

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO REVIEW THE STATUS OF MINORITY  
STUDENTS IN YALE COLLEGE

1977

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE  
TO  
REVIEW THE STATUS OF MINORITY STUDENTS  
IN  
YALE COLLEGE  
1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page Numbers
Introduction . . . . .	1-9
I. Minority Students and the Goals of Yale College . . . . .	9-15
II. Coming to Yale College . . . . .	15-29
III. Transition, Adjustment, and Effectiveness . . . . .	29-33
IV. Living and Social Arrangements . . . . .	33-40
V. Support Services . . . . .	40-43
VI. Minority Faculty . . . . .	43-47
Appendix A	
Appendix B	
Appendix C	

The Committee to Review the Status of Minority Students in Yale College was appointed by Dean Taft in the spring of 1976. The members were:

Robert A. Dahl, Chairman, Sterling Professor of Political Science  
Yolanda V. Gonzalez, Secretary, Assistant Dean of Yale College  
Isabel Barraza, '78 Davenport College  
Richard Chang, Associate Professor of Engineering and Applied Science  
John B. Childs, Assistant Professor of Afro-American Studies and Anthropology<sup>1</sup>  
Claudia Emanuel, '79 Trombull College<sup>2</sup>  
Rowena Estrada, '77 Silliman College  
Isabel Gunning, '77 Calhoun College  
Marnesba M. Hill, Associate Dean for Student Affairs  
Carlos Hortas, Dean of Branford College and Assistant Professor of Spanish  
Unjeria Jackson, '77 Timothy Dwight College  
Jacqueline W. Mintz, Associate Provost<sup>3</sup>  
Nydia Padilla, '78 Branford College<sup>4</sup>  
Dieter Soll, Professor of Molecular Biophysics and Biochemistry and Director  
of Graduate Studies  
Horace D. Taft, Dean of Yale College and Professor of Physics  
[Lloyd Suttle, Associate Director, Office of Institutional Research<sup>5</sup>]

In his letter inviting members to serve, Dean Taft asked the Committee to inquire into a comprehensive set of issues--curriculum, teaching effectiveness, transition programs, Freshman Year, residential and social arrangements, support

---

<sup>1</sup>Replacing Hardy Frye, Lecturer in Sociology and Afro-American Studies, who was on leave during 1976-77.

<sup>2</sup>Appointed in February, 1977.

<sup>3</sup>Ms. Mintz left the University in June, 1976 and was not replaced on the Committee.

<sup>4</sup>Replacing Carlos de Jesus, '79 Branford College.

<sup>5</sup>Although not a member, Mr. Suttle was invited by the Committee to attend from October onward and to participate in all the deliberations.

services, recruitment and utilization of minority faculty, financial aid, and admissions policy and practice. (A copy of Dean Taft's letter is appended to this report.)

The committee met several times in the spring of 1976 and weekly from September 1976 to February of this year, when members began to meet in sub-committees in order to draft this report. To assist the committee, a number of people were invited to participate in the meetings.\*

In addition, Dean Gonzalez and Dean Hill reported on the results of inquiries to a number of colleges about specific programs that might be relevant to our deliberations. Mr. Suttle and the Office of Institutional Research provided the committee with an extensive array of tables on admissions, test scores, grades, withdrawals and the like.

#### Problems of Definition and Counting

The term "minority" student is of course rather ambiguous, and it is not ordinarily taken to mean today what it might have meant a generation ago. However, it is obvious that in a college where the preponderant majority of students come from white, relatively well-off, middle or upperclass American families and fair to excellent schools, students who differ most from this prevailing pattern are likely to confront special problems, particularly if they also come from racial, ethnic or cultural groups that have historically been and continue to be subject to greater poverty, discrimination, linguistic differences, and limitations on educational opportunities. We have, therefore, interpreted minority to mean Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans (American Indians). We excluded foreign students from our purview. However, our classification is blurred both conceptually and in our data by

\*A list is included in the appendix.

the presence of some Mexican nationals who have received a substantial part of their schooling in this country and for all practical purposes are scarcely distinguishable from Chicanos, even in their own self-identification. A few Asian nationals may also fall into this blurred area. The data may also be a bit mushy because the figures rest mainly on some form of self-identification. Our intention is nonetheless to speak to the problems of American minority students as we have defined them.

By "students" we mean only those in Yale College. We have not tried to deal with the problems minority students may confront in the graduate and professional schools. Although these may be serious, to include them would have made our task unmanageable.<sup>6</sup>

Because of problems of definition and data, estimates of the precise numbers of minority students in Yale College, and all other statistics depending on these estimates, are subject to some error. In particular, we know that some minority students have chosen, for whatever reason, not to identify themselves as such; thus our statistics consistently underestimate the number of minority students in Yale College. While there is no way to tell exactly how far off our figures are, we think the error is quite small--small enough so that it can be safely ignored.

Table 1 shows the number of applicants, admissions, and matriculants for minorities, foreign students, and white (or "majority") American students in the Classes of '75 through '80. Table 2 shows comparable figures for the largest minority, Blacks, back to the Class of '64.

[Table 1 and 2 here]

---

<sup>6</sup>In February, 1977, Dean Pelikan appointed a committee in the Graduate School, chaired by Dean Mau, to make a comparable inquiry.

Over the past fifteen years, the number of Black applicants grew from a low of 34 in the Class of '65 to a high of 755 in the Class of '74, but has since declined to only 429 in the Class of '80. Black matriculants followed a similar pattern, growing from only 7 in the Class of 65 to a high of 96 in the Classes of '73 and '76, but declining to only 74 in the Class of 80. Minority applicants and matriculants of other races have followed similar trends, with the exception of recent increases in the number of Asians.

Figures 1 and 2 show the percentage of minority applicants and matriculants in each of the last six classes. During this period, there has been no marked change in the number of minority students applying or coming to Yale; in a typical year they comprise around 11% of the applicants and 14% of the matriculants.

[Figures 1 and 2 about here]

More detailed comparisons giving the percentage of minority students among all applicants, admissions and matriculants are shown in Tables 1 through 6 in the Appendix for the Classes of '75 through '80.

In broad outlines the picture that emerges from these tables is something like this: More than 80 out of every hundred students in Yale College are white Americans. Although they are from all regions of the country, they tend to have backgrounds that make it comparatively easy for them to adapt to the academic and social setting of the College. Indeed, it is they who largely establish the norms that students from other groups--working class whites, foreign students, and minority students--must confront when they arrive at Yale. The predominance of white and mainly middle class Americans is a fact of life at Yale; it is unlikely to change much in the foreseeable future.

