altercation—if assaulted to get out, not to fight. In event of disturbance, county and/or municipal police are to be called, the local National Guard commander is alerted, and direction of the policing effort is assumed by off-campus police. (W/3/2-3).

The security budget is now about \$500,000 per year and the security personnel on nine campuses numbers about 78. (See table 4.2 for comparative data on WSU campus security strength and strength of host city police departments.)

The individual WSU institutions may negotiate agreements with city or county police stipulating the pattern of cooperation which will govern their day-to-day relations, the conditions under which police will be called to campus, and the elements of an emergency plan for dealing with large-scale disturbances or other conditions on campus. Under central guidance, the

campus security forces are moving toward the sharing of the local police radio band or use of a band compatible with local police radio equipment. River Falls, Platteville, and Stout State share the municipal police bands. (W/3/6). (River Falls is temporarily without a tie-in to the municipal police radio which has changed bands.)

President Ullsvik at WSU-Platteville described a written arrangement with the city police. (A/1/5). College administrators and the Platteville police chief relate incidents of a few years past which indicate a close liaison in dealing with student problems developing off-campus. (A/1/4-5; A/15/43). Riot-type incidents provide the model for planning joint action. Chief Mellor at Platteville implies as much in saying that unless someone is being injured on campus he will not respond to a call to the campus until he has gathered adequate force. The adequate force would include auxiliary police and county sheriff's personnel. (A/15/43). Mellor and President Ullsvik tell of the occasion a few years ago when black students marched to city hall to complain of alleged police discrimination against them. The police chief was the only policeman in sight during the permitted march, but had a garage full of reservists ready for action if needed. (A/15/43). The WSU president feels that his rapport and close contact with local law officials helped prevent violence on that occasion. (A/1/4-5).

At WSU-River Falls Commission representatives were given access to the tentative agreement which had been negotiated, as of February 1971, with the River Falls Police Department. (B/16/43-44). The River Falls agreement provides that campus security will handle on-campus complaints and city police will relay on-campus complaints to campus security. Criminal complaint statistics will be provided to city police by campus security monthly. Serious crimes—drug abuse, burglary, assault, auto theft, etc.—will be jointly handled by campus security and city police, the latter to be responsible for jailing and setting court appearances for persons apprehended. City police will advise the vice president of student affairs when a student is confined, hospitalized, or known to be in serious trouble. Unlawful assemblies or disorderly conduct constitute one of the classes of serious crimes warranting joint surveillance and action. Requests for "extraordinary police service" on campus "shall be made by the university president, or a

person designated by the president." The school will be billed for actual additional cost of such service. The River Falls police now go through the campus security department when they wish to contact a student (formerly they went to the residence hall director). (B/18/47). The River Falls police will go on campus only if the campus security force cannot handle a situation unaided. (B/18/47). River Falls police have had riot control education, so that the three jurisdictions combined have considerable force to contribute toward quelling demonstrations. (B/18/47). However, in the past 4 years the River Falls police force has been called onto campus only once for an incident potentially more serious than a party raid. (B/18/47).

At Whitewater, where the campus and the town are bisected by the Jefferson and Walworth County lines, Police Chief Simon expresses the view that he has responsibility for protection of WSU campus just as he does for other parts of the city. He is unaware of any precedent for seeking administrative clearance before going on campus to answer a call, whether it comes from a student or staff member. (C/17/37). WSU-Whitewater's December 1969 eruption was handled directly by Whitewater city police in the absence of a formal agreement or an impending formal agreement with the school. WSU-Oshkosh relied upon police in the surrounding communities in November 1968. (Whitewater and Oshkosh are discussed further in the next section.)

Multiple jurisdictions

The four WSU campuses visited are located within the incorporated limits of municipalities. Two of these municipalities lie completely within one county and two, River Falls and Whitewater, span two counties. Students on a WSU campus, like students on any campus, are subject to multiple overlays of authority. The campus, in theory at least, offers no refuge from Federal, State, or local laws. In addition, it will have its own system of norms developed for the institution and sometimes enforced for behavior occurring off campus or applied to reinforce the norm of another jurisdiction. Student behavior can result in disciplinary proceedings by the WSU unit, trial in municipal, county, or circuit (State) courts, or Federal agencies; these may follow investigation and apprehension by WSU security personnel, municipal police, or county sheriff's deputies.

The November 21, 1968, incident at WSU-Oshkosh is an example of student behavior which ultimately involved all of the jurisdictions mentioned above. At 8:40 a.m. that day about 90 black students entered Dempsey Hall on the university campus and massed outside the office of the president. About 40 surged into the president's individual office, in which he was present. . . . these 40 entered without invitation, prior appointment, or permission. The group presented the president with nonnegotiable Black Student Union demands and, upon his refusal to signify his acquiescence to the demands, occupied and committed some damage in his office. Three Oshkosh police officers, one of whom was a captain, arrived on the scene shortly after 9 a.m. They sought to disperse the crowd until about 11:45 a.m., by which time reinforcements had arrived and the students were advised they had 2 minutes in which to disperse or arrests would be made on charges of unlawful assembly. The students who refused to leave were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly and conveyed to jail. Thus the municipal police enforced State law to quell an unruly demonstration on campus. On Friday, November 22, the president decided to suspend certain students and on Monday, November 25, this intrusion of WSU-Oshkosh authority (derived from Wisconsin statute and Board of Regents by-laws) was made official by notices of suspension mailed to at least 67 students. The notices included advice of the right to a hearing if requested within 10 days of receipt of the suspension notice. On December 6, the Board of Regents met and determined that the systemwide concern and the significance of suspending 80 percent of the black students enrolled on one WSU campus, plus the extraordinary burden of some 90 possible hearings and the procedural problem created by President Guile's formal role as final judge in cases involving behavior to which he was a material witness, warranted suspension of usual hearing procedures and retention by the board of a hearing agent. This hearing agent would hear all cases resulting from the November 21 incident and make findings of fact and recommendations to the board. Suspended students had by this time invoked Federal jurisdiction and Federal standards of due process. In an opinion from which the foregoing description is drawn, Judge James E. Doyle of the Western District of Wisconsin,

on December 8, 1968, ordered reinstatement of the suspended students on December 11, unless and until such time as they were given notice of a hearing to be held not later than December 16, 1968. (*Vicki Marzette v. Eugene R. McPhee*, 294 Fed. Supp. 562, W.D. Wis., 1968.)

The hearing, which the board announced on December 6, was conducted within the time frame set by Judge Doyle. The board appointed a hearing agent, an assistant State attorney general prosecuted, and the students were defended by private counsel. Four students were suspended for the duration of the first semester and 90 students for the remainder of the school year. The disciplinary authority of WSU-Oshkosh and the WSU System was thus vindicated. Subsequently, 91 of the students were prosecuted, convicted, and fined in the Third Circuit Court (the 3d Circuit encompasses Calumet and Winnebago Counties, in the latter of which Oshkosh is located) on charges stemming from the November 21 arrests. State law enforcement authority was satisfied. Now the Federal authority was invoked once again, this time as a source of penalty. Various portions of Section 504 of the 1968 amendments to the Federal Higher Education Act require that Federal financial assistance be denied for 2 years to students who have, after notice and hearing, been found guilty of disrupting the educational processes of colleges and universities which they attend. The WSU Board of Regents sought and received interpretation of the Section 504 requirements from the administering agency, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and from the Wisconsin attorney general. As a result the suspended students were determined ineligible to receive Federal funds until December 19, 1970. The Office of the Director of the WSU System reports that "10 of the students who were expelled and who were later readmitted were informed that they would be eligible for Federal student financial-aid funds starting December 19, 1970. The students are attending Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh, and university administrators have found ways to provide financial aid for them pending completion of the 2-year waiting period. The administrators have made arrangements to provide to the students on December 19, 1970, certain Federal funds for which they again will be eligible." (Letter from Robert J. Doyle, Assistant to the Director, WSU Board of Regents, to George J. Pazik, Wisconsin

Advisory Committee, CCR, December 17, 1970.) The Federal overlay of authority is thus satisfied.

It is entirely consistent with the structure of distributed authority in the United States that one behavior should provide the occasion for multiple hearings and the administration of multiple penalties by separate but in some ways concurrent authority systems. It is widely known that while the opportunity for application of overlay upon overlay of proceeding and penalty exists, some jurisdictions may forego application of a penalty where another has acted. Indeed, some jurisdictions rely upon others to recognize the appropriateness of a penalty and apply it. The *New York Times* for October 14, 1970, for example, carries a story reporting unhappiness in some congressional circles with what is taken to be exercise of too broad a discretion on the part of colleges and universities—amounting, indeed, to laxness—in applying the Section 504 penalties to students. Schools reporting the largest number of students cut off from Federal aid were small institutions like Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, which cut off aid to 38, and Florida Keys Junior College, which terminated aid to 39 students. The large schools, one source complained, seem to take no action. In a context in which schools choose not to enforce a Federal penalty and others choose to enforce it with vigor, it is obvious that elasticity of interpretation is being asserted by school administrators around the country. It would be reasonable to exercise any available discretion to avoid undue compounding of penalties on students who have already been amply punished.

WSU-Whitewater offers a variation on the Oshkosh experience. On the night of December 15-16, 1969, six persons were injured in two disturbances of a racial character, one of which occurred at an intramural basketball game on campus, and the other at the Phi Chi Epsilon fraternity house off campus. A rough, black-white basketball game at the Williams Gymnasium on campus was followed by a 10-minute scuffle in which blacks and whites, among whom Phi Chi Epsilon members were prominent, exchanged blows. Just as things calmed, a black girl was hit and a number of black girls were the object of remarks by white male students. At this point campus security and Whitewater municipal police arrived and the incident ended. Later that evening some 25 black students attended a

meeting at the Black Cultural Center. This was followed by a black raid on the Phi Chi Epsilon house. Chiefly involved in the resultant fracas were members of the Phi Chi executive committee, who were meeting in a general room on the first floor, and the black intruders. Some physical damage was done in the house, some injuries inflicted on fraternity members, and two shots were fired—presumably by a black student—from a .22 caliber hand gun. Municipal police had been apprehensive and were stationed in the immediate vicinity ready to cope with any incident. The black student exodus from the house coincided with the arrival of the police, who are reported to have at first arrested students apprehended, and then to have released them and instructed them to leave the area.

President Carter of WSU-Whitewater called a news conference for 7 a.m., Tuesday, December 16. He recited the events of the preceding evening and announced that although the police had made no arrests, 15 positive identifications had been made by fraternity members and police. The president called a general meeting of the faculty for 8:15 that morning and attempted to explain to the faculty what had occurred. At this meeting the faculty voted to create a faculty-student investigating committee to determine the facts of the December 15-16 incident, and the events leading up to them. This section of our report is based upon the report of the Faculty-Student Committee on Disturbances, created by President Carter on the authority of the faculty. It also draws upon the reporting of events in the student newspaper, *The Royal Purple*.

Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning President Carter conducted closed hearings on 14 black students accused of violating WSU rules. Two of these denied any involvement. Twelve, on advice of attorney, denied the allegations made against them. These 12 were suspended by President Carter until a general hearing could be held. As in the Oshkosh case, the decision was made to avoid the regular on-campus procedures and facilities for handling disciplinary cases and resort to a specially appointed hearing agent. Eugene McPhee, director of the WSU System, appointed J. Ward Rector, former Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice, who had performed in like capacity for the Oshkosh hearings, to act as hearing officer. The assistant State's attorney general who had prosecuted at Oshkosh acted in like capacity for the Whitewater

hearings, and the 14 students had private counsel. The WSU-Whitewater hearings were held in the county seat of Elkhorn. Hearings began in the Walworth County Courthouse on January 5, and closed on January 23, 1970. The hearing officer made findings of fact and recommendations, and President Carter framed the final decisions in the cases, expelling two of the students, suspending four for the duration of the 1969-70 school year, and suspending three until the beginning of the 1971-72 school year. Charges against two of the students were dismissed during the hearing.

The president of Phi Chi Epsilon announced on December 17 the fraternity would file complaints against black students directly involved in the incident. *The Royal Purple* story of December 18, 1969, reporting this, also reported: "District Attorney Robert Read maintained that no formal charges have been filed by the fraternity. However, he said he expects charges will be filed and warrants will be issued by Friday morning." Ten black students were arraigned on criminal charges in Walworth County Court on January 9, 1970, and separate hearings were scheduled for March. Subsequently these complaints were dismissed as defective. New complaints and warrants were issued and are outstanding at the time of writing, although none of the students has been brought to trial.

President Carter informed Commission representatives that two of the students suspended as a result of the Phi Chi fracas have returned and been graduated. Three suspended students returned for the 1970-71 academic year. Carter apparently believes he has an agreement of sorts with the Walworth County District Attorney Robert Read whereby, as suspended students against whom warrants have been issued are accepted back on campus, the warrants will be held in suspense so long as the student remains in the good graces of the school. He informed Commission representatives visiting him on March 9, 1971, for example, that Jerry Qualls, a suspended student, had just been readmitted, but upon returning had erroneously been picked up by Whitewater police on a county warrant. Carter evidenced the belief that, in talking with the district attorney concerning the three students readmitted in first semester 1970-71, the latter had agreed to a procedure whereby returning students who were the subjects of outstanding warrants would check in at the Whitewater

police station and thereafter be exempted from arrest on the warrant. (C/4/9). The city of Whitewater Police Chief Simon denies that he is privy to any such arrangement, and insists so long as the warrants are outstanding he will arrest persons subject to them who come within his jurisdiction. (C/17/37). The university president saw the arrest of Qualls as a mistake—an inadvertent breach of an agreement between campus and county justice officials.

Here, then, is a situation in which students accused of violating WSU rules are tried before a hearing officer in a proceeding conducted in the county courthouse, with an assistant State's attorney general prosecuting—all this by way of framing findings and recommendations which will be presented to the school president for final action. The WSU-Whitewater jurisdiction is retained through focusing ultimate decisional responsibility upon its president; yet the process prior to that is very close to a State criminal process, even to its setting. Then, technically discrete and conducted at a separate level of jurisdiction, many of the same students who were subject to the disciplinary hearing are taken back to the same courthouse for trial before a county judge on charges brought by members of Phi Chi Epsilon. Neatly capping the supposedly separate proceedings, and making the tie explicit, is the president's understanding that the county warrants, used to reinforce discipline

on campus, will be suspended at the discretion of campus authority and on satisfactory behavior of the subject.

The CCR State Committee assumes that the professionalized campus security force which the WSU System is fostering on the nine campuses will, in the future, function to prevent small incidents from escalating to the proportions of Black Thursday and the Phi Chi fracas, and thus will help avoid the kind of multiple overkill which characterized official response to these incidents. (It is true that the Phi Chi House at Whitewater is off-campus, but the altercation which preceded the attack on the house, and the planning of it, occurred on campus.) Additionally, academic administrators should use the numerous formal and informal means available to them toward removing the provocations to such incidents. If, in the future, it is necessary to call upon off-campus assistance, WSU officials should similarly employ formal and informal means to eliminate the compounding of proceedings and penalties which were provoked by the militant behavior of black students. The Oshkosh and Whitewater cases lend reality to black impressions of an interlocking white elite running an establishment which is cohesive enough to act in unity, and divided enough to permit the imposition of multiple penalties upon groups of blacks whose behavior has affronted the "system".

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Wisconsin State Committee, after evaluating the information received during its 11-month study of the Wisconsin State Universities System, reports the following findings, with corresponding recommendations:

The need to increase minority enrollment

Finding 1.—While 85 out of every 100 WSU students come from Wisconsin families, 54 out of every 100 minority students enrolled at WSU's come from other States or abroad. Measured by enrollment data, the WSU System commitment to educating minority students is chiefly a commitment to international and out-of-State minority students.

Recommendation 1.—The WSU System should maintain at least the present number of out-of-State and international black students while enlarging the number of Wisconsin black students to bring the ratio to 85 percent Wisconsin residents and 15 percent out-of-State and international. This quadrupling of Wisconsin black students in the WSU System would raise the enrollment from six-tenths of 1 percent to 2 percent. It should be regarded as a first step, to be followed within a year by a further increase to bring the Wisconsin black student enrollment at least to the ratio of Wisconsin's black population (2.90 percent).

Increased minority enrollment rate

Finding 2.—The Wisconsin Coordinating Council for Higher Education (CCHE) in 1969 projected WSU enrollments will increase from the present 60 percent of projected capacity to about 100 percent by 1980.

Recommendation 2.—The new level of black enrollment should serve as a base for further acceleration of black enrollment to more than keep pace with this development.

Erratic distribution of black students in WSU System

Finding 3.—Recruitment of Wisconsin minority students—and more specifically Milwaukee's blacks—to WSU institutions has been a result of an active talent search by HEAB and MEOC, conducted with Federal support, *ad hoc* initiatives on a few of the WSU campuses, and accidental geography.

A passive central administration, combined with local administrators and faculties which sometimes encourage, sometimes are indifferent to, or actively discourage minority enrollment, accounts for the extremely uneven pattern of minority student distribution on the nine WSU campuses.

Recommendation 3a.—In a period of rising and stimulated black enrollment, the WSU System should develop incentives to local administrators and to prospective black students toward accomplishing a more rational distribution of black students on the nine WSU campuses.

Recommendation 3b.—MEOC's talent search program should be enlarged and strengthened. MEOC should advise the department of public instruction on strengthening high school curricula and instruction, and should participate in planning on campus orientation and scholastic help programs.

Each of the nine WSU's as a statewide facility

Recommendation 4a.—The Governor and the Board of Regents should make explicit the policy that each of the Wisconsin State Universities serves all of the State of Wisconsin. This in no way derogates from the WSU role as commuter schools for surrounding counties. Present tendencies toward avoiding redundancy and building some program specialization among the nine institutions are consistent with this policy.

Milwaukee representation on WSU regents

Recommendation 4b.—Consistent with this recommendation, we recommend an amendment to Wisconsin Statutes to require that one member of the board of regents of the Wisconsin State Universities be appointed from the city of Milwaukee. Membership on the Board of Regents should reflect minority group representation.

End tradition of local regent control

Recommendation 4c.—We further recommend that the Statutes be amended to clarify the collective responsibility of the regents for supervising the administration of the entire WSU System and the impropriety of individual regents developing administrative and supervisory relationships to a specific one of the WSU institutions.

High school preparation

Finding 5.—The uniform finding of students, faculty, and administrators is that a large part of the scholastic problem of black students on campus is inadequate preparation.

Recommendation 5.—The Department of Public Instruction, in cooperation with the Higher Educational Aids Board, should be assigned responsibility (and provided funding) to review counseling and curriculum in high schools in low-income

areas (defined by census tracts) to assure that the high schools are not, in practice, vehicles for thwarting development of college ambitions in youths from low-income families.

The superintendent of public instruction, again cooperating with HEAB and its Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center offices, and aided by requisite funding, should help such high schools develop adequate counseling and curriculum to assure students ample opportunity to understand the comparative advantages of post-high school work in a vocational school or college, and prepare for it.

Retention

Finding 6.—The WSU's which attract minority students have thus far shown little concern for their survival prospects. Estimates by authoritative sources place dropout rates for black students as high as 80 percent. The tendency has been to assume the school has discharged its full responsibility in admitting minority students and providing them access to higher education facilities. If the student cannot make it, that is his concern.

Recommendation 6.—Sustained concern must be shown for retention as well as recruitment of black students. The objective must be a 90 percent black student retention rate.

Scholastic survival kits

Finding 7.—The WSU's visited have fairly relaxed procedures for admitting minority students, and are quite outgoing and sympathetic in making allowances for personal, social, and economic factors which might cause late or somewhat irregular application for admission and for financial aid. However, these somewhat casual attitudes—which constitute permissiveness when applied to admissions—persist following the point of admission. This has caused black students and interested faculty to charge that the academic needs of black students are neglected.

Recommendation 7.—Wisconsin's minority youth needs scholastic survival kits and systematic help in using them. Such programs can best be developed on the WSU campuses, with system leadership and budget aid, and with minority student participation. These programs should include at least the elements contained in the following four recommendations, that is, recommendations 8, 9, 10, and 11.

Orientation

Finding 8.—Assembly-line mass registration, which is irritating and disadvantageous to all students, can be destructive to the survival prospects of new black students. The result of the process is likely to be a course schedule which is practicable at best for the modal student, but emphatically dysfunctional for the new entrant from Milwaukee's core.

Recommendation 8.—In August 1970 WSU-Oshkosh experimented with a 2-week orientation program designed to meet the needs of academically deficient students entering their freshman year. We recommend that all nine WSU's adopt similar programs, coupling orientation with pre-registration under circumstances permitting individual attention to the needs of each student. For the program to be successful, it is mandatory that financial support be provided to enable needy students to participate. This could be a vital part of an academic survival kit for minority students.

Minority counseling

Finding 9a.—Special counseling for black students, insofar as it is available, is a hit-or-miss, part-time affair. Black staff particularly chafe at the need to treat a traditional job description as a distracting subterfuge which makes it possible to do a little where much is required. Where black staff has been recruited to deal in part, at least, with the problems of black students on campus, the staff feels harried and lost in an ill-designed hierarchy.

Finding 9b.—Black students express lack of confidence that there is any one person on campus to whom they can go with the certainty of receiving understanding and sensitive help on a broad spectrum of problems. Orientation, catalogs, and rule books do not tell the black students all they need to know. They sense the need of someone available to help them understand and cope with "the system", dealing with such problems as a course schedule into which a student has been shunted but which he is convinced he cannot handle, or a computer which a student thinks is spitting out F's when it should be reporting incompletes or a passing grade. Students complain that they have never heard of counseling, that counseling is too procedure or rule-book oriented, that it is just inadequate—not discriminatory, just not enough.

They want someone who will search out problems as well as listen to those brought to him, someone who has a broad discretion to go to the source of a problem and do something about it. This would be a broad and ranging jurisdiction, impinging upon the jurisdictions of numerous other authorities, and requiring access to high officialdom on campus, and perhaps in town and at the county and State level.

Recommendation 9.—Minority students require the full-time guidance and support of a faculty member-administrator, with a rank equivalent to dean, who is able to arrange scholastic testing, tutoring, and remedial work for academically deficient students, introduce minority students to the ways of the college bureaucracy, and act as an intermediary for students with officialdom on campus and in town. It is essential that such positions be budgeted for all WSU's to plan for impending large-scale minority student enrollment and serve the students adequately when they come.

Remedial work and tutoring

Finding 10.—The public policy which causes schools to accept academically

deficient students is not matched at present by a policy and effective program for remedial work and tutoring to help such students. Thus, the liberal admission policy becomes a travesty.

Recommendation 10.—Each WSU should establish remedial course work for a limited number of basic courses. Tutoring is an appropriate adjunct to remedial course work, and persons who have had remedial work might be watched to determine their need for possible tutoring in other courses taken simultaneously or following remedial work.

Curriculum

Finding 11.—Black students complain that many courses in which their culture and history should be relevant treat the subject matter of the course in a parochially white manner. They assert that one can secure a liberal arts education at a WSU without ever learning that American life has a black dimension.

Recommendation 11.—When the black experience is relevant to course content, the readings, lectures, and discussions should include it. Literature, sociology, history, and political science courses are obvious candidates for examination to determine whether accuracy, balance, and completeness require more or less detailed reference to the contribution and experience of black people.

Higher Educational Aids Board as central administering agency for financial aid

Finding 12.—The Higher Educational Aids Board at present acts as a conduit for moving information and financial aid applications to high schools, collecting and examining the applications for accuracy and completeness, and passing them on to the institutions designated by the applicants. Financial aid offers, in the form of packets of grants, loans, and employment, are framed and administered by local WSU financial officers.

Recommendation 12.—The Committee recommends that HEAB's authority be enlarged to permit it to act as an officer on behalf of the WSU's, tailoring aid packages to meet student needs and advising minority students on the developing distribution of newly entering and returning minority students on the WSU campuses. Thus uniformity in applying the formula for administering financial aid would be accomplished, and an important step taken toward achieving greater diffusion of minority students among the WSU campuses.

Grants and student employment rather than loans to low-income students

Finding 13.—A substantial amount of the aggregate financial aid administered takes the form of Federal and State loans. The individual student receives an aid package which is calculated to meet his need, and that package includes loan as well as grant money.

Administrators and students complain of the practice of recruiting minority students, encouraging them to overcome social, economic, and academic obstacles and embark upon an academic journey which is inherently risky, and then forcing such students into financing a considerable part of the cost through loans.

The successful student may pile up a financial obligation which will depress his life style for years after graduation; the unsuccessful student drops out, or is dropped, and keeps a substantial debt as memento of the experience. The need to finance the enterprise through an aid package, including a large segment of borrowing, deters some minority students from enrolling.

Recommendation 13.—The Committee recommends that administrative action be taken as soon as possible and legislation be enacted as needed to make it possible to administer financial aid to low-income students in the form of grants and employment without entailing loans.

Deposits, late fees, penalties

Finding 14.—Particularly galling to financially aided students is the tendency of academic administrators, who use deposits, late fees, etc. as techniques for disciplining students to desired behavior, to apply such checking devices in ways which extract, in the form of deposit or penalty, funds granted or loaned toward the ostensible end of meeting the student's financial need.

Recommendation 14.—Financial-aid packages to needy students should be so administered as to maximize accounting transfers where aid money is to be used to discharge obligations to the school. Deposits, late fees, and penalties should be waived and not permitted to encumber financial aid funds.

Employment

Finding 15.—The nine WSU's have zero to insignificant employment of black personnel in all of the areas in which the CCR Wisconsin State Committee inquired: counseling, tutoring, financial aids, security, athletic staff, and faculty in general.

Minority group students are denied equal access to State supported educational facilities when they attend schools which, because of institutional constraints or lack of an active recruitment program, have virtually no minority representation on the staff.

Recommendation 15a. Counseling.—It is important that staff counseling blacks have close rapport and represent black professional achievement. Black professionals must be recruited to participate in counseling and remedial programs.

Recommendation 15b. Financial aids.—Much apprehension and nascent resentment which black students experience in approaching the financial aids office would be lifted were they to see at least one black staff member and we recommend a vigorous effort to recruit blacks to financial aid staffs.

Recommendation 15c. Athletic departments.—The lack of black staff members in athletic departments is startlingly evident. The WSU System should make every effort to attract coaches and physical education specialists to its campuses.

Recommendation 15d. Housing.—We know of no instance where a WSU campus has employed a black housing director, or hall director. The record on employment of blacks as residence assistants is mixed. The Wisconsin Committee recommends that the WSU increase minority participation in employment in the field of housing.

Recommendation 15e. Campus security.—The WSU campus security forces are in process of enlargement and professionalization. The Committee recommends that efforts be made to recruit black police science graduates to the security force.

Recommendation 15f. Faculty.—The highest ratio of black faculty on any campus is 1 percent. Sixteen black faculty are employed in the entire WSU System. Budgetary, hiring, tenure, and market conditions are offered as reasons for this appallingly low ratio. We recommend that extraordinary efforts be made to find and attract competent black faculty.

On-campus housing

Finding 16.—Black students resent any hint of forced clustering, and may take chance concentration of blacks in a housing facility as confirmation of a policy of segregation. Black students appear inclined to cluster if permitted to follow their own preferences and resent administrative practices which prevent them from rooming together. They object, in short, to either compulsory segregation or compulsory integration. To see a logical anomaly in this position would be rather shallow. Certainly it expresses a degree of individualism with which administrators should be able to live.