Within this ambiance, about five out of every hundred students is a foreigner. About fifteen out of a hundred students belong to one of the minorities

Table 1:  
Applicants, Admissions, and Matriculants  
by Race to the Classes of 1975-1980

	White & Unspecified	Asian	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
<u>5</u> Applicants	7533	248	536	154	44	0	357	8872
Admissions	1847	77	144	39	13	0	82	2202
Matriculants	1088	37	85	27	7	0	50	1294
<u>6</u> Applicants	7428	216	507	134	69	6	397	8757
Admissions	1970	93	195	49	31	2	116	2456
Matriculants	1091	51	96	30	18	1	55	1342
<u>7</u> Applicants	7777	246	535	160	106	8	604	9436
Admissions	1859	86	172	56	49	4	136	2362
Matriculants	1040	45	78	35	35	3	69	1305
<u>8</u> Applicants	7712	238	448	141	106	9	691	9345
Admissions	1966	97	163	42	33	1	137	2439
Matriculants	1074	48	80	20	21	0	71	1314
<u>9</u> Applicants	7794	257	475	174	96	5	690	9491
Admissions	2024	101	183	70	39	1	109	2527
Matriculants	1102	53	83	31	27	1	53	1350
<u>30</u> Applicants	7932	293	420	102	92	10	649	9498
Admissions	1985	114	165	50	35	4	128	2481
Matriculants	1062	53	74	28	15	2	66	1300



Table 2:  
Black Applicants, Admissions, & Matriculants  
to the Classes of 1964-1974

Class	# Applied	# Admitted	% Admitted	# Matriculated	Yield
1964	37	11	29.7%	10	90.9%
1965	34	11	32.4%	7	63.6%
1966	39	13	33.3%	10	76.9%
1967	66	28	42.4%	18	64.3%
1968	75	27	36.0%	18	66.7%
1969	75	37	49.3%	23	62.2%
1970	126	53	42.1%	35	66.0%
1971	122	40	32.8%	31	77.5%
1972	163	66	40.5%	43	65.2%
1973	525	155	29.5%	96	61.9%
1974	755	146	19.3%	82	56.2%

Figure 1:  
Minority Applicants to the Classes of 1975 - 1980  
(% of all applicants)

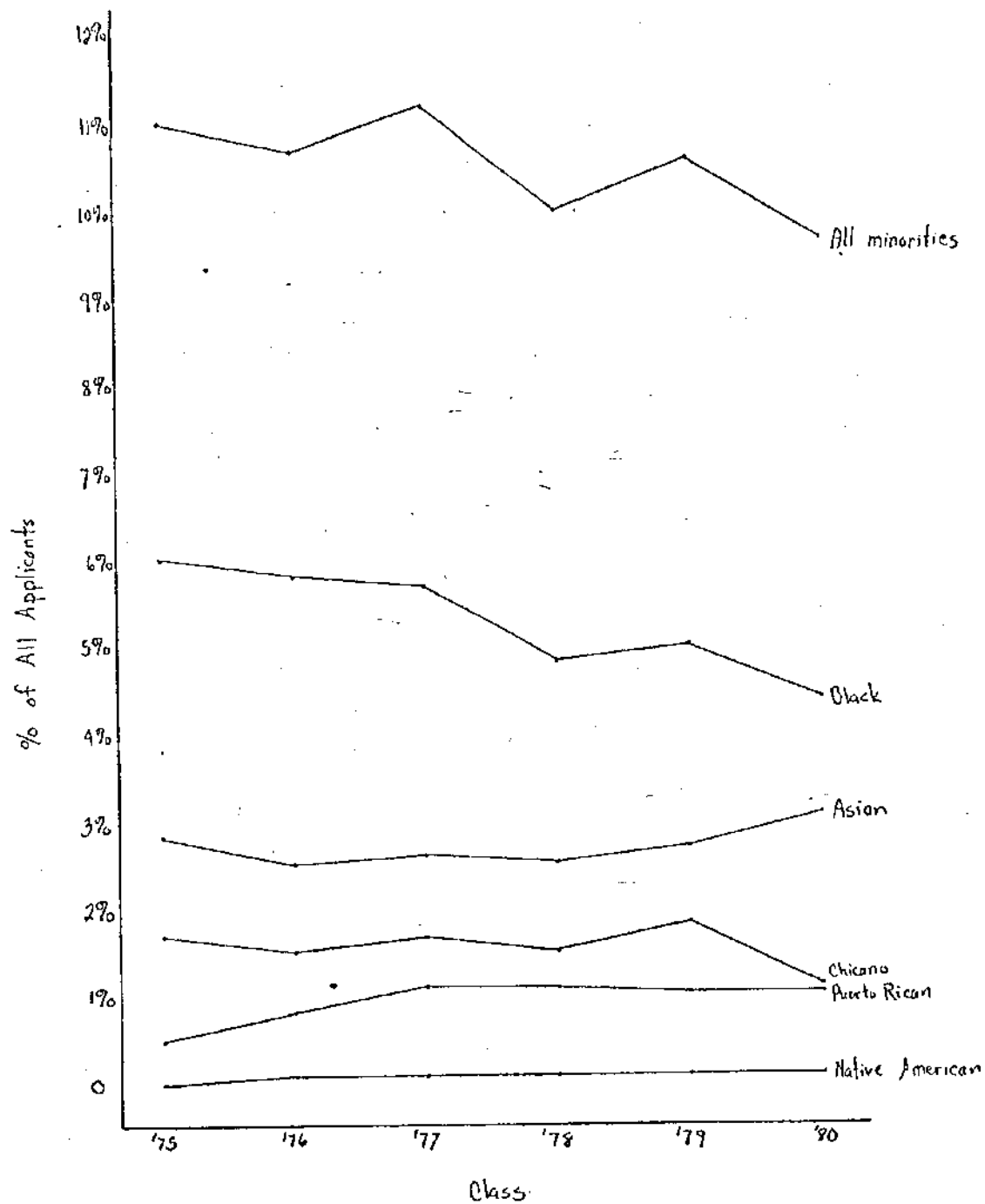
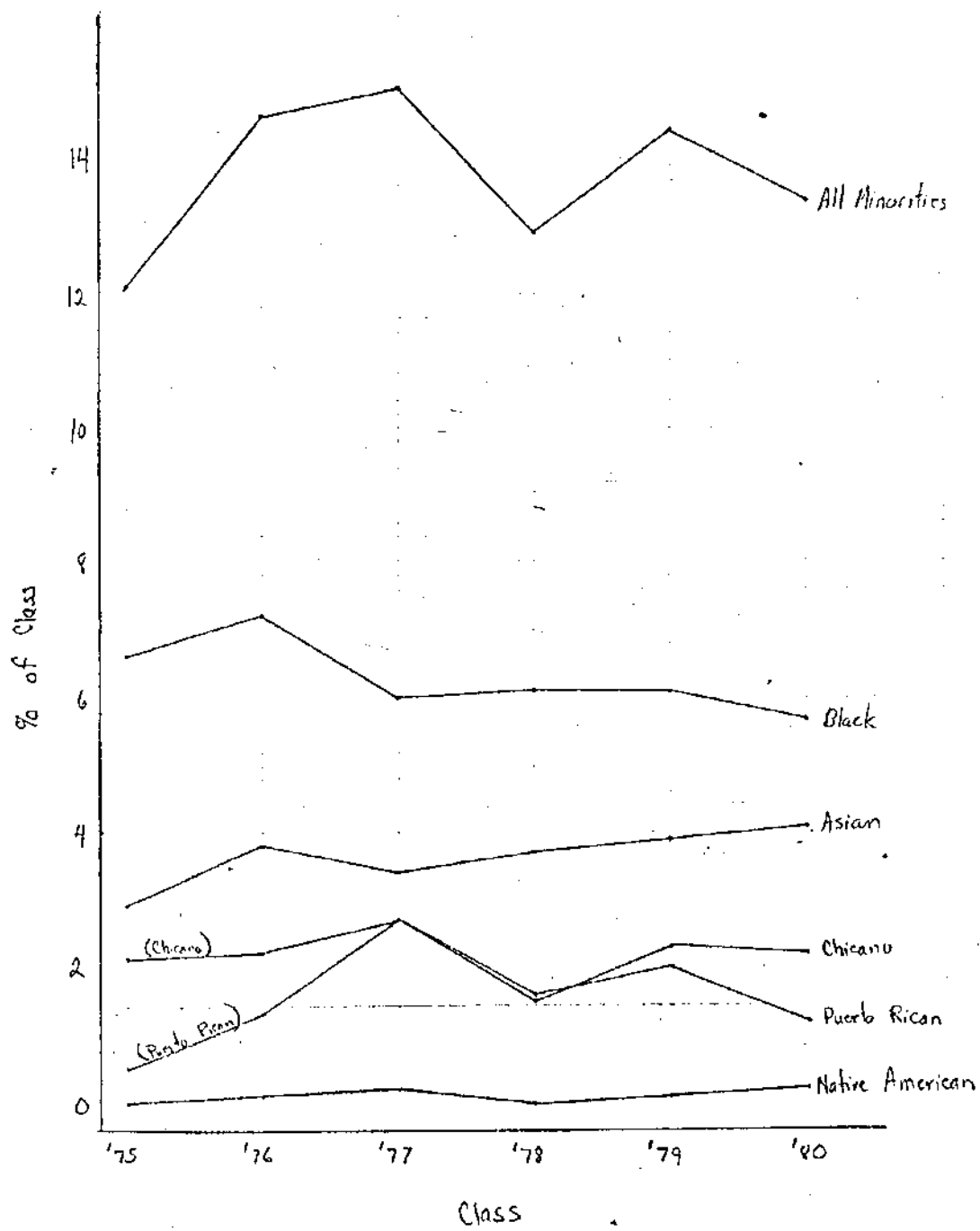


Figure 2:  
Minority Matriculants in the Classes of 1975 - 1980  
(% of All Matriculants)



dealt with in this report. In the Class of 1980 out of a typical hundred students, six may be Black, four Asian American, two Chicano, and one Puerto Rican. Very few Yale undergraduates will ever encounter a Native American among their fellow students; in recent years these have never numbered more than three in any one class.

In speaking of minority and majority students, however, it would be a grave mistake to commit the opposite error of thinking of Yale students as if they are all neatly divided into homogeneous sub-groups. As majority students themselves are keenly aware, white Americans differ among themselves in a great variety of ways, including their attitudes toward and relationships with members of minorities. Minority students are also highly heterogeneous. Not only is each group different in significant ways from the others, but each is internally diverse. Just as no one can speak for all majority students, so no one can speak for all students in any one of the minority groups, much less for all minority students in Yale College.

Consequently, it would misrepresent our intentions to say that our discussion of the status of minority students in Yale College reflects a consensus among minority students. No such consensus exists. The most that we claim for our report is that it represents the best judgement of all the members of this highly diverse committee.

I.

Minority Students and the Goals of Yale College

Yale College is committed to achieving a variety of goals. These include both academic excellence and diversity of background, promise and contribution. On the one hand, the College seeks students whose academic preparation makes it likely that they will be able to make effective use of Yale's extraordinary

intellectual, cultural, and social resources. Thus the Report of the Study Group on Yale College reaffirmed this goal when it said that "since not all young people are equally well prepared to assume responsibility for their education, Yale has an obligation to admit students who are so prepared." Emphasis on this objective requires a search for students who have been rigorously prepared for academic life at Yale.

At the same time, however, the College seeks students of diverse talents, interests and backgrounds--regional, social, cultural--who can be expected to make a special, perhaps even unique contribution to the life of the College and later to the country and the world. The commitment to this goal shows up in a variety of ways: the strong effort to recruit students from all regions of the United States, the recognition that a large program of financial aid is indispensable if students from less well-off families are to attend Yale, the concern during the admissions process for identifying students who show promise of making some special, and not only academic, contribution to athletics, the arts, college publications and so on. The Associate Provost of the University has recently reaffirmed this goal in words that bear directly upon the subject of our report: "Our goal should be an educational system which gives attention to ending sexual and racial stereotyping and creates equal access for women and minority group members. . ."

There is tension between these two goals that is perhaps most acute with minority students. Large numbers of minority youth live in high poverty areas. While 8.9% of all whites were below the low income level in 1974, 29.5% of Blacks and other races were below that level. For 1973, in metropolitan areas, 6.9% of whites and 28.2% of Black and other races were below the low income level. In 1975 the unemployment rate for whites was 7.9%. The rate for

minorities was 13.8%. Studies by the National Urban League suggest that U.S. census figures for minority unemployment are lower than the real rate. The relationship between low income and the quality of education is direct. Schools in low income areas tend to be substandard. Guthrie and others in their study of the relationship between poverty and education point out that:

"...we have provided evidence to prove that major inequities exist among school districts. The data demonstrate that high SES (socioeconomic status) districts provide more services and services of higher quality. By contrast, the educational program in a typical low SES district has the effect of severely reducing the opportunities of children who attend school there."<sup>7</sup>

Many students attending these schools do not receive the type of education which Yale recognizes as ideal. Thus the objective conditions surrounding each of the stated goals, i.e., the acceptance of the most qualified students (students who have received excellent academic preparation) and the desire to increase the number of minority students admitted (students who in many cases have not had the benefit or such preparation) appear to be conflicting. Will Yale compromise its goal of accepting only those students who are prepared in the expected way by opening its door to students who lack that preparation? Or will the College compromise its commitment to minority students at large in continuing to admit only students with excellent academic preparation?