Recommendation 16.—WSU administrators should be encouraged to face, with equanimity and tolerance, the reasonable

desire of black students not to be compelled either to live together or apart from fellow blacks. All reasonable housing requests which do not impinge upon and narrow the freedoms of others should receive serious consideration and sympathetic response.

Dormitory rules

Finding 17.—Black dormitory residents are conscious of patterns of behavior and usage of the dormitory facilities which set them apart from their white fellow residents. These seem to grate upon the latter. Some hall directors appear disturbed by the behavior of black students, or hostile to them.

Recommendation 17.—Dormitory rules should relate to personal safety and building maintenance, not to enforcing any particular set of cultural mores.

Off-campus housing

Finding 18a.—The WSU's continue to maintain housing lists for the convenience of students and landlords, and appear ready to remove landlords from the list if they discriminate. When discrimination is called to the attention of housing officials they may make direct efforts to find a black student a room.

Minority staff housing

Finding 18b.—Black staff have trouble in locating housing. If they have secured housing, it has been as a result of subterfuge and pressure. Or they may commute considerable distances from cities in which housing is available to minorities to the WSU town of employment. The officials of the WSU host communities do not place fair housing high on their agenda for action. They do seem concerned about the quality of housing offered students in town. Attempts by the WSU's to alter community mores on housing and public accommodations would require direct and

sustained personal leadership by the presidents. The presidents of the schools claim to recognize the problem. They restrict their involvement to expressions of personal concern, exhortation, creating committees which bridge town and gown, and sponsoring public events at which expressions of mutual regard and pleas for "human understanding" are part of the program, all of which have been ineffectual.

Recommendation 18.—WSU presidents should take the lead in mobilizing campus and host city support for fair housing codes in the host city, and then in assuring effective administration of such codes when enacted.

Athletics

Finding 19.—Black students are convinced that most phases of athletics on the WSU campus are hostile to them. This is a general indictment to which very few exceptions were made by students interviewed. On three of the four campuses, the athletic department was seen as housing the most racially biased faculty members on campus.

Recommendation 19.—Recruitment of black athletes should be one element in a massive deed, rather than word, oriented effort on the part of WSU athletic departments to enlist the confidence of black students.

Community relations programs

Finding 20.—Black students feel they are regarded as intruders in the WSU host communities. The record clearly tells a story of lack of will, skill, or sense of appropriateness to develop a vigorous program of campus-community relations under the aegis of the WSU, and having among its purposes the acculturation of the community to American minority group students.

WSU officials are reluctant to use their influence in the community. As the chief

local industry, they believe the local community is sensitive to and resentful of WSU pressure.

Recommendation 20.—Each WSU should develop a vigorous community relations program having the purpose of enhancing good relations between the host community and all of the segments of the varied student body on campus. By definition, each WSU student body will be strange and somewhat alien to the population and mores of the host community and it is the responsibility of the individual WSU's, with central stimulation and funding from the regent's office in Madison, to make these qualities a positive rather than negative factor in WSU-community relations.

Treatment by merchants

Finding 21.—All eyes are on the black student when he shops. Black students resent the close surveillance and discourteous service they receive when they shop. Restaurants and bars frequently treat them shabbily.

Recommendation 21.—WSU's, host city public officials, chambers of commerce, and student leaders should develop programs for assuring that local merchants adhere to fair and equal standards in dealing with students, regardless of cultural and ethnic differences. Students and the WSU's should, for this purpose at least, make their economic power felt in the host city.

Campus security

Finding 22.—A well trained WSU campus security, versed in human and race relations, can be an effective force for preventing small incidents from escalating into large disturbances which require off-campus police. We presume this is a purpose the WSU System administration has in mind for the campus security forces, as they grow and modernize.

Recommendation 22.—Campus security forces should be trained in techniques and briefed on their responsibility to recognize and be catalysts for reducing the intensity and scope of incipient violence on campus.

Impartial police procedures

Finding 23.—An important and widespread black student complaint, and one which underlies their perception that they do not receive equal treatment from local police, is that white complaints against blacks are treated as presumptively valid, and black students are questioned in an atmosphere which accepts that presumption. Black complaints against whites are treated by the police with skepticism. When police are called to deal with a conflict situation involving blacks and whites, the police invariably talk first with the white students involved. This implies that the white students are the authoritative or reliable source of information.

Recommendation 23.—Police should maintain strict impartiality in dealing with interracial complaints, and should treat minority students—all students—with the courtesy to which citizens are entitled.

Equal protection violation

Finding 24.—The single, outstanding example of differential treatment of black students by local police is a practice complained of at Plattville. There the blacks intensely resent, and Chief of Police Mellor readily admits, the practice of taking black students arrested by the police to the jail in Lancaster, the county seat. Any arrested person kept longer than overnight is transferred to Lancaster. But white students arrested and kept overnight are held in Platteville, whereas black students arrested and held overnight are dispatched to Lancaster.

Recommendation 24.—Constitutional standards mandate equal treatment of white and minority students apprehended by police. The Platteville Police Depart-

ment should desist from this practice of differential treatment immediately and within a reasonable time the State attorney general's office should make inquiry to determine that the practice has been discontinued.

Multiple jurisdictions and multiple penalties for students

Finding 25.—Students on a WSU campus, like students on any campus, are subject to multiple overlays of authority. The campus, in theory at least, offers no refuge from Federal, State, or local laws. In addition, it will have its own system of norms developed for the institution and sometimes enforced for behavior occurring off-campus or applied to reinforce the norm of another jurisdiction. Student behavior can result in disciplinary proceedings by the WSU unit, trial in municipal, county, or circuit (State) courts, or Federal agencies; these may follow investigation and apprehension by WSU security personnel, municipal police, or county sheriff's deputies.

Recommendation 25.—The WSU institutions and regents should seek to avoid multiple penalties for the same offense which accomplish the effect of double jeopardy even though avoiding its technical commission.

Congressional penalties

Finding 26.—The Higher Education Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90-575 82 Stat. 1014) provide a method for adding, as a penalty to other penalties inflicted upon demonstrating students, a 2-year ineligibility for Federal educational aid funds. This

provision is erratically invoked by local authorities around the country.

Recommendation 26.—Congress should amend Section 504 of the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 to make clear that this penalty should be administered only when not conjoined with other penalties locally administered; also, initiating application of the penalty should be vested in HEW, not in the local institutions as is done at present.

Institutional racism

Finding 27.—If the proportion of black faculty and staff at a college is infinitesimal and if faculty and administrative interest in recruiting black faculty is absent, sporadic, or curbed by institutional constraints such as budget limitations or hiring rules, the low level of black employment may reasonably be taken as *prima facie* evidence of discrimination. It is discrimination by lack of effort, covert rather than overt.

The proportion of black faculty and students on the nine WSU campuses is appallingly low. We conclude that efforts by the various institutions to recruit and hold black students and faculty have been sufficiently passive, desultory, or curbed by institutional constraints, and have sufficiently lacked central stimulus from the system administrators in Madison, as to warrant the charge of institutional racism and denial of equal access to public educational facilities against the WSU System.

Recommendation 27.—The preceding recommendations are designed to rectify the institutional racist conditions which the Committee has found to exist in the WSU System.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WSU & UWM Enrollment, Employment, and County Population Data by School

Table A.1

WSU-PLATTEVILLE

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Grant County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
White.....	98.33	4,135	-----	13	-----	297	-----	247	99.55	48,184
Black.....	1.28	54	1.0	3	-----	0	-----	0	.14	72
Other minority ¹38	16	-----	0	-----	0	-----	0	.29	142
Total.....	-----	4,205	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	48,398

¹ American Indian, Spanish Surname, Oriental.

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Note: SAC asked for employment under a large number of categories including administrations, faculty by rank, admissions office employees (administrative and clerical separated), maintenance, etc. Faculty ranks have been collapsed, admissions office eliminated, and maintenance, etc., dubbed "other" and not subjected to analysis.

Table A.2

WSU-WHITEWATER

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Walworth County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	97.45	8,295		23		526		134	99.10	62,879
Black.....	1.29	110	4.9	1 ²	.56	3		0	.15	287
Other minority.....	1.25	107		0	1.3	7	.74	1	.43	278
Total.....		8,512								63,444

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. OCR SAC survey; population—census.

² This figure is included in faculty category.

Table A.3

WSU-OSHKOSH

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Winnebago County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	98.82	9,413		15		394		ND	99.48	129,266
Black.....	.74	71	11.7	2	4.4	2		ND	.11	116
Other minority.....	.43	41		0	2.72	11		ND	.39	519
Total.....		9,525								129,931

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.4

WSU-RIVER FALLS

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Pierce County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	98.10	3,518		12		220		118	99.52	26,526
Black.....	1.31	47		0	.11	1		0	.16	44
Other minority.....	.58	21		0	2.21	5	1.33	2	.30	82
Total.....		3,586								26,652

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.5

WSU-STOUT STATE

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Dunn County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	98.57	4,492		21		262		338	99.38	28,976
Black.....	1.07	49		0		0		0	.19	57
Other minority.....	.35	16		0	.75	2		0	.41	121
Total.....		4,557								29,154

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.6

WSU-STEVENS POINT

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Portage County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
White.....	99.40	7,725	16	128	ND				99.45	47,283
Black.....	.15	12	0	1	ND				.15	75
Other minority.....	.43	34	0	11	ND				.38	183
Total.....		7,771								47,541

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.7

WSU-SUPERIOR

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Douglas County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
White.....	97.39	4,181	8	163	158				98.98	44,203
Black.....	.62	27	0	0	0				.19	89
Other minority.....	1.97	85	0	2	0				.81	365
Total.....		4,293								44,657

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.8

WSU-LA CROSSE

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								La Crosse County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	98.43	5,163	-----	29	-----	300	-----	ND	99.56	3,014
Black.....	.51	27	-----	0	.32	1	-----	ND	.08	70
Other minority.....	1.04	55	-----	0	1.31	4	-----	ND	.35	284
Total.....		5,245								30,168

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.9

WSU-EAU CLAIRE

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Eau Claire County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	98.37	7,078	-----	13	-----	367	-----	189	99.47	66,865
Black.....	.69	50	-----	0	.79	3	-----	0	.14	100
Other minority.....	.95	67	-----	0	2.37	9	-----	.52	.37	254
Total.....		7,195								67,219

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

Table A.10
WSU-UWM

WSU Enrollment and Employment Compared to Host County Population, 1970

	WSU								Milwaukee County population	
	Enrollment		Employment							
			Administration		Faculty		Other			
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
White.....	95.58	11,647	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	89.17	939,989
Black.....	3.56	434	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	10.05	106,033	
Other minority.....	.85	104	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	.70	8,041	
Total.....		12,185								1,054,063

Sources: Enrollment—HEW OCR report; employment—WIS. CCR SAC survey; population—census.

APPENDIX B

Analysis of Discrepancy Between Minority Students Reported to HEW OCR and to CCR WIS. SAC

Differences between data reported to CCR WIS. SAC and HEW OCR

HEW OCR instructed reporting schools to list students under six categories: American Indian, black, Oriental, Spanish Surnamed American, all other students, and total all students. The schools were further instructed: "Do not include foreign students studying in the United States under a student or temporary visa in any of the four minority group categories. Do include them in the all other students column."

The Commission on Civil Rights employed the same four minority categories, but asked for a breakdown within each category as follows: Wisconsin residents, all other U.S. students (reported as out-of State in this report), and foreign students. In addition to these four, the Commission employed an "all other" category which would be, in effect, all U.S. and foreign students not fitting into the minority categories.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare focused on the Nation and the Commission on a single State; this helps to explain their differing approaches to data gathering. HEW and CCR asked for the execution of similar but distinct reports at varying times in the same school year. Insofar as their categories varied, the data would, of course, be differently arrayed in the reports received. But the two agencies used some identical categories, and significant variance was found in the data reported to the two agencies for the same categories. That is the subject of this appendix.

As noted on table 1.2 in part 1 of this report, WSU-Platteville and WSU-Whitewater, in their report to CCR, lumped all international minority students, rather than distributing them as requested. We have distributed the Platteville and Whitewater minority international students among minority groupings proportionately to the distribution reported by the seven other schools. This operation probably accounts for some of the problems discussed later concerning the reporting of Whitewater Oriental students. (We also distributed Oshkosh American minority students by Wisconsin resident and out-of-State categories proportionately as reported by the other eight colleges. However, no such breakdown is employed in appendix B and this operation does not affect the present analysis.)

The American Indian and Spanish Surnamed categories—as a review of tables B.1 and B.2 will show—do not

reflect sufficient variance in the numbers reported to CCR and HEW to warrant analysis. We confine our analysis, therefore, to black and Oriental students.

Tables B.1 and B.2 show that the nine WSU's cumulatively reported to the Commission on Civil Rights 18 more black Americans enrolled than they reported to Health, Education, and Welfare. In three out of the nine reports (Platteville, River Falls, Stevens Point) CCR and HEW received identical data. In four instances (Whitewater, Oshkosh, Stout, Eau Claire) CCR received reports in excess of those submitted to HEW, totalling 29 students. In two instances (Superior, La Crosse), totalling 11 students, fewer were reported to CCR than to HEW. Thus, reporting variances in the amount of 40 students result in a net WSU System difference of 18 more American black students reported to CCR than to HEW.

The category Oriental shows considerable variance of reporting to CCR and HEW. Reporting variances in the amount of 198 occur in the systemwide reporting to CCR and HEW under this category. Because, in five instances (Whitewater, Oshkosh, Superior, La Crosse, Eau Claire) higher numbers were reported to HEW, and in three instances (River Falls, Stout State, and Stevens Point) higher numbers were reported to CCR (Platteville, as adjusted by CCR, reported identical numbers to each agency), the systemwide variance netted 184.