It is worth keeping in mind that the two goals also generate some problems, even if less acute, for the admission of majority students. To select only students who are already the best prepared to succeed at Yale would make it difficult to create a student body that reflects some of the social diversities among White Americans. If absolute priority were given the first goal, and if

---

<sup>7</sup>Schools and Inequality, James W. Guthrie et. al., MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. 1971.

at the same time no attention were paid to the special problems of recruiting qualified white students from schools that serve predominantly low income, working class, or white ethnic families and neighborhoods, then Yale College would quickly become what it is surely in constant danger of becoming--a college exclusively for a rather limited and socially homogeneous stratum of Americans. Viewed in this larger perspective, the question of how best to go about recruiting and meeting the special needs of minority students is only a part--though perhaps the most difficult part--of the general problem of how best to insure adequate diversity among Yale students.

As to minority students, the tension between the goals might be resolved in any one of several ways. For example, Yale could implement a full open-admission program modeled after the city college systems in New York City. This option, however, seems a remote possibility since it would mean a radical transformation of the institution itself. In lieu of such major change, Yale could select only minority students who have the same type of preparation which Yale has traditionally demanded. This appears a more feasible solution, conforming with Yale's goal regarding the admission of fully prepared students. Yet this solution abrogates any real commitment to minority group students. To talk realistically about equal access to Yale means that not only the excellently prepared minority student but also the students who have been the products of substandard school systems should have the opportunity to enter Yale. An appeal only to those students who attended good high schools is not a full minority recruitment effort. A third option would therefore address itself to students who have not had the opportunity to attend good high schools. To redress the weaknesses of the high school systems, this solution would necessitate the development of supportive services, both counseling and tutorial. This option

would obviously require an intensive commitment on the part of Yale.

What solution is best? It is clear that the fundamental issue involves the feasibility of achieving the goals of Yale. Will Yale seek to identify, recruit, and admit minority students who approximate the traditional expectations of the college? Or is there a deeper social commitment Yale is expressing in talking about increasing minorities on campus? Is Yale willing to develop the necessary program to accommodate such an increase? These basic issues of policy, of institutional objectives, must be clearly understood: oppositions between attainment of goals must be explicitly discussed. It is only within this framework that minority student recruitment at Yale can become a reality.

#### Trade-offs and Risks

Unless and until substantial changes are made in the policies and programs that affect minority students, Yale is bound to confront an unpleasant dilemma. Either students will be admitted according to the relative quality of their academic preparation, in which case the number of minority students at Yale is not likely to increase and will very likely decline significantly. Or in order to maintain or increase the number of minority students in the College students will be accepted whose academic preparation is of lower quality, in which case it is to be expected that they will do less well academically at Yale.

This dilemma becomes even sharper if Asian Americans are excluded from consideration, for their academic performance both before and after entering Yale is as high or even higher than that of majority students. Non-Asian minority students, however, who tend to be admitted with below average SAT scores and combined academic ratings, tend also to achieve lower grade point averages. What is more important, they are also considerably more likely to withdraw and never complete their education at Yale. Thus in the Class of '76



around one out of four or five Black and Puerto Rican students and about one out of six Chicano students withdrew and did not return, compared with less than one out of ten majority and Asian students.

Weighed against the desirability of providing adequate opportunities for qualified minority students to attend Yale, these disadvantages are not necessarily so high as to be unacceptable. Nonetheless, they do represent real costs and burdens, financial, psychological, social; they indicate opportunities lost or misused, both for the student and for Yale. Consequently, it is imperative that we find ways of reducing these costs and burdens. The main directions in which better solutions might be found appear to be:

1. To increase greatly the pool of qualified minority applicants.
2. To increase the acceptance rate among the most highly qualified who are admitted.
3. To help those who matriculate to cope more successfully with the challenges Yale presents and to profit more fully from the academic, cultural, and social resources that exist at Yale.

The first option is the most desirable solution in the long run; the next section of our report recommends changes in methods of recruiting that we believe will result in substantial increases in the number of qualified minority students who apply to Yale. But this solution will take time, and the magnitude of the increase is uncertain. In the short run--surely throughout the next five or ten years--we must also search for solutions of the second and third kinds. The recommendations offered in later sections of this report are intended to provide solutions. Thus a commitment to the idea of having minority students at Yale in more than trivial numbers ought not be undertaken lightly. The commitment implies obligations and responsibilities. Unless the University is prepared to shoulder these responsibilities, a more honest, if perhaps less politic, stand would be to reject such a commitment.

We think it right that the University should make a commitment, in full understanding of the responsibilities it entails. Our first recommendation, therefore, is one on which the success of the others will depend:

1. The President and Trustees should explicitly recognize that a commitment to having an adequate number of minority students in Yale College must in the immediate future carry with it the obligation to provide the policies and programs such a commitment implies. They can best re-affirm Yale's commitment by taking steps to insure that such policies and programs are actually adopted and carried out.

## II.

### Coming to Yale

The status of minority students in Yale College is influenced first and perhaps foremost by the nature of the process through which these students first come to Yale. That process determines the number and characteristics of minority (and majority) students who will be enrolled, and thereby influences their experiences throughout their undergraduate careers. It is therefore appropriate that any attempt to understand and improve upon the status of minority students begins by looking at the process of coming to Yale.

The admissions process can be viewed as three separate but closely related phases--(1) the recruitment of qualified applicants, (2) the evaluation of those applicants, culminating in a decision to admit or reject each of them, and (3) the matriculation of those applicants offered admission. The following section first describes what takes place in each phase, then points out some of the major strengths and shortcomings of present practices, and finally suggests certain changes that might help to assure not only that a sufficient number of

minority students will be enrolled in Yale College, but also that every one of those students will have the opportunity to experience a successful undergraduate career.