An explanation which comes quickly to mind is that some schools inadvertently included some international students in the minority categories in their reports to HEW, contrary to instruction to report these under "all other". If, in each instance in which HEW received a higher report of black students or Orientals than the number of American black or American Orientals reported to CCR, we found that the difference approximated the number of international black and international Oriental students reported to CCR, we might reasonably infer that the mistake described above had occurred.

Table B.3 is designed to facilitate this comparison. Looking to this table, we find one instance in which HEW received a significantly higher report of American black students than did CCR. In this instance, at WSU-Superior where (see table B.1) 10 fewer American blacks were reported to CCR than to HEW, 12 international black students were reported to CCR. We cannot make a

Table B.1

Comparison of CCR WIS, SAC and HEW OCR Data on WSU American Minority Enrollment

	Black	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish Surnamed	Cumulative, all minority
Platteville:					
CCR	54	2	7	6	69
HEW	54	2	7	7	70
Difference	0	0	0	1	1
Whitewater:					
CCR	122	6	23	13	164
HEW	110	5	89	13	217
Difference	12	1	66	0	53
Oshkosh:					
CCR	83	26	0	12	121
HEW	71	25	7	9	112
Difference	12	1	7	3	9
River Falls:					
CCR	47	14	6	3	70
HEW	47	14	4	3	68
Difference	0	0	2	0	2
Stout State:					
CCR	52	9	7	4	72
HEW	49	9	4	3	65
Difference	3	0	3	1	7
Stevens Point:					
CCR	12	26	6	3	47
HEW	12	26	4	4	46
Difference	0	0	2	1	43
Superior:					
CCR	17	16	2	2	37
HEW	27	15	68	2	112
Difference	10	1	66	0	75
La Crosse:					
CCR	26	7	9	12	54
HEW	27	7	36	12	82
Difference	1	0	27	0	28
Eau Claire:					
CCR	52	23	15	7	97
HEW	50	20	10	7	117
Difference	2	3	25	0	20

Sources: CCR WIS, SAC survey. (See table 1.2.) HEW OCR 1970-71 survey.

Table B.2

Comparison CCR WIS, SAC and HEW OCR Data on WSU American Minority Enrollment

Totals of nine WSU's	Black	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish-surnamed
Reported to CCR	465	129	75	62
Reported to HEW	447	123	259	70
Difference	18	6	184	8

inference with any confidence, but speculate that Superior may inadvertently have reported some international black students as American on the HEW report. Table B.1 reveals four significant instances in which HEW received higher reports of American Oriental students than did CCR. At Oshkosh no American Orientals were reported to CCR but seven were reported to HEW. Table B.3 shows that Oshkosh reported 24 international Oriental students to CCR, and it may be that seven of these were reported as American to HEW or that seven of these should have been reported as American to CCR. Looking to the Oriental cells for Whitewater, Superior, La Crosse, and Eau Claire on table B.3, it is immediately evident that the large number of American Orientals

Table B.3

**CCR and HEW differences compared to
International Students Reported to CCR**

	Black	Amer- ican Indian	Oriental	Spanish sur- named
Platteville:				
CCR/HEW difference...	(³)	-----	-----	-----
CCR international.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
Whitewater:				
CCR/HEW difference...	-12	-----	+66	-----
CCR international.....	15	-----	52	-----
Oshkosh:				
CCR/HEW difference...	-12	-----	+ 7	-3
CCR international.....	11	-----	24	0
River Falls:				
CCR/HEW difference...	-----	-----	- 2	-----
CCR international.....	-----	-----	29	-----
Stout State:				
CCR/HEW difference...	- 3	-----	- 3	-----
CCR international.....	21	-----	21	-----
Stevens Point:				
CCR/HEW difference...	-----	-----	- 2	-----
CCR international.....	-----	-----	38	-----
Superior:				
CCR/HEW difference...	+10	-----	+66	-----
CCR international.....	12	-----	68	-----
La Crosse:				
CCR/HEW difference...	-----	-----	+27	-----
CCR international.....	-----	-----	28	-----
Eau Claire:				
CCR/HEW difference...	- 2	-3	+25	-----
CCR international.....	7	0	41	-----

³ No data entered where difference is zero or one.

+/- = amount by which HEW data are more or less than CCR.

Explanation: Where HEW received reports in excess of CCR reports, the difference may result from erroneous reporting of international students as American to HEW. Thus a plus difference, which is about equivalent to the number of international students reported to CCR, strongly suggests this type of error accounts for the difference.

Table B.4

**Discrepancy between Total Minority
Students reported to HEW OCR and
Total Minority Students Reported to
CCR WIS. SAC (1970) compared to
International Minority reported to
CCR WIS. SAC**

	Difference between CCR WIS. SAC and HEW/OCR American totals	Total International students reported to CCR WIS. SAC
Black.....	- 18	95
American Indian.....	- 6	(⁴)
Oriental.....	+181	350
Spanish surnamed.....	+ 8	0
Totals.....	+168	145

⁴ Not applicable.

+/- = amount by which HEW data are more or less than CCR.

See table 1.2 for breakdown of enrollment by minority group, Wisconsin, out-of-State, and international by WSU school.

reported to HEW in excess of those reported to CCR is in two instances (Superior, La Crosse) about matched by the number of international Orientals reported to CCR; in one (Eau Claire) it is exceeded in the amount of 16 by the international Orientals reported to CCR; and in the case of Whitewater, after the adjustment described earlier was made by CCR, the number comes within 14 of satisfying the large difference of 66. The inference seems rather sound that the bulk of the total difference in American minority students reported to CCR and HEW lies in Oriental students reported erroneously as American rather than international to HEW.

We can offer no explanation of the instances in which CCR received higher reports of American black students in residence than did HEW.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425



STAFF DIRECTOR

Mr. Eugene R. McPhee
Executive Director
Wisconsin State Universities System
142 East Gilman Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Dear Mr. McPhee:

This office was happy to receive your reply to the study by its Wisconsin State Committee, "The Black Student in Wisconsin State Universities Systems". The 33 page response of the Wisconsin State Universities presidents was reviewed carefully both by Commission staff and the Wisconsin State Committee. I find it encouraging that your reply was positive in tone. I hope this will lead to constructive improvements in the racial situation on its State university campuses as reported on by our Wisconsin State Advisory Committee. In the interest of a constructive and continuing dialogue we will publish the universities' reply as an appendix to the Wisconsin SAC report. This is in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. The printed report with the response will appear in late November, or as soon as the Government Printing Office schedule will permit.

We were pleased that the Wisconsin State Universities undertook a considered response to the report. We are also pleased with the high degree of involvement regarding minority students' affairs indicated by university presidents. The Wisconsin State Committee will conduct the followup work to the report and will be in contact with university officials and interested State and local agencies.

If I can be of assistance, please contact me.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BUGGS
Acting Staff Director

APPENDIX C

MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS IN THE WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES

Problems, Challenges, Programs

Part I

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Wisconsin State Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in August 1971 came forward with a 102-page document reporting its investigation of the education-related experiences of minority students on Wisconsin State University campuses. The report deals almost entirely with black students, with a few references to all minority groups. The reader's attention should be called to this single emphasis of the Civil Rights Report on black students. In the campus reactions to the Report, each president reminded the State Committee that he must be concerned for the education of all students, including *all* minorities.

The response to this State Committee document, introduced on this page (Part I), represents a careful appraisal by the State university presidents of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations contained in the Committee Report. This Report, entitled, "The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System," furnishes partial documentation of the problems that minority students (particularly blacks) face in the WSU System. The presidents' responses are intended to verify, to clarify, and to provide further

information on matters which the State Committee has reported to a degree. This additional background and clarification should provide a more firm basis upon which to plan improvements in higher education opportunities for minority groups, especially Wisconsin residents.

For the sake of clarity and organization, the recommendations of the Commission will be considered one at a time, with appropriate excerpts and condensations taken from statements by the presidents of the several State universities (Part II). Following the recommendations reproduced from the Civil Rights report, capsules summarizing the university replies are included under the heading of "Response."

Part III of this reply is "Summary and Conclusions," those points considered to be of major significance in planning better higher education for minority people in Wisconsin.

Every effort has been made to make the following pages as accurate and factual as possible. Only on the basis of such testimony can we move to the solutions of the problems before us.

**MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS
IN THE
WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES**

Problems, Challenges, Programs

Part II

Responses of the presidents to Specific Recommendations Contained in the Report by The Wisconsin Committee to The United States Commission on Civil Rights: "The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System":

President Leonard C. Haas	Eau Claire
President Kenneth E. Lindner	La Crosse
President Roger E. Guiles	Oshkosh
President Bjarne R. Ullsvik	Platteville
President George R. Field	River Falls
President Lee S. Dreyfus	Stevens Point
President William J. Micheels	Stout (Menomonie)
President Karl W. Meyer	Superior
President William L. Carter	Whitewater

Recommendation 1

The WSU System should maintain at least the present number of out-of-State and international black students while enlarging the number of Wisconsin black students to bring the ratio to 85 percent Wisconsin residents and 15 percent out-of-State and international. This quadrupling of Wisconsin black students in the WSU System would raise the enrollment from six-tenths of 1 percent to 2 percent. It should be regarded as a first step, to be followed within a year by a further increase to bring the Wisconsin black student enrollment at least to the ratio of Wisconsin's black population (2.90 percent).

Response

The State universities are making special efforts to enroll minority students from Wisconsin high schools and will continue to do so. Generally,

minority students from large cities are not interested in attending universities in small communities where the population is nearly all white. Special programs are being offered to make the universities more attractive to minority students and their families. The presidents do not plan to limit out-of-State and international minority student enrollment while seeking to attract more Wisconsin minority students.

EAU CLAIRE The recommendation is an ideal to be sought, but every institution is first and foremost a regional institution. A great artificial stimulus must be provided to enroll black students in the proportion suggested in the document. The desires of black students and the cost of education suggest that it will be difficult to approach that figure.

LA CROSSE favors an increase in black enrollment at La Crosse, where, during the second

semester 1970-71, there were 131 minority students in an undergraduate enrollment of 6,226, including 34 blacks. La Crosse County has only 70 blacks in a population of 80,468, according to the 1970 census. This puts the black population of the county at .08 percent of the total, and the black population of the university at about .50 percent of total undergraduate enrollment. La Crosse officials have visited each Wisconsin high school that enrolls black students for the past several years in order to interest them in offerings at La Crosse and have invited blacks who are high school seniors to visit the La Crosse campus.

OSHKOSH Two black administrators in the dean of students office are assigned responsibilities for visiting Wisconsin high schools with concentrations of black students in order to present WSU-Oshkosh and to help the high school student make decisions regarding higher education. International students have never been recruited, nor have Oshkosh personnel met with out-of-State high school seniors except in Northern Illinois where, by system office agreement, only one WSU representative visits a high school at Career Day programs.

PLATTEVILLE The current enrollment of 85 American black students represents about 1.8 percent of the total enrollment, with other minority students representing about 1.2 percent of the total enrollment. The current enrollment of black students represents an increase of 60 percent over the 54 reported in the CCR 1971 report.

RIVER FALLS River Falls' commitment to educating minority students is not limited to international and out-of-State minorities. River Falls has, in three years, moved from virtually no Wisconsin black students to 44. This compares with 47 international minority students and 11 other Wisconsin minority students.

STEVENS POINT The university needs and will gladly accept black students from any geographical source, to provide a multiracial experience on campus, but will not limit out-of-State and international black enrollment on campus while waiting for in-State enrollments to quadruple.

STOUT The WSU's have an obligation to increase the number of black students substantially but not all institutions have the same opportunity to attract black students. "Our mission is limited to relatively few specialties and, therefore, Stout

cannot appeal to a broad segment of the general black population. Our experience is that blacks are not, as a rule, interested in technical-scientific subjects and, therefore, do not elect curriculums in our schools of home economics and industry and technology except rarely." Stout's rural setting is a disadvantage. "When recruiters visit high schools enrolling large numbers of blacks, we are told that there are no students interested in our university. We have brought black secondary school counselors and teachers to our campus to learn about our offerings. MEOC representatives have been invited to our campus, but no tangible increase has been noted."

SUPERIOR Future plans are to work more closely with the Milwaukee Educational Opportunity Center and to seek its assistance in encouraging black students to look northward to WSU-Superior for educational opportunities. "Our admissions counselors will make a concentrated effort to recruit black high school seniors from Milwaukee County high schools."

WHITEWATER Since 1.3 percent of the total student body are black students, a good start has been made and the proportion of blacks is increasing steadily toward the immediate goal of 2 percent. Special minority orientation, recruiting efforts, a tutorial center, and a multicultural educational center have been appropriately staffed for the Whitewater effort to increase minority enrollments.

Recommendation 2

The new level of black enrollment should serve as a base for further acceleration of black enrollment to more than keep pace with this development.

Response

The presidents agree that, as total enrollment in the System increases, the total number of minority students enrolled also should increase.

EAU CLAIRE Will work through high school counselors in schools enrolling black students to call attention to opportunities offered at Eau Claire.

LA CROSSE Attempts will be made to increase the number and percentage of minority students.

OSHKOSH Will hope to accomplish the objective with the help of two black administrators in the office of the dean of students.

PLATTEVILLE The Wisconsin State Universities should plan to enroll more black students as suggested by the black community.

RIVER FALLS "We would certainly hope to use this goal, but it must be recognized that not all campuses will be equally attractive to black students. A campus in a rural setting will generally not attract as many students, white or black, from a metropolitan area as will a campus situated in a center more like their home community."

STOUT Same as Eau Claire.

SUPERIOR Same as Eau Claire.

WHITEWATER Will work toward the recommendation as an acceptable goal if the enrollment projections can be assumed correct.

Recommendation 3a

In a period of rising and stimulated black enrollment, the WSU System should develop incentives to local administrators and to prospective black students toward accomplishing a more rational distribution of black students on the nine WSU campuses.

Response

All of the State universities should do their best to attract minority group students, but students should have complete freedom of choice if space is available. The concept of free choice appears to be in conflict with the recommendation.