The Question of Quotas

The admissions policy of Yale College has as one of its major goals "the successful recruitment and enrollment as students of more members of minority groups."<sup>8</sup> As discussed earlier, however, the University has met with only partial success in the achievement of that goal. The number and portion of minority students in each entering class has held fairly steady, or even declined slightly for groups other than Asian Americans. Even in those cases where the number of minority applicants increased or decreased dramatically over a very short time (e.g., as was true for Black applicants in the Classes of '72 through '75), there was no comparable shift in the number of minority matriculants. The relative stability of these figures is important if it implies that there is some explicit or implicit quota for minority students in each class, a quota that can be achieved by adjustments in recruiting efforts or admissions rates. If quotas do exist, it would mean that any increase in the number or qualifications of minority applicants would result not in a corresponding increase in the number or portion of minority students in each class, but instead in greater competition among minority applicants for the limited number of places in the class. The Committee therefore offers the following recommendation:

2. The Admissions Office should make every effort to recruit, admit, and

---

<sup>8</sup>Statement by Henry Chauncey, then Director of University Admissions Policy, regarding the establishment of the Minority Recruitment Program in July, 1972.

matriculate minority students irrespective of quotas, either minimum or maximum.

#### Recruiting Minority Applicants

The major recruitment phase of the admissions process takes place in the fall each year. During the months of October and November, the professional staff members of the Admissions Office visit schools throughout the country, seeking to identify and encourage applications from outstanding high school seniors. The staff members work closely with the local Alumni Schools Committees (ASC) in each area in these recruiting visits, to the point that the local ASC chairman usually makes all the arrangements for school visits, applicant interviews, social functions, and so forth. This reliance on alumni support has both its advantages and its disadvantages. Given the staff member's limited time and lack of familiarity with many of the local areas, it is not only helpful but probably inevitable that many of the local arrangements be handled by the ASC. On the other hand, current practices pose two major potential drawbacks for the recruitment of minority applicants.

The first major shortcoming of existing recruitment procedures is the rather severe limitation on the number of schools that the admissions officer can visit or the number of potential applicants he can interview. Traditionally, recruitment efforts have focused on those schools which have sent students to Yale in previous years. Since many minority students attend high schools which are unfamiliar to Yale and to the admissions officer, these schools and students are often by-passed in the recruiting visits. We recommend below certain procedures and programs for expanding Yale's contact among minority student populations.

A second shortcoming of current procedures is the relatively high degree of control which local alumni have over the staff member's schedule, school visits,

contacts with potential applicants, and so forth. Many alumni, if not openly biased against minority applicants, are at least unfamiliar with schools with large minority populations and unconcerned about minority recruitment. Since it is extremely helpful, if not absolutely essential, for the visiting admissions officer to rely on the ASC to handle most local arrangements, then some way must be found to encourage more alumni support for minority recruitment. The Dean of Admissions might have to replace hostile or racially biased ASC Chairmen in a few cases. More generally, however, alumni support for minority recruitment will result from more open support for such recruitment from the Administration. Some specific ways to demonstrate that support are suggested below.

A Minority Recruitment Program (MRP) was established in 1971 as a means of supplementing the recruitment efforts of the professional admissions staff by sending minority student volunteers to the different parts of the country to recruit minority applicants. This program operates under the direction of an advisory committee composed of students, faculty, and admissions staff members, and is administered by a full-time Director.

The Committee discovered that the MRP suffers from under-staffing, from an ambiguity of goals, from poor coordination with the "regular" recruitment efforts of the professional admissions staff, and from an apparent lack of support from the University administration. We therefore recommend that the MRP budget be increased through the addition of one full-time position, an Assistant Director, who would take some of the burdens of the day-to-day administration of the program off the Director. The Director would thereby be able to spend more time in actual recruiting of minority applicants, and more importantly in coordinating the MRP with the recruitment efforts of the rest of the admissions staff.

The additional position would also help to solve another of the immediate problems faced by the MRP, that is, the rather heavy and inappropriate burden

The Alumni Schools Committees, while highly effective in their own right, lack ties with minority community organizations that could facilitate minority recruitment. High school guidance counselors in large city schools often lack the direct personal contacts they need in order to identify promising minority candidates.

We therefore recommend that Yale undertake to approach existing community organizations for assistance in identifying and recruiting minority youth. Minority communities are criss-crossed by a rich network of organizations. Some of these organizations are national with offices in many cities and in rural areas. Most have youth programs. It might be possible to develop a cooperative program with these organizations. This proposed community liaison program would ask for the assistance of community groups. These organizations could play a direct and active role in identifying applicants to Yale, helping them to apply.

It would not be necessary for Yale to initiate local contacts in every city. Instead, various national organizations with local offices could be asked for assistance. In this way a limited number of contacts with national organizations could have ramifications over a wide number of local communities. Such a request for assistance from minority organizations would require the Office of the President of the University to take the initiative. Because of the national scope of this program, high level commitment would be necessary. Negotiations between the leadership of Yale and the leadership of national organizations would be necessary.

A program of this kind would have a number of advantages. First, a much wider range of students could be identified and interviewed than is possible through a single visit to a local high school. Because community organizations have interlocking memberships, information about Yale recruitment would reach a much larger audience of teachers, parents, and students. Second, the students would have an opportunity to meet with Yale recruiters in the friendly and secure surroundings of local organizations, conditions that would allow the students to express themselves to their best advantage. Third, the program would be

inexpensive to both Yale and to the organizations. It would require no expansion in existing facilities or staff, beyond the increase of Yale's staff for the MRP as we have already recommended. Finally, such a program could serve as an example to other institutions of higher learning. Indeed, Yale could be the first to implement a major nation-wide system of cooperation between institutions of higher learning and community organizations for the recruitment of minority students.

The program would not neglect the Alumni Schools Committees, nor would it circumvent the high schools. On the contrary, the cooperation of the high schools would be essential in providing the necessary information on prospective students. The Alumni Schools Committees could become directly involved in this effort by seeking the assistance of minority alumni. Minority alumni should be encouraged by the College, the Schools Committees and minority student groups to take part in the Schools Committees. In fact, whether or not the program we propose is adopted, a vigorous effort should be made to involve minority alumni in the activities of the Schools Committees. In conjunction with the community liaison program, minority alumni, many of whom belong to community organizations, could serve as natural points of contact between those committees and those organizations.

To sum up, we believe that if the President and Trustees are prepared to re-affirm their commitment to the education of minority students, the following actions ought to be undertaken:

3. The professional staff engaged in minority recruitment should be increased by at least one person.
4. A greater portion of the responsibility for minority recruitment should be shared by the professional admissions staff recruiters.
5. The Dean of Admissions should try to make clear, both within the College and to Alumni Schools Committees and student counselors, that the staff and the goals of the MRP have the support of the University.

6. Yale should initiate an effort to gain the assistance of minority organizations in recruiting.
7. Minority alumni and alumnae should be involved more heavily in recruitment and particularly in the work of the Alumni Schools Committees.

#### The Evaluation Process

The second phase of the admissions process is the evaluation of applicants, and the decision to admit or reject each one. As the basis for this evaluation, a wide range of information is gathered about each applicant, including demographic data, high school records, interview reports, teacher and school recommendations, CEEB scores, and information about special skills or interests. When the applicant's folder is complete, it is reviewed first by an "outside" reader who is specially hired and trained to make reasonably objective summary judgments about the applicant's qualifications. The folder is then reviewed by a staff reader who is also the "area person" responsible for recruiting, evaluating, and voting on all applicants from a particular geographic region. Minority applicants' folders are also reviewed a third time, by the Director of Minority Recruitment. Each reader rates the applicant on certain specific dimensions (e.g., academic potential, motivation and initiative) and then forms from these "intermediate" ratings an overall recommendation about whether the applicant should be admitted (A), admitted maybe (A-), rejected maybe (R+), or rejected (R). All of these data, including the ratings and recommendations, are then summarized on a "slate" which is reviewed by the Admissions Committee as the basis for its final decision.

As discussed below, reader recommended actions appear to have the major impact on the Admissions Committee's final decisions on each applicant. Because of this, it is necessary to mention some systematic differences in the way minority and majority applicants are often rated. In many cases, it appears that the



staff readers' attempt to make subjective adjustments in their ratings and recommended actions to compensate for the weaker educational backgrounds and inherent economic and cultural disadvantages faced by many minority applicants. These judgements are especially evident in the evaluations of minority applicants from low SES groups. The Admissions Committee has apparently learned that it can be fairly objective and consistent in its decisions, on the assumption that compensation for disadvantaged backgrounds and special considerations have already been built into the information presented on the slate. The existence of such judgements is indicated by the consistently higher admissions rates for minority applicants, as shown in Tables C-1 through C-6 in the Appendix.

The Admissions Committee is composed of both faculty and staff, and is divided into a "standing committee" (three admissions staff members, including the Dean, and two faculty members) which reviews and votes on every one of the 9000+ applicants, and an "area committee" (two faculty members and the admissions area person, each of whom has read the entire folders of all applicants from a particular area) which participates in the evaluation and voting only for those applicants from a given area. In previous years, the Director of Minority Recruitment was a member (though not an ex officio member) of the standing committee. In the past year (i.e., for the entering Class of 1981), the Director of the MRP, while not on the standing committee, nevertheless participated in evaluating and voting on all minority applicants. For the reasons spelled out below, we feel that this procedure represents an equitable and effective way of evaluating minority applicants, and should be continued.

The Admissions Committee reviews applicants alphabetically within each school, where schools are arranged by state and states are ordered by geographic region. Each applicant's "slate" is presented to the committee by the admissions staff member assigned to the particular region; the staff member then has the opportunity

to explain and argue the reasons underlying the recommended action. Not surprisingly, the staff member's recommended action is by far the most important determinant of the committee's final decision (generally around 90% of the applicants receiving an "A" rating from the staff reader are admitted by the committee, while less than 5% of those applicants receiving either "R" or "R+" ratings are admitted. The next-most-important influence on the committee is the outside reader's recommended action, since this rating represents a fairly "objective" summary of all the other information in the applicant's folder (almost 80% of those applicants receiving an "A" rating from the outside reader are admitted, and fewer than 15% of those receiving "R" or "R+" ratings are admitted). It is difficult to tell how much impact the minority reader's recommendation has on the committee, since these recommendations are not kept as part of the permanent admissions data file. However, it seems likely that if the minority reader were responsible for both presenting and voting on minority applicants, the influence on the committee's final decision would be considerable.

We feel that the minority reader (presumably the Director of the MRP) is in a uniquely advantageous position to be able to judge the qualifications of each minority applicant. This reader is familiar with the characteristics not only of each individual minority applicant, but also of the minority applicant pool as a whole. Because he or she is present for the evaluation and voting on all applicants, the minority reader should also be able to evaluate minority applicants in the context of the characteristics of the applicant pool as a whole. For these reasons, we recommend that the following procedure be implemented as a matter of admissions policy:

8. The Director of the Minority Recruitment Program (or someone designated by the Director) should be responsible for reading the folders, offering recommendations, presenting to the Admissions Committee, and

voting on all minority applicants.

While this recommendation does not include making the Director of the MRP an ex officio member of the standing committee, it should in no way preclude such an appointment on an individual basis. Also, this recommendation does not presume that all minority applicants will be considered separately from the majority applicants, or in anything other than the normal "slate order".