EAU CLAIRE Has used the efforts of MEOC and HEAB in talent search and has sought resources to meet needs of students not prepared for their classes. The director of admissions and his staff . . . have worked to bring black students to this campus.

LA CROSSE More resources are needed to provide a better distribution of blacks on campuses. The best incentive possible to minority students would be a reasonable expectation of success at a university. This implies commitment to the solution of a societal problem, in addition to the resources to teach, remediate, and solve community problems. Resources are needed to enable this university to develop programs to help minority students succeed.

OSHKOSH This recommendation asks for a System approach to recruitment of black students. If the System office would organize the recruitment program, WSU-Oshkosh would suggest that its two black administrators be assigned to work with the System office.

PLATTEVILLE There must be more staff to assist black students, as was recommended in the 1967-69 biennial budget proposal. The statement that recruitment of Milwaukee black students to WSU institutions has been a result of an active talent search by HEAB and MEOC is not the case in Platteville. Approximately 15 percent of our black students come from that source. The Milwaukee students we attract rank lower in their high school graduating classes than both other Wisconsin blacks and out-of-State blacks. We are determined to attract blacks from Milwaukee who show greater academic potential.

RIVER FALLS It is assumed that the incentives suggested would be primarily in the form of financial aid. Many of the students currently receive the maximum amount of financial aid which can legally be granted. Perhaps there should be some means of allowing additional funds for travel to more distant campuses such as Superior, River Falls, Stout, and Eau Claire.

STEVENS POINT Has the fewest black students but is trying a recruitment program in Milwaukee schools using current American black students as recruiters. This is a combined effort of the Black Student Coalition and the Admissions Office. It has produced some results this fall and some of the university's black students are optimistic about results for the 1972-73 year.

STOUT A better distribution of black students is desirable but local administration is not passive, nor is the central administration passive, in this matter.

SUPERIOR The current distribution of blacks among the nine campuses may, in part, reflect uneven recruitment practices and a need to intensify recruitment of blacks. Each student, however, should have freedom of choice in selecting a campus and should not be directed to a campus for the sake of more "rational distribution."

WHITEWATER The WSU System does urge all local administrators to encourage black enrollment. It is unrealistic to expect that geography will not play an important role in a black student's

selection of a campus, because it does for all students.

Recommendation 4a

The Governor and the Board of Regents should make explicit the policy that each of the Wisconsin State Universities serves all of the State of Wisconsin. This in no way derogates from the WSU role as commuter schools for surrounding counties. Present tendencies toward avoiding redundancy and building some program specialization among the nine institutions are consistent with this policy.

Response

Present laws and practices clearly indicate that each State university serves the entire State. On each campus, student bodies include students from all or nearly all 72 counties. Informational materials about all State universities are supplied to students and guidance counselors in all public and private Wisconsin high schools, and have been for many years.

Recommendations 4b and 4c

Consistent with this recommendation, we recommend an amendment to Wisconsin Statutes to require that one member of the Board of Regents of the Wisconsin State Universities be appointed from the city of Milwaukee. Membership on the board of regents should reflect minority group representation.

We further recommend that the Statutes be amended to clarify the collective responsibility of the regents for supervising the administration of the entire WSU System, and the impropriety of individual regents developing administrative and supervisory relationships to a specific one of the WSU institutions.

Response

These recommendations should be directed to the Merger Implementation Study Committee if the UW and WSU Systems are merged. Governor Lucey has appointed Bertram N. McNamara of Milwaukee to the Board of Regents of State Universities.

Recommendation 5

Sustained concern must be shown for retention as well as recruitment of black students. The objective must be a 90 percent black student retention rate.

Response

A 90 percent retention rate is not a realistic objective for any general group of students, but State universities are making special efforts to help minority students to succeed and are retaining substantial numbers.

EAU CLAIRE Proof of concern is a program inaugurated three years ago at Eau Claire which, among other things, includes the services of Mr. Emmett Griffin, counselor for black students. The best retention rate was achieved in 1970-71, when 73 black students enrolled, nine were suspended, and nine were placed on probation. A 90 percent retention rate is unrealistic, since in a public university it is not unusual to find that 30 percent to 40 percent of those who enroll as freshmen are no longer in the university two years later.

LA CROSSE A 90 percent retention rate for blacks is unrealistic. National statistics indicate a retention rate for all students entering universities of approximately 50 percent. Responsibility for poor retention rates for black students must be borne by the preparing as well as the receiving school. This university is developing a tutorial program to be operated by successful black students on this campus.

OSHKOSH A 90 percent retention figure is considerably higher than the retention rate for the student body as a whole. Printed guides for faculty point out that minority students may need reduced loads and extra help in achieving orientation to an academic environment. Further, in assigning merit salary increments, WSU-Oshkosh department chairmen are asked to specifically consider efforts to raise the level of competency of all students, particularly those who are marginally prepared. In considering good teaching, Oshkosh chairmen are asked to visit classes and consider each teacher's ability to motivate students to succeed academically.

SUPERIOR Of 20 black students enrolled at WSU-Superior during the second semester 1970-71, two withdrew during the semester and one other was a graduate student. Of the 17 undergraduates who finished the school year, 14 were in good standing. A new grading system in which only passing grades will be recorded for freshmen and sophomores is under study this year at Superior. This innovation will enhance the possi-

bility of success for disadvantaged students who enter that institution.

STOUT Supports the Eau Claire view. A study done in 1966 indicates that 55 percent of its entering class of 1956 had received a Bachelor degree 10 years later.

WHITEWATER All identified special service students are retained by WSU-Whitewater for two years regardless of the grade point average attained by the student. Students must exhibit motivation and show progress. A 90 percent retention rate for any category of students is impossible at the collegiate level.

Recommendation 6

Wisconsin's minority youth need scholastic survival kits and systematic help in using them. Such programs can best be developed on the WSU campuses, with System leadership and budget aid, and with minority student participation. These programs should include at least the elements contained in the following four recommendations, that is, recommendations 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Response

The presidents agree that orientation, counseling, and tutoring are essential tools in programs to aid minority group students, with successful upperclass minority students participating. Several universities have such programs.

EAU CLAIRE Scholastic survival kits and systematic help will do much to aid the black students.

LA CROSSE Minority student participation would be a vital part of a scholastic survival kit. Development of such a program is under way at La Crosse. However, minority students cannot be used to the extent that their own academic progress is in jeopardy.

OSHKOSH The Academic Success Committee, responsible for a two-week orientation program, is continually developing new programs to help all students survive academically. The membership of the committee includes blacks who act as advisors and counselors to black students.

PLATTEVILLE The two all-black student organizations have each been approached to provide orientation programs for new black students.

RIVER FALLS Agrees that survival kits are necessary, and has initiated survival programs of the type described previously.

STEVENS POINT Has not had nor needed this for our black students, since none was academically disadvantaged. We have developed such a program for our American Indian students.

STOUT Has what can be classified as sub-freshman courses in some of the basic academic areas, English being one of them. The problem has been that students do not wish to take no-credit courses and courses that do not apply toward a degree. Most students, minority students included, feel that they are here to earn credit toward a degree and anything less is detracting from their program. For several years tutors have been available for students in mathematics. The Counseling Center conducts sessions on study skills for small groups every year.

WHITEWATER We have started a comprehensive remedial and tutorial program for minority youth. An integral part of the program is an institutional commitment to an acceptable financial aids package for each student for a 2-year period, which is not dependent upon the student's grade point average.

Recommendation 7

In August 1970 WSU-Oshkosh experimented with a 2-week orientation program designed to meet the needs of academically deficient students entering their freshman year. We recommend that all nine WSU's adopt similar programs, coupling orientation with preregistration under circumstances permitting individual attention to the needs of each student. For the program to be successful, it is mandatory that financial support be provided to enable needy students to participate. This could be a vital part of an academic survival kit for minority students.

Response

Several State universities now conduct special orientation sessions for students needing academic help and counseling. For example, Stout encourages such students to attend the summer session and provides special assistance. More such programs are planned.

EAU CLAIRE We have a 2-day orientation and preregistration program for all students. The

black student counselor was available for this program this past summer. Some weaknesses in communication between the counselor and the students will be corrected. A very successful 1-week orientation program was held during the week prior to the opening of the fall semester. Although only nine black students took advantage of this program, it was highly successful and suggests a pattern for the future. Financial support for the needy students was provided through gifts that were received from members of the Eau Claire community.

LA CROSSE We would be happy to participate in programs similar to the Oshkosh program. The problem of scholastic deficiency—at least a diagnosis—should be addressed at that time.

OSHKOSH At the time of registration a special counseling and aid table is arranged for black students in the registration arena. Black faculty, administrators, and fellow students are available to help the black student through the registration process. Substantial expansion of existing and projected programs cannot be financed under current budgetary restrictions.

PLATTEVILLE The complaint concerning assembly-line mass registration is of questionable merit. A 2-week orientation program may be valuable, but surely the individual registration of black freshmen could be accomplished in a part of one day. A 2-week period would require special funding.

RIVER FALLS Members of the Human Relations Committee work with the Counseling Center at River Falls and have made it a practice to provide individual counseling for minority students in registration and the preparation of course schedules. A 2-week orientation period may not be sufficiently long to meet the needs of academically deficient students and we doubt the efficiency of nine such programs. Some consideration might be given to an 8-week period on three or four of the campuses with some input from all nine universities.

STEVENS POINT We are enthusiastic about the Oshkosh experiment and hope resources can be made available for such a program on this campus for all academically deficient students.

STOUT This university invites students with academic deficiencies to attend a summer session prior to entering their freshman year. The invita-

tion carries with it the offer of financial assistance. The University Counseling Center maintains very close contact with all these students, who meet several times during the summer with the counselor and in small groups to discuss their problems. Those who do not attend the summer session are invited to the pre-registration period and they are assisted on an individual basis.

SUPERIOR In the future, black faculty members, along with other minority graduate and undergraduate students, will assist in the orientation program. The Financial Aids office will attempt to speed financial assistance to minority students. We favor a Systemwide summer orientation for minority students, preferably in Milwaukee, a field station, or a centrally located WSU campus. A common pooling of resources and personnel might assist academically and culturally deprived students to make a better transition to university life. WSU-Superior plans to increase the use of testing instruments to better evaluate and place incoming freshman students.

WHITEWATER We have an orientation program for minority students, begun in 1971. The 3-day orientation session includes small group discussions covering academic programs, financial aids, admissions procedures, social affairs, registration, and specific student-teacher problems.

Recommendation 8

Minority students require the full-time guidance and support of a faculty member-administrator with a rank equivalent to dean, who is able to arrange scholastic testing, tutoring and remedial work for academically deficient students, socialize minority students to the ways of the college bureaucracy, and act as an intermediary for students with officialdom on campus and in town. It is essential that such positions be budgeted for all WSU's to plan for impending large-scale minority student enrollment and serve the students adequately when they come.

Response

The recommendation is supported by the response of the presidents. Some have been able to hire special counselors for minority students. All plan to strengthen their staffs in this area as soon as they can obtain funding and recruit qualified personnel.

EAU CLAIRE Three faculty members at Eau Claire are assigned the direct responsibility for full-time guidance, to act as intermediaries with groups in the community, and to arrange for scholastic survival help. One of these is a black faculty member who is engaged full-time in this type of work. Another is a half-time black faculty member who is associated with the Counseling Office. The third member is Director of the Educational Opportunities program who has one-half-time assignment in this role.

LA CROSSE The view held at La Crosse is that arrangements can be worked out so that black students, with adequate support, can accomplish many of the stated objectives. There is a lack of staff and other resources to give extensive individual help to students. Concerning problems of minority groups, the Vice President for Student Affairs and two associate Deans of Students met each week during 1970-71 with the black student leadership. Minority students have had immediate and direct access to the highest administrative offices at La Crosse. It is our intention to cut any bureaucratic red tape in dealing with minority students.

OSHKOSH We have already implemented the essential goals of the proposal. Two full-time staff members with professional training and experience in the field of counseling have been retained at the WSU-Oshkosh dean of students office to work with black students, and the students are aware of the assistance available from black counselors. Additional staff will be added as budgetary support is made available.

RIVER FALLS Orientation problems are not limited to blacks, although perhaps they feel them more keenly. Most of the services suggested in Recommendation 9 are available, but not in one place. Nor could they possibly be assigned to one person. River Falls is considering possible restructuring and augmentation.

STOUT Three faculty members do arrange for all the services listed in this recommendation. Also, during the current year a black female has been designated by Mr. Spicer (WSU System office) to serve as liaison person. A program advisor (a black student) has been employed to give special academic advisement to new black students and to assist with matters of a personal or social nature. Several other functionaries remain alert at all times to the needs of minority students.

SUPERIOR has appointed an American Indian to work with minority groups as a counselor and adviser. This person, along with black faculty members, will arrange for many of the needs of minority students. As in the past, efforts will be made to appoint more faculty members with special emphasis in counseling, tutoring, and special work with minority students.

STEVENS POINT We do not have a special counselor for black students, though one of our two black faculty members has volunteered to do this each year since my arrival. We do not have the number of black students to justify a full-time faculty administrator. When we do, we will attempt to get one.

WHITEWATER A black Ph.D., W. G. Patten, joined the Whitewater faculty in September 1970 as Associate Professor and Assistant Dean of Summer Session and Extended Services. Half of his time is devoted to academic counseling. He works closely with the president, other administrative officials, and the Human Relations Council in matters affecting minority students. Dr. Patten has been instrumental in setting up the tutorial center. He is assisted by a black female faculty member and has added an Indian faculty member to his staff. Dr. Patten's influence in the community is positive, constructive, and significant.

Recommendation 9

Each WSU should establish remedial course work for a limited number of basic courses. Tutoring is an appropriate adjunct to remedial course work, and persons who have had remedial work might be watched to determine their need for possible tutoring in other courses taken simultaneously or following remedial work.