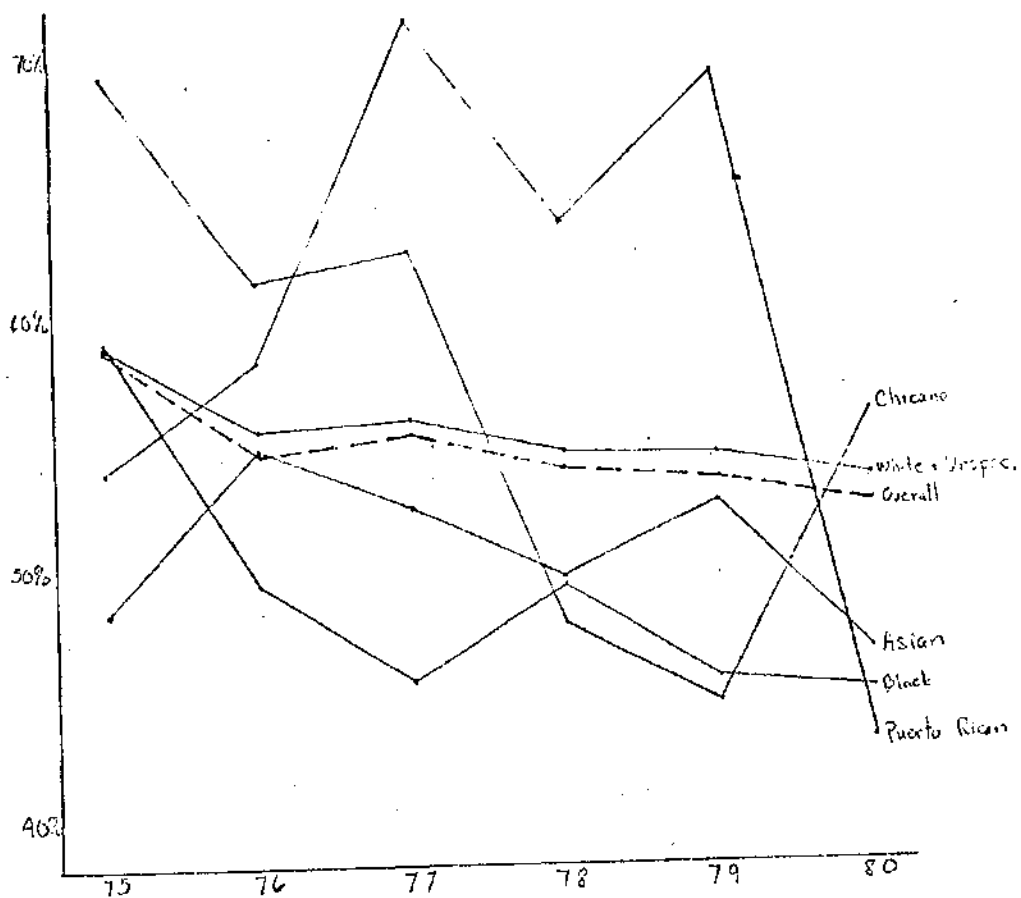
#### The Problem of Yield

Having evaluated over 9000 applicants, approximately 1000 of whom are minority students, the focus of the admissions process returns in the third and final phase to the task of recruitment. "Spring recruitment" activities are concentrated primarily in the last two weeks of April each year, between the date admissions notices are mailed and the date that applicants must notify Yale as to whether they accept or decline an offer of admission. In recent years, the "yield" (i.e., the portion of admitted applicants who actually choose to matriculate in Yale College) on admissions has declined steadily for the class as a whole, and is now approaching 50%. As shown in Figure 3, the yield for minority students has varied widely over the past six years, but seems to be declining over the long term. Perhaps more than any other single factor, the low yield has led to the recent declines in the number of minority students enrolled in Yale College. Consequently, one of the most obvious opportunities for increasing minority enrollment, even if the applicant pool itself does not grow, is to increase the portion of admitted minority students who choose to attend Yale. Spring recruitment thus deserves close attention.

The yield problem for minorities is in some ways similar to and in some ways different from the yield problem regarding majority students. For both minority and majority students, for example, the yield problem involves not only how many admitted applicants choose to go to other colleges and universities, but also

Figure 3:

Yield by Race for the Classes of 1975 - 1980



which ones go elsewhere. Statistical comparisons between students who accept and those who decline Yale's offer of admission (both minority and majority) indicate that a much higher portion of students with high SAT scores and academic ratings go elsewhere than do students with moderate and low academic qualifications. This difference is neither particularly surprising nor particularly alarming, for it stands to reason that the more academically qualified students would be admitted by more schools, and thus would have more choices about where they will attend college. These students will also be the most-sought-after by other colleges. Nevertheless, the finding suggests that Yale is competing primarily, and not very well, for the more academically qualified applicants. Our chief competitor for these students is Harvard. It would therefore seem that if Yale is to attract these more academically oriented students, it must begin to emphasize the academic strengths of the University in its recruiting efforts.

In one important respect, the yield problem is more severe for minority students than for majority students. The pool of qualified majority applicants, i.e., those who can do Yale work, is quite large, and a low yield merely means that Yale must admit a larger number of essentially equally-well-qualified applicants in order to fill up the class. The pool of qualified minority applicants, on the other hand, is much more limited; virtually all the qualified minority applicants are now admitted. Thus there is no way to make up for a low yield by admitting more minority students, because there are few if any qualified minority applicants to "take the place" of admitted applicants who decline Yale's offer of admission. For this reason the Committee feels that:

9. a major focus of spring recruitment efforts by the Admissions Office should be on minority admissions. If possible, a program in which minority applicants are invited to the campus to talk with students,

faculty, and admissions staff members might also be instituted. Other universities have similar programs, and in fact such a program was attempted at Yale this year, but the results are not yet available.

There are any number of reasons why admitted applicants choose to go elsewhere. In order to determine the major influences on a minority applicant's choice of college, Mr. Glen deChabert (former Director of the MRF) conducted in the summer of 1976 a survey of all those minority applicants who were admitted to the Class of 1980 but declined Yale's offer to go elsewhere. The results of that survey indicated that the major reasons for choosing a college other than Yale, in order of declining importance, were the following: (1) academic considerations, and in particular the strength of a specific department or program; (2) geographic considerations, often pertaining to the unattractiveness of New Haven; (3) the general reputation or prestige of the University; (4) financial aid considerations; and (5) the applicant's contacts with Yale students, faculty, and admissions staff. The most surprising conclusion from the study must be the relative unimportance attached to financial aid considerations, and yet these findings are consistent with statistical analyses which show that the yield does not vary greatly for students admitted with and without financial aid.

The first step in identifying ways to improve the yield on admissions is to realize that an applicant's decision about where to attend college is influenced by his or her contact with a college throughout the admissions process, not just in the two or three weeks between April 15 and the day the final decisions must be made. Yale must begin to view the overall admissions process as one of mutual selection, therefore, in which the goal is not only to identify and evaluate outstanding applicants but also to point out the strengths of Yale College--academic and otherwise. Probably the most obvious point of contact between applicants and the College, or at least the most personal contact, is the interview (whether conducted by an ASC or an admission staff member. In the interview setting

the interviewer has an opportunity to encourage qualified applicants to attend Yale. As discussed earlier, however, there is danger that minority recruitment will be harmed by biased or hostile alumni. The Committee recommends, therefore, that:

10. more attention be paid to the applicant interview, and that it be stressed to alumni interviewers that the interview is as much a recruiting device as a screening procedure.

It is only through such personal contacts that a more favorable impression can be made as to the strengths and advantages of attending Yale College.

### III.

#### Transition, Adjustment, and Effectiveness

##### Transitional Programs

Certainly many minority students and perhaps most first encounter Yale as an environment radically different from anything they have previously known. For many minority students this new environment will seem unfamiliar, uncongenial, threatening and even alienating.

To help minority students make a successful transition, two kinds of programs ought to be available to students who wish it. One would be a brief program just before Freshman registration in the fall; the other would continue into the academic year itself.

##### A Pre-Registration Program

Experience at Yale and elsewhere shows that a brief pre-registration program can have a number of desirable results, provided it is appropriately designed and administered. A well conducted program of this kind can reasonably be expected to:

1. Improve the academic performance of minority students during their crucial first semester in a formidable new environment.
2. Provide students with an opportunity to become better acquainted

with Yale, its facilities, agencies and offices.