Response

A start has been made in remedial and tutorial programs for students who need them. The need to expand these programs is recognized by the presidents. Oshkosh and Whitewater have Federal grants to assist them in broadening their programs. Budget stringencies, particularly at universities with declining enrollments, are a principal, limiting factor.

EAU CLAIRE has established remedial groups working on reading and writing. Recommenda-

tions are being considered for formal groups to work on mathematics.

LA CROSSE Our remedial effort is limited to reading skills. This program would have to be expanded considerably, and it is our intent to do so.

OSHKOSH Remedial services are supplied through a counseling center made up of nine full-time counselors, through a testing center staffed by four testing specialists, through a reading center run by four staff members, and through a health center operated by five nurses, five doctors, and one part-time psychiatrist. Academic tutorial services were provided last year from a list of 150 student tutors which was circulated among student services staff and faculty. The black assistant deans have a program of providing tutors for students in need. A \$10,000 project, "College Student Organization for Promoting Student-to-Student Academic Assistance," the first funded by the U. S. Office of Education, has been established at Oshkosh. Faculty are required to maintain office hours adequate to the demand.

PLATTEVILLE has been concerned for remedial efforts at the high school level. Two applications have been made for Upward Bound and Talent Search grants.

STEVENS POINT provides a tutoring program to students on probation and to Indian and Chicano students at the high school level in their home communities.

SUPERIOR Special remedial and tutoring assistance is available in English. It is anticipated that, as the number of minority students with academic deficiencies increases, more remedial assistance will be provided in freshman English and speech communication. A speech correctionist has been available to assist students with speech problems.

WHITEWATER The university has received a grant of \$35,000 to establish a Special Services program for students in the poverty range who cannot succeed in college without extensive counseling and tutorial assistance. This program is part of the general tutorial services being provided for a wide range of students. Priority attention is being given to the basic subjects taken by freshmen and sophomores.

Recommendation 10

When the black experience is relevant to course content, the readings, lectures and discussions should include it. Literature, sociology, history, and political science courses are obvious candidates for examination to determine whether accuracy, balance and completeness require more or less detailed reference to the contribution and experience of black people.

Response

The State universities moved some time ago to implement the philosophy underlying Recommendation 10. This was done, in most cases, through black culture courses which all students are encouraged to take. In addition, the System has established at WSU-Platteville, an ethnic and minority studies center which is to develop curricular aids, programs, and consulting services for the System universities in this context.

EAU CLAIRE The recommendations of this report of the Civil Rights Commission are being duplicated for all members of the faculty at WSU-Eau Claire. Special attention will be called to this recommendation relative to a review of academic offerings. Eau Claire conducts two special seminars in black history during the summer session. During the academic year courses are available in black literature and black history, as well as history of Africa.

LA CROSSE Curriculum is seen as a major faculty responsibility at La Crosse. The undergraduate curriculum committee has addressed this problem and agrees that the experience of black people is relevant to the disciplines mentioned.

OSHKOSH Department chairmen have, since 1969, been requested to examine teachers' course outlines for evidence of inclusion of "the contribution of blacks to American culture, now recognized as an unfortunate omission from many courses." This semester, seven courses in five different departments with a combined enrollment of about 480 students, deal specifically with blacks or other minority groups, or the special problems of minority groups. Also offered are minors in African studies and Afro-American studies.

PLATTEVILLE This university moved to accomplish this purpose more than two years ago. In the spring of 1969 President Ullsvik directed each department head to prepare a written report

on the integration of black studies into literature, history, political science, sociology, education, and other appropriate courses; what has been accomplished to date; and what was being planned for the forthcoming year. Bibliographies and reading lists for the above disciplines were developed and special funds were allocated to increase library holdings to support this endeavor. This university agrees with the recommendation that content on black experience should be included in the disciplines wherever relevant and intends to continue and intensify present efforts.

RIVER FALLS Courses in black history and black literature are offered. The number of black speakers who have appeared on River Falls and other campuses make it seem doubtful that "one can secure a liberal education at a WSU without ever learning that American life has a black dimension." We are in complete agreement that the black experience, where relevant, should be included in university courses.

STEVENS POINT This is a concern which has been officially stressed at Stevens Point since 1967. Most of the faculty in appropriate courses are cognizant of the needs for updating course materials to make sure all Americans have their appropriate place. Outside speakers have brought such information on blacks and Indians.

STOUT Modest strides have been made in integrating the American black culture into our curriculum. Two courses: (1) black literature and (2) Afro-American history relate directly to the American black. Six others have special emphasis on black culture: (1) sociology of minority groups; (2) sociology of the community; (3) sociology of the family; (4) introduction to social work; (5) labor relations; (6) social and cultural aspects of food.

SUPERIOR This university introduced a course in Afro-American history in 1969. In the 1971 summer session a 3-week workshop on the black man's experience in America was offered on campus, utilizing the services of a black professor, Alandeas C. Johnson, of Grambling College. The English department has developed and offered a course entitled, "black experience in American literature." The university's Department of Sociology has offered a course titled, "Minority Groups." The WSU-Superior library has increased its budget for books relating to such courses from \$1,200 in 1968-69 to \$3,000 in 1970-71, so that

the library has acquired over 80 percent of the civil rights bibliography list of the NAACP. The purchase of library holdings related to the black man in America will continue.

WHITEWATER Current offerings include: introduction to Afro-American culture; Afro-American literature, 1800 to present; the history of black America (2 sections); and sociology of minorities.

Recommendation 11

The Committee recommends that the Higher Educational Aids Board's authority be enlarged to permit it to act as an officer on behalf of the WSU's, tailoring aid packages to meet student needs and advising minority students on the developing distribution of newly entering and returning minority students on the WSU campuses. Thus, uniformity in applying the formula for administering financial aid would be accomplished, and an important step taken toward achieving greater diffusion of minority students among the WSU campuses.

Response

The universities are unanimous in their opposition to the recommendation to centralize financial aid services to individual students in the Higher Educational Aids Board. All contend that financial aid decisions must be made at the universities which the students attend, where the students can be consulted personally if desired, either by the student or the Financial Aid Director. Uniform guidelines now are followed in providing aids to incoming freshmen. A student receives only one WSU aid offer, which will be honored by any WSU he chooses to attend. HEAB staff officers have stated in the past that they do not desire to have determination of student need removed from the individual universities.

EAU CLAIRE Both the Director of Financial Aids and members of the faculty working with financial needs of black students question the advisability of preparation of packets on a mass basis in a central office. It is their belief that local consideration for the individual student would lead to greater help for the student.

LA CROSSE Financial aids offices seem to be overburdened presently with various levels of rule-making authority. These various levels of

authority are often at odds with one another and issue conflicting direction. Ordinarily, greater centralization of authority does not result in better service to students. We believe we could be of more help to minority students with more flexibility on this campus.

OSHKOSH Oshkosh has reservations relating to this recommendation for the following reasons:

(1) WSU financial aids officers presently accomplish need analysis and awarding using both program guidelines and mutually agreed upon procedures. If these do not result in the desired uniformity, then the WSU aid officers can adjust the guidelines and procedures. This can be accomplished without using an external State agency.

(2) Students, especially minority group students, have continually changing financial needs. An office in Madison could not respond adequately to changes that occur during the year.

(3) Many minority students arrive on campus at or after registration time with no financial aids application, no parents' confidential statement, no real knowledge of the procedures involved, and no money. We cannot ask these people to see HEAB officials.

(4) Uniformity of need analysis would not assure equity. HEAB analysts would not necessarily do a more adequate job of assessing a student's financial need. Also, since one person could not do all of the need analysis, HEAB could not achieve complete uniformity.

(5) The scholarship service agencies, CSS and ACT, now provide a standardized analysis of family financial strength. This agency report does not dictate the amount of aid to be provided to the student; that decision is made by the local aid officer, using the report as a tool. HEAB would lack the feature missing in the service agencies—closeness to the student on the campus—and thus could not improve upon the need analysis done by CSS/ACT.

WSU-Oshkosh would support expanded HEAB advising of minority students, but would like State support of advisory services in high schools in low-income areas, cooperatively operated.

PLATTEVILLE The Higher Education Aids Board does send financial aids applications and information to Wisconsin high schools. However, only the one-page application is returned to HEAB, which forwards them to the individual colleges and universities. That these applications

are screened by HEAB is most unlikely, since many forms received at this university are incomplete. The four-page parents' confidential statement is sent by the student to Evanston, Illinois, where they are processed and forwarded directly to colleges and universities. The recommendation that HEAB's authority be enlarged to permit it to act as an officer in behalf of the WSU's, tailoring packages to meet student needs, is vigorously opposed. Finding #7 of the Committee showed that black students are receiving sympathetic treatment when applications are late, etc. The Committee would err in believing that such exceptions do not require close cooperation between the financial aids office and other administrative offices on campus. The conclusion at Platteville is that problems would be compounded by packaging aids at a central office.

RIVER FALLS River Falls does not endorse this recommendation. We believe the work load for HEAB would be unwieldy and there would be even less flexibility for late applicants. In addition, this seems to conflict with the underlying philosophy of keeping the source of financial aid close to the students. As matters now stand, representatives of the State universities meet annually to agree on college costs and the ratio of grants to loans and work. Due to this, aid packages are usually uniform although some late packages may not conform to the ratio because of insufficient funds in some accounts.

STEVENS POINT Stevens Point financial aids officers do not agree that HEAB should take over the preparation of financial aids packages. Our office of financial aids has been trying to work with all black students, as we realize our enrollment is low. They have similarly been trying to package aid for any needy student that will help him obtain an education.

STOUT The HEAB might be in a position to give very generalized information to students, but the revisions of aid packages as requested by the student seems to be an impossible expectation of off-campus agencies.

SUPERIOR Student financial aids programs at Superior are carefully administered with respect to the needs of minority students. Officials at Superior also feel that centralizing the program in HEAB will be cumbersome and remote. It will discourage identification with the local campus, produce late registration, and tend to provide

uniform aid packages to minorities when they should be adapted to needs. This will increase the frustrations of students who need immediate, convenient, and personal assistance.

WHITEWATER It is the feeling of officials at Whitewater that the black students are better served by the present system which allows for some autonomy and flexibility as well as providing for personal contact with the aid officer. To delegate this responsibility to a central State agency would take all personal contact and hope for personal appeal away from the process and create greater confusion and frustrations.

Recommendation 12

The Committee recommends that administrative action be taken as soon as possible and legislation be enacted as needed to make it possible to administer financial aid to low-income students in the form of grants and employment without entailing loans.

Response

All the universities concur with the recommendation that grants be awarded low-income students to the degree possible and all but one would like to see loans eliminated as a form of financial aid for these students. However, since employment interferes with study time for most of these students, who find the first year or two of college work a struggle, this form of aid should not be stressed. Loans are thus often preferable. The crux of the matter lies in the need for adequate State and Federal funding and in a review of the rules and regulations governing awarding of grants.

EAU CLAIRE "This recommendation is entirely dependent upon legislative action that would provide much greater funding, both at the State and national level."

LA CROSSE We support the idea of additional financial aids for students to reduce the need for borrowing. We believe higher education should be available and accessible to all without regard to economic status.

OSHKOSH The loan element of the aid package for low-income students should be reduced to a minimum. Oshkosh would welcome additional grants to low-income students. Two factors affect

implementation:

- (1) The ability or willingness of the student to work during the academic year.
- (2) The availability of funds to provide grant, scholarship, and work-study aid.

PLATTEVILLE Recognizing that a student can accumulate substantial debts through loans, we try to provide a high percentage of aid in the form of grants to black students. In 1969-70 black students received 42 percent of their aids as grants, while whites received 20 percent. The proportion for blacks dropped to 34 percent in 1970-71 because the State Teacher's Scholarship program was being phased out.

RIVER FALLS "We are in sympathy with the intent of Recommendation 12 but would put even more emphasis on grants. For the student who enters the university with academic deficiencies, part-time employment is not the answer to his financial needs."

STEVENS POINT Some loan aspect should be retained in order to maintain a commitment on the part of the student. Stevens Point is cautious about the use of employment for students with academic problems. "Employment can create academic failure."

STOUT "It has been our experience that many low-income students choose not to work because they prefer to spend time on their studies. With the present State and Federal regulations on the grant programs, there is no choice in most cases but to offer the student a loan."

SUPERIOR Grant money coupled with loans will be more conducive to academic success than if work-study is included, since the latter requires working, perhaps at the expense of studying.

WHITEWATER We favor grants and employment over loans, whenever funds are available.

Recommendation 13

Financial aid packages to needy students should be so administered as to maximize accounting transfers where aid money is to be used to discharge obligations to the school. Deposits, late fees, and penalties should be waived and not permitted to encumber financial aid funds.

Response

The recommendations appear to be interpreted differently by the presidents. If policies concerning deposits, late fee payments, and penalties are to be different for students receiving financial aid than for other students, the financial aid directors should recommend such policies to the Council of Presidents for Systemwide application.

EAU CLAIRE Better counseling and working relationships with the individual needy students should lead to orderly discharge of obligations on the part of all students.

LA CROSSE We do not think it would be possible for this university to deposit grant money in a student account and then transfer funds to meet obligations to the university. Loans could not be handled in this manner for obvious reasons. Deposits, late fees, and penalties need to be assessed to expedite business transactions. Student accounts and transfers imply additional business office personnel.

OSHKOSH We support this recommendation. The university can, and does, defer room deposits and fee payments pending receipt of financial aid. WSU-O concurs that a university should not have to charge late penalties when such penalties reduce the total amount of financial aid available to the student.

PLATTEVILLE This university accepts the recommendation that accounting transfers be maximized, but removing all penalties for not following procedures is not acceptable unless the university is also freed of obligations to collect the fees of such students.

RIVER FALLS With respect to this finding, we can discover no evidence on our campus that late fees, deposits, etc., are used in any way for "disciplining students to desired behavior." The language of the recommendation is not clear and it seems to us that reasonable judgment should prevail in individual circumstances so that students who need economic assistance are in no way penalized for being poor.

STEVENS POINT We already have a policy whereby any student on financial aid can receive approval for deferred payments, thus avoiding deposits, late fees, and penalties.

WHITEWATER Provisions are made for paying fees after registration when authorized by

the financial aids office. Such arrangements are not subject to penalty.

Recommendation II

Recommendation IIa

It is important that staff counseling blacks have close rapport and represent black professional achievement. Black professionals must be recruited to participate in counseling and remedial programs.

Response

That more black professionals should be employed is accepted by all the universities. Five already have one or more black counselors and/or instructors and administrators. All cite difficulties in recruiting or retaining qualified blacks which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Shortage of professionally qualified blacks and keen competition for services of the few available.

(2) Difficulty of attracting blacks to live and work in small, nearly all-white communities in rural areas of the State.

(3) Inability to compete with better offers from other institutions. One university objected to the implication that "only blacks can help blacks".

EAU CLAIRE Has employed two staff counselors who are black.

LA CROSSE Efforts to recruit well-qualified black faculty are often met with pleas not to take experienced faculty from institutions presently employing them. Unfortunately, we have not, to my knowledge, had one black applicant for a vacant position during the past year.

OSHKOSH Oshkosh has been more fortunate in hiring blacks, having had two black assistant deans who help in counseling.

PLATTEVILLE Platteville was unable to retain a black administrator, an assistant director of the student center, because it could not compete with an offer from another institution for his services.

RIVER FALLS We acknowledge the employment of few or no blacks, but the second part requires a leap in logic. The reasoning seems to be: the WSU System doesn't want black staff members. Black staff members are the most

sought after by all universities, including Ivy League and Big Ten schools. One black faculty member has been at River Falls for 14 years. Another was lost in 1970 after four years because it was impossible to compete with an offer from a neighboring State for his services. However, the sensed assumption that "only blacks can help blacks" has not proved true at River Falls.

STEVENS POINT We agree that more blacks should be hired since there are only two black faculty members here. Since the 7th Congressional District has had the lowest black population in the entire United States, the black population in the Stevens Point area is almost nil and does not attract blacks. Stevens Point pledges to continually seek to recruit blacks in all areas of university employment.

STOUT We would welcome the opportunity to employ black professionals for counseling and remedial programs. Currently such persons are difficult to attract to a community in which there are few, if any, members of minority groups residing in the city in which the university is located.

SUPERIOR Superior has two black instructors out of 208 hired. Attempts to hire additional black faculty were unsuccessful. An American Indian graduate student has been appointed to work with, counsel, and assist in recruiting minority students.

WHITEWATER A black professional educator who does academic counseling was hired last year; a full-time black counselor was also hired. In the last two years black students were employed to help in counseling at residence halls and in special programs for blacks.

Recommendation 14b

Much apprehension and nascent resentment which black students experience in approaching the financial aids office would be lifted were they to see at least one black staff member and we recommend a vigorous effort to recruit blacks to financial aid staffs.

Response

Whitewater has a black student counselor in the financial aids office. Some other universities would be glad to consider black applicants for their staffs if they had openings. Some universities

report no evidence of the apprehension cited in the recommendation and say their offices have excellent rapport with black students.

EAU CLAIRE The black faculty counselors speak with high approbation of the present financial aids office as related to black students.

OSHKOSH The university would participate actively in the recruitment and employment of a black member of the financial aids staff.

PLATTEVILLE We agree that a black faculty member in our student aids office would be helpful.

RIVER FALLS We have two staff members working in financial aids. We would be happy if one or both were black, but they aren't.

STOUT We are aware that some black students are apprehensive in approaching our office. Our efforts to have those students who have overcome this apprehension work in a liaison capacity seems to have been successful. We feel that our financial aids office has established good rapport with the black students on campus.

SUPERIOR No apprehension is evident from blacks concerning financial aids. A black student has been a member of the financial aid committee for the past three years.

WHITEWATER has employed a black student counselor in the financial aids office for a year and a half and plans to continue this counseling service to black students.

Recommendation 14c

The lack of black staff members in athletic departments is startlingly evident. The WSU System should make every effort to attract black coaches and physical education specialists to its campuses.

Response

The State universities hire physical education teachers who also serve as coaches. All report that they have been unable, thus far, to find qualified black applicants for these faculty and coaching positions. The presidents report that treatment of minority group athletes is fair and that relations between them and white athletes are amicable.

LA CROSSE This university emphasizes physical education and has a large staff. We hire teachers who are also coaches. Teaching preparation is most important to us in hiring for the physical education department. Qualified blacks have not been available.

RIVER FALLS The lack of black staff members in athletic departments appears to be no more "startling" than the lack of black faculty in most departments. A desire to have black faculty members does not necessarily make them available.

OSHKOSH A black instructor was added to the WSU-Oshkosh physical education staff this year. Efforts are now being made to recruit at least one black coach. However, as in the total university community, administrators are unable to tell from credentials whether applicants are black or white. . . . We welcome qualified black candidates.

Recommendation 14d

We know of no instance where a WSU campus has employed a black housing director or hall director. The record on employment of blacks as resident assistants is mixed. The Wisconsin Committee recommends that the WSU's increase minority participation in employment in the field of housing.

Response

Four of the universities have had black housing administrators and personnel who left for various reasons, and one reports hiring a black for this position for 1971-72. Several have had and currently have black resident assistants. One problem area is getting blacks to apply for these positions and another is retaining those who are hired.

EAU CLAIRE A black housing director, Miss Bobbie A. Irwins, served in this capacity until recently but left the campus to accept a position at Prairie View College in Texas. Efforts have been made to employ several other black persons, but the salary schedule was not high enough to induce them to accept the position.

OSHKOSH A black hall director was employed for one semester. Her employment was self-terminated because of family problems.

This university has and will continue to hire black resident assistants and head residents. Students are selected for the position on the basis of leadership, scholarship, and ability to communicate with fellow students.

PLATTEVILLE During the 1969-70 academic year, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Orr and their daughter lived in one of the residence halls where Mr. Orr served as the director. Mr. Orr is a black educator from Milwaukee who earned his Master's degree in counseling and guidance from WSU-Platteville in August 1970. He was offered a permanent position as a member of the Platteville faculty, but he decided to return to his previous position in an all-black school in Milwaukee.

RIVER FALLS We have a black residence hall director for 1971-72.

STOUT Stout has had resident assistants from minority groups. Currently, one is Spanish American. No blacks applied to be R.A.s this year.

SUPERIOR Black students have served as assistants at Superior since 1968-69. This year the senior resident assistant is a black student.

WHITEWATER A contract was offered to black female hall director candidate (Robbie Luckie) in the spring of 1965. She declined the offer to take advantage of the graduate program at the University of Wisconsin. She has been the only black residence hall director applicant. Tom Wise, a black, was hired and served as housing conference coordinator during 1969-70. Records from the housing office show that a black was assistant inspector of off-campus housing and that others served as student maintenance assistants during the summer. Three blacks are currently serving as resident assistants, and blacks have consistently been employed since the inception of the program in 1958.

Recommendation 14e

The WSU campus security forces are in the process of enlargement and professionalization. The Committee recommends that efforts be made to recruit black police science graduates to the security force.

Response

The salary range approved for security officers is not sufficient to attract police science graduates. Where students are employed in security departments it is possible to include minority students who are interested in the work.

EAU CLAIRE Student positions on the local security force are open to black students.

LA CROSSE The Civil Service category, Security Officer I, the level at which we employ our campus security, is financially unattractive to black police science graduates. We have employed a black student radio operator in campus security.

PLATTEVILLE None of the campus security officers is black, but one member of the police science department is black.

SUPERIOR It would be necessary to raise the compensation level to pay grade 12 or better to attract police science graduates.

Recommendation 15

WSU administrators should be encouraged to face with equanimity and tolerance the reasonable desire of black students not to be compelled either to live together or apart from fellow blacks. All reasonable housing requests, which do not impinge upon and narrow the freedoms of others, should receive serious consideration and sympathetic response.

Response

There is total agreement with this recommendation and, in fact, it restates the official policies that were in effect on all campuses long prior to the issuance of the Committee's report.

LA CROSSE Exceptions to university rules regarding housing, or any other activity of the university, for a class or group of students is difficult for all students to accept. We know that the perfect rule has not yet been written; therefore, we regularly consider individual student needs in applying the rules.

OSHKOSH Incoming students have choice of residence hall and roommate providing both contracts are received within a reasonable length of time. Every effort is made to honor hall and roommate preference. If no preferences are

stated, dormitory rooms are assigned without any bias toward race, color, or creed.

PLATTEVILLE Students here have freedom of choice of roommates. Students are allowed to change rooms one month after the start of each semester as a routine procedure and at other times for sufficient reason. Black students have complete freedom to cluster or not to cluster, as they wish.

RIVER FALLS The university concurs with the proposed recommendation.

STEVENS POINT The recommendation states what is already the policy at Stevens Point, though black students have been urged to "scatter" themselves through the dorm so as to provide a learning experience much needed by the white students.

STOUT We have had an open policy in regard to students having the opportunity to select the hall, room, and floor on which to live. Black students have, on occasion, clustered in small living groups. The Stout housing staff feels these students should be able to live with their friends just as other students do. Our practices in regard to housing black students tend to follow the above recommendation. There have been certain difficulties with respect to housing blacks in the community. These have been discussed with Mr. Spicer, who agrees that the problem would likely be compounded if the university were to assume a "head-on" confrontation. Support in planning an approach has been sought from the city manager of Menomonie.

SUPERIOR Officials at Superior believe that it is important to give all students a choice as to hall, room, and roommate. In cases where choices are not made, the policy of random assignment will be continued.

WHITEWATER At Whitewater all applications are accepted on a chronological basis. All mutual roommate requests are honored. Students who listed no roommate preference are assigned randomly, using information provided on the application: whether a student goes to bed early, smokes, sleeps with the window open, choice of visitation or non-visitation, etc. Upperclassmen whose applications were received by May 7, 1971 were guaranteed first preference of residence hall.

Recommendation 16

Dormitory rules should relate to personal safety and building maintenance, not to enforcing any particular set of cultural mores.

Response

There are fewer rules and regulations in force in residence halls than in previous years. The regulations are not intended to enforce "any particular set of cultural mores" but, rather, to create an atmosphere in which all students can pursue their own interests without undue interference with the pursuits of others.

EAU CLAIRE Fewer rules and regulations are in force today than formerly.

OSHKOSH Residence hall programs do not reflect upon any particular set of cultural mores. They are developed to help students achieve a sense of responsibility, respect for others' rights and property, and a concern for others' well being. Guidelines that are distributed to each residence hall student are available upon request.

STOUT Emphasis is placed on achieving a somewhat quiet and pleasant atmosphere needed for study and relaxation.

SUPERIOR Black students have served on residence hall social committees for the past several years. This ensures that social activities include those that are of interest to blacks.

WHITEWATER Residence hall regulations are designed to create an optimum climate for students to achieve their educational objectives while at the university, as well as to protect personal safety and building maintenance. The enforcement of quiet hours by students themselves may take preference over cultural mores which interfere with important educational objectives.

Recommendation 17

WSU presidents should take the lead in mobilizing campus and host city support for fair housing codes in the host city, and then in assuring effective administration of such codes, when enacted.

Response

The "finding" that the universities have been "ineffectual" in establishing fair housing codes and attitudes in university cities is not supported

by facts. Responses of the presidents below speak for themselves.

EAU CLAIRE University officials supported a fair housing code for the city, and it was adopted. Knowledge of discrimination by any landlord removes his housing from the approved housing list of WSU-Eau Claire.

LA CROSSE La Crosse has a code which addresses the problems of discrimination in off-campus housing. A committee appointed by the mayor is responsible for finding facts regarding complaints of discrimination. Any violations reported to the university would be referred promptly and vigorously to the committee.

OSHKOSH Students under 21 who live off campus must have housing approved. Such approval requires compliance with Federal, State, and municipal policy on discrimination. Each landowner must sign a nondiscrimination agreement. Approved housing must comply with standards set forth by the city of Oshkosh minimum housing code as adopted by the Common Council on July 23, 1970. Any act of discrimination will cause steps to be taken to remove listing of such housing from the WSU-Oshkosh approved file.

PLATTEVILLE We maintain a list of approved off-campus housing in our student housing office. If a student complains about discrimination, a call is placed to the landlord inquiring if housing is available. If such housing is available, then an appointment is arranged for the student to contract for the housing. If the student is not then extended a housing contract, and further inquiry indicates discrimination, the householder's name is removed from the list.

RIVER FALLS A fair housing code was adopted by the city of River Falls in August 1967 and is in the process of being revised. River Falls officials do not conclude that if a black faculty member commutes to the host city, this is conclusive evidence of discrimination. River Falls black staff members have always resided in River Falls, though 41 nonblack staff members commute.

STEVENS POINT Fair housing has been a top-priority item since 1967. In the spring of 1968, the Stevens Point Common Council unanimously passed the model housing law and has made enforcement of that law eminently clear.

SUPERIOR To the best of our knowledge, black students and faculty have had no unusual difficulty in obtaining housing in Superior. Administrators have assisted blacks in securing housing and continue to advocate fair housing. The university requires that university housing listings be available regardless of race, creed, or ethnic background. In one case, a landlord who refused housing to a black married student couple was reported to the city attorney.

WHITEWATER The WSU-Whitewater student handbook contains a statement about fair housing. The university has no jurisdiction over off-campus housing but has assisted students and landlords when requested to do so. Administrators of the university have worked for fair housing and pledged to do everything possible to get the City Council to enforce the code they adopted two years ago.

Recommendation 18

Recruitment of black athletes should be one element in a massive deed, rather than word, oriented effort on the part of WSU athletic departments to enlist the confidence of black students.

Response

While all the universities lack the prime recruitment tool—athletic scholarships—five report having substantial numbers of blacks on inter-collegiate teams for years. Therefore, the recommendation is variously endorsed, already implemented and considered unnecessary, or questioned because of the vague or untrue premises on which it is based.

EAU CLAIRE Black athletes are very prominent on the WSU-Eau Claire athletic teams. We do not concur with the statement that members of the faculty are racially biased.

LA CROSSE The coaching staff has a mixed point of view regarding recruitment of any athlete. They, basically, have no inducements to offer an athlete other than an excellent educational opportunity.

OSHKOSH Currently 17 black athletes are participating in WSU-Oshkosh intercollegiate athletics, and current efforts to recruit black athletes will be expanded. While this proportion

compares favorably with the total male student body, the fact remains that the WSU System does not make available any athletic scholarships, and such scholarships are important to minority groups because of greater economic need.

PLATTEVILLE We have heard reports from some black students that our coaches do not offer equal opportunity in athletic competition to black students; yet other black students who have achieved athletic success indicate that equal opportunity is demonstrated. We have checked with our coaching staff concerning such accusations and the staff insists that every athlete is treated equally and that they are especially anxious to secure students with athletic powers, black or white.

RIVER FALLS The university endorses the recommendation but observes that the "finding" on which it is based is worded in such a way that it cannot be refuted. By using phrases such as "are convinced that", "general indictment", and "was seen as", the authors have made a response impossible.

STEVENS POINT Lack of athletic scholarships is an absolute deterrent. It would be foolish of a black athlete to come here without an athletic scholarship when they are available almost everywhere else. We, as a System, might look at this recommendation as it relates to Recommendation 12.

STOUT Stout endorses the recommendation.

SUPERIOR As early as 1958, WSU-Superior recruited black athletes who competed in football, basketball, wrestling, track, cross country, and hockey. Black athletes have been elected captains of our varsity teams and have been elected officers in our lettermen's club. The philosophy of our coaches emphasizes playing any qualified student athlete, regardless of color. Our coaches counsel, advise, and assist black athletes at any time they may have a problem. This philosophy will continue in the future. Black athletes have assisted in encouraging and recruiting other black athletes.

WHITEWATER Black WSU-Whitewater football players in 1971 number 14. Former football teams have included both offensive and defensive black starters.

Recommendation 19

Each WSU should develop a vigorous community relations program having the purpose of enhancing good relations between the host community and all of the segments of the varied student body on campus. By definition, each WSU student body will be strange and somewhat alien to the population and mores of the host community and it is the responsibility of the individual WSU's with central stimulation and funding from the regent's office in Madison, to make these qualities a positive rather than negative factor in WSU community relations.

Response

The universities have developed strong and solid ties with the cities in which they are located, with faculty and students active in off-campus affairs, including city government and civic organizations. These ties now are valuable in assisting minority students and faculty members and community residents to bridge cultural differences.

EAU CLAIRE The university has been working with the community for several years to enhance good relationships between the community and all segments of the student body. A town meeting approach has been used, including the formation of a group to develop the very suggestions of Recommendation 19. This group was responsible for locating housing for more than a score of black students who registered late in each of two years when it appeared that housing was exhausted. Eau Claire is in the process of forming a human rights commission to augment campus and community relationships. Special efforts by the Eau Claire Police Department and campus security staff have developed an excellent relationship.

LA CROSSE Efforts have been made and will continue to be made concerning the town-gown relationship. Help has been found from community resources such as churches, city officials, and the chamber of commerce.

OSHKOSH will expand its considerable action in enhancing community relations. Current efforts include:

(1) A chamber of commerce-university relations committee which has undertaken programs to help the black adjust to an almost all-white

community. Black students and a black faculty member are part of this committee, which has scheduled rap sessions with downtown businessmen, participated in sensitivity seminars, helped blacks obtain part-time jobs, and conducted sessions on community housing recommending minimum codes.

(2) The Office of Public Information has made a special effort to publicize, through the media, the activities, programs, and academic developments of minority groups.

PLATTEVILLE A university roundtable is held in the Spring and Fall. Attempts have been made to have representatives from the Ebony Club be present.

RIVER FALLS We agree with this recommendation and have been working in this area for many years.

STEVENS POINT Our community relations program follows this recommendation currently and has for some years. Our minority and international students participate in a continuous program of community teaching toward this end.

SUPERIOR has a long record of community involvement. Faculty hold responsible positions in city government, many are members of local civic and fraternal organizations. Thus, there has been a constant flow of communication and activity between students and townspeople. Black students are encouraged to participate in campus organizations, including honor groups, academic groups, fraternities, and sororities. A black student was president of one of the largest fraternities last year.

WHITEWATER In the Fall of 1970, the university brought community, student, and faculty together in a leadership conference aimed at developing positive attitudes toward others. The president has tried to develop a community-university committee with representation from all segments of the campus and community to give leadership in town-gown relations. We have had some successes and some failures but will continue to develop plans and programs to help all members of the community to accept one another and to work together amicably.

Recommendation 20

WSU's, host city public officials, chambers of commerce, and student leaders should develop programs

for assuring that local merchants adhere to fair and equal standards in dealing with students, regardless of cultural and ethnic differences. Students and the WSU's should, for this purpose at least, make their economic power felt in the host city.

Response

The presidents are alert to this problem and are working with chambers of commerce and city officials to improve relationships between business establishments and all students.

EAU CLAIRE The student senate on the campus of WSU-Eau Claire has not noted any examples of unfair and unequal standards that might have been used with students.

LA CROSSE The chamber of commerce at La Crosse has indicated an interest in dialogue with students.

OSHKOSH The university community, through newspapers and other statements, has attempted to impress upon the Oshkosh community the economic impact of the university. Expansion of community efforts to employ black students and to attract additional permanent black families to the community would assist in relieving the problems which grow from uniqueness of the black students in the community. The chamber of commerce-university relations committee has recommended to those who conduct training sessions for retail personnel that the problem evident in Finding 20 be discussed and that corrective actions be instituted.

PLATTEVILLE The university will initiate programs to ensure equal and fair treatment of students. An attempt to employ economic sanctions against specific merchants is not considered, however, to be in the interests of overall success of this effort.

RIVER FALLS We approve the recommendation but want to make certain we are working with facts and not hearsay.

STEVENS POINT All eyes are on all students when they shop because of a growing penchant toward shoplifting in the young. We believe students are treated fairly and equitably, regardless of cultural and ethnic differences.

SUPERIOR The information services office of WSU-Superior has contacted the manager of

the Superior Chamber of Commerce in regard to this matter. It has been proposed that the retail merchants division discuss at their next meeting the possibility of identifying any activity prejudicial to WSU minority students.

WHITEWATER The city manager of the city of Whitewater met with the black students in the Spring of 1971, shortly after his arrival in the city, and stated that if any black students were mistreated by merchants or city officials, they should go directly to him and he would investigate the matter thoroughly.

Recommendation 21

Campus security forces should be trained on techniques and briefed on their responsibility to recognize and be catalysts for reducing the intensity and scope of incipient violence on campus.

Response

This recommendation is obviously endorsed by all the presidents. Every campus moved long ago to augment such aims, but only recently has there been need for great concern, and the allocation of enlarged staff. Campus security personnel are in various stages of completing more advanced security training. The reports of the presidents indicate acceptance of this goal and, in some cases, give brief summaries showing what progress has been made in security staffing.

Recommendation 22

Police should maintain strict impartiality in dealing with interracial complaints and should treat minority students—all students—with the courtesy to which citizens are entitled.

Response

All of the universities agree with this recommendation and realize the need to eliminate any prejudice toward minority students.

EAU CLAIRE The Eau Claire police chief has had an objective of fair treatment of all persons in the community. About two-thirds of the Eau Claire police officers are or have been students at WSU-Eau Claire. A black student has just been added to the city police force.

LA CROSSE Our position is that student personnel workers should deal with student complaints as much as possible. City police have demonstrated restraint and courtesy in dealing with students.

SUPERIOR The chief of police reports that he knows of no discriminatory practices on the part of local police and urges that black students let it be known immediately if they feel any discrimination. He would be happy to have the university information services arrange dialogues between the police department and minority students.

Recommendation 23

Constitutional standards mandate equal treatment of white and minority students apprehended by police. The Platteville Police Department should

desist from this practice of differential treatment immediately and within a reasonable time the State attorney general's office should make inquiry to determine that the practice has been discontinued.

Response

The Platteville Police Department categorically denies the charge that it discriminates against black students by treating them differently than white students when they are under arrest. The department reports that persons in custody are transferred to the county jail in Lancaster when they are to be detained for several days, because that jail has better facilities. To document this point, the records of Chief Clay Mellor indicate that, in the period May 4, 1969 to October 16, 1970, three blacks and 17 whites were sent to the Grant County jail at Lancaster.

MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS IN THE WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES

Problems, Challenges, Programs

Part III

Summary and Conclusions

The Wisconsin State Committee pre-empted any studied response of the Wisconsin State Universities System while the manuscript of the report was in draft form by the procedure followed in releasing its findings to the public. The report was announced in a news conference one day after the executive director of the WSU System had received a confidential copy of the document. The Committee was accorded access to any and all records desired on the four campuses visited and university personnel were made available for interview as requested. Much time was spent on each WSU campus by faculty and administrators who compiled the data required by the Committee. Prior to the time that the report, "The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System", was released, no WSU officials were asked to examine it for accuracy of data and interpretation.

In the System view, there are in the report, many statements and interpretations which the presidents, after researching the matters on the local campus, cannot corroborate, as evidenced by the campus input in Part II of this reply. At times, the language of the State Committee's report hints at undisclosed sources of data with references couched in vague terms that permit neither verification nor rebuttal. The situation is made more complex because System representatives, in their responses, often tended to agree objectively with many of the recommendations, yet found themselves unable to endorse the findings leading up to those recommendations.

Although the problems inherent in the assertions of fact and the presentation of the report blunt its professional impact, the State universities acknowledge the sincere interest in and dedication of the writers of the report to the goal of enhancing educational opportunity for minority groups. In this objective, the authors of the report and every State university are agreed without reservation. It is to this call for progress toward that objective that the System universities have responded in these pages.

Among the number of areas of agreement between the Committee and the universities are, for example, the specific point that all agree that efforts should be made to educate not only more black students but all minority students at System universities. Personalized recruitment is one way to help increase minority enrollments and these plans are already underway. In order to survive once in college, minority students should be provided with "academic survival kits". It is not yet clear whether the Oshkosh plan for orientation or some other is most effective, but more help in orientation, counseling, remedial work, tutoring, and provision for appropriate curricula are all endorsed by WSU officials. There is general concurrence that departures from strict interpretation of entrance, retention, financial aid rules and regulations may be appropriate. There should, wherever possible, be more employment of minority people in higher education. Minority groups should have as much freedom as any other students to live together or apart and

be accorded every opportunity open to majority students by the terms of residence hall, housing, or athletic competition rules. Where town-gown relations may be an issue, students and faculty can join hands in a concerted program of education in the community.

There are some recommendations and quite a few findings of the Wisconsin Civil Rights Committee with which not all universities concur. Concerning the increasing of black student enrollments, the question is not whether they should be increased but *how* and *to what extent* it can be done in the light of no special funds available to support the minority instructional effort. It is noteworthy that the Committee has no new suggestions to expand the areas or sources of minority group recruitment that are already "plowed ground" in Wisconsin.

The universities feel strongly that minority students should be allowed to attend the campus of their choice. If one must think of numbers and quotas, then a System total is the only meaningful formula.

WSU officials consider the 90 percent retention rate for blacks unrealistic, since no institution approaches that goal for its majority students.

Responses of WSU officials show lack of full concurrence with some Committee proposals dealing with financial arrangements for needy students. These students are in a serious dilemma. Grants are hard to come by, for students have a low probability of survival. If it seems inadvisable for such students to borrow, they must work while attending school—an even less advisable alternative according to some officials. The universities do not recommend having financial aids packaged in a central (HEAB) office.

Some of the most serious points of disagreement between the Committee and WSU officials are the "findings" of the Committee concerning the status of civil rights compliance in the board office and on the WSU campuses. For a case in point, consider the central administration of the WSU System. Daily communications and reports of System office activities reveal the deep concern of the executive director and staff

concerning civil rights matters. A tangible outcome of this concern is the employment of Mr. Edward Spicer as a full-time coordinator of system minority groups. Though it was not solicited, evidence of Mr. Spicer's work on several campuses could easily have been provided to the Committee.

The Civil Rights Committee findings that refer to black student and black faculty quotas are clearly vulnerable. Every major placement director knows that black faculty are in short supply and in great demand throughout the United States. Black universities are among the first to object to faculty recruitment raids on their campuses. The System is expected to hire qualified black faculty members when the number available is a fraction of those desired and the salaries required are an enviable increment above the present WSU schedules. The WSU's are expected to enroll more black students from a pool of identified college prospects which is becoming relatively smaller as higher education opportunities are made increasingly available to the motivated, disadvantaged innercore student.

A review of the WSU responses concerning treatment of minorities on campuses and in campus communities shows a great deal of sincere, sustained effort and many grass-roots programs being carried on under the leadership of WSU officials. Many of these programs were started a number of years ago, long before the Committee launched this investigation. These statements are at distinct variance with the findings of the Civil Rights Committee. Certainly the factual statements and first hand observations provided in Part II do not bear out the sweeping indictment of callousness to the needs of blacks and other minority students.

Finally, minority students are not likely to be motivated to enroll in the Wisconsin State Universities, either because of the inaccurate portrayal of the lot of minority students on WSU campuses, or the negative attitudes engendered by this report on "The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System". If this is the effect, not only they, but the whole State of Wisconsin, will be the losers.