3. Give students a chance to meet one another and exchange information outside of the classroom, thereby helping them to learn more quickly how to cope successfully with their new environment.
4. Expose students to academic subjects they might ordinarily not consider enrolling in.
5. Reduce the likelihood that minority students will drop out, at least during their first semester.

The College has had some experience with a program intended to achieve these goals. A Pre-Registration Orientation Program (PROP) has been in existence at Yale since 1972. Approximately 300-350 minority students have participated. Although PROP needs to be improved, informal observation and student comments indicate that it has been successful. We therefore recommend that:

11. Yale College continue to provide a brief orientation program for minority students during the ten-day to two-week period just before Freshman registration in the fall.

#### An In-Term Transition Program

PROP was originally conceived as an introductory part of a long term support system that has never been developed. Much of the concern about a program like PROP has been caused by its abrupt ending just before classes begin, with no follow-up of additional support program of any kind. Although an improved PROP would be valuable, the most difficult and persistent problems of transition are not likely to be fully identified and experienced until the term actually begins. A transitional program during this first term would have these objectives:

1. To enable minority students to survive the culture of Yale.
2. To enable students gradually to develop style, pace, study habits and discipline.
3. To introduce the students to the Yale and surrounding New Haven community under less pressured conditions.
4. To provide a vehicle for communication among students and faculty who can provide information about the various departments and courses.



5. To provide students with knowledge of support services, agencies and facilities available to them.
6. To assist students with developing and sharpening their knowledge and facilities with those skills, concepts and techniques that are essential for successful performance.
7. To give students some idea of what courses at Yale are like. This becomes more difficult as the length of the program decreases.

The most promising model for an in-term program appears to be the Efficacy Program at Harvard.<sup>9</sup> Efficacy was developed out of a concern for the academic performance of minority students in the academic and social environment of Harvard. Efficacy is influenced by the work of David C. McClelland, Professor of Psychology at Harvard and is based on these assumptions:

1. Intellectual performance, or the lack of it, is at least as much a product of social as of genetic factors.
2. Whatever can be done through social interaction, can be undone in the same way.
3. It is possible to specify a model of success-oriented behavior.
4. With proper guidance, people can change thought and behavior patterns in a short period of time.

Participation is voluntary and involves nine days of seminars scheduled over four consecutive weekends. The seminars help provide the background for participants to make their own decisions and establish their own goals. Emphasis is placed upon motivation, achievement techniques, and group support. An analysis of the data from the first year of the program indicates that the participants significantly improved their academic performances and increased their involvement in extra-

---

<sup>9</sup>In addition to PROP and Efficacy, the Committee considered the following alternatives:

- Interface, a six-week program at MIT to help minority students make the transition from the high school setting to the college setting.
- A Remedial Summer Program like that at Cornell.
- A Writing Skills Program like that at Columbia.
- A three-week orientation program like that at Princeton.

curricular activities.

We therefore recommend that:

12. a program like the Efficacy Program should be instituted at Yale.

#### Financial Aid

The hazards of transition during the first semester are sometimes intensified for minority freshmen who receive financial aid and choose the option of a work-study program rather than a loan or a larger loan. Some of them can ill afford the time that their work program requires while they are still learning to adapt to their new environment.

Of course this difficulty is not unique to minority freshmen. If change were made in the amount of work, if any, permitted during a student's first term, in fairness the policy would have to apply to all freshmen.

The problem was identified too late in our deliberations for us to do more than recognize that it exists. We see a problem that looks to us to need a better solution, but we have no solution to offer.

We recommend that:

13. the Office of Financial Aid examine the problem to see whether a better solution might be discovered.

#### Tutoring

A tutoring program was begun at Yale a number of years ago in an effort to provide tutors for undergraduates having difficulty academically in one or more courses. The program has suffered from several handicaps:

1. It is modestly funded. In recent years the budget has been overspent by about twice the budgeted sum.
2. Students are poorly informed about the program and how it might serve their needs. Partly as a result, they usually fail to request a tutor early enough in the term for the program to be highly helpful. Often the students seek a tutor only late in the term when they are already in desperate difficulties.

3. Because the amount of tutoring available is limited by the scarcity of funds, tutors have to be assigned to students according a judgement as to the relative urgency of their needs. However, the program has no satisfactory way of insuring that this judgement is carefully made.
4. Although the residential colleges are an obvious location for tutoring, few of them have adequate tutoring programs. One exception is Calhoun, which uses its graduate affiliates for tutoring Calhoun students.

We therefore recommend that:

14. Yale should allocate more money to the program.
15. To expand the pool of tutors, both undergraduates and graduate students should be recruited.
16. "Head" tutors should be assigned responsibility for screening tutors and tutees to attain the most beneficial combinations.
17. The possibility of creating small study groups for students with similar problems should be explored.
18. Residential colleges should be encouraged to explore the possibility of using their graduate affiliates in a program like that of Calhoun College.

#### IV.

##### Living and Social Arrangements

###### College Assignments

The current process of assigning incoming freshmen to the Residential Colleges appears to us to be inadequate to address the particular social and residential needs of minority students. Students are at present assigned to colleges on a random basis, and although some attention is given to those who have been identified as minority freshmen, the question of how best to distribute the small number of minority students in each incoming class has not been looked at seriously.

We believe that minority students feel most comfortable at Yale in those Colleges where a "critical mass" has been achieved. We therefore recommend that:

19. minority freshmen be assigned to Residential Colleges in such a way as to assure that a comfortable number of students from a particular minority group will be in the same college.

The implication of this recommendation is, of course, that minority students are at Yale less for the particular diversity that they may provide to each Residential College than for their own benefit and for the contribution that they make to the Yale community in general. Therefore we reject the notion that minority students should be spread evenly among 5000 students and twelve Residential Colleges in order to achieve the greatest level of exposure of majority students to minority students. Instead, we realize that minority students are best able to relate to and become involved in a community that recognizes, is sensitive to and supportive of their minority status. This seems most easily achieved when there are enough minority students within a College that they are able to have a visible and significant impact upon all facets of that community.

Recommendations:

20. No single minority group ought to be concentrated in a single College. Every minority should be represented in several Colleges if at all possible.
21. Because it is important to have a critical mass of minority students in a College, minority freshmen should be assigned to Residential Colleges in such a way as to have a sufficient number of students from the same group in a College. If the number of students in a particular minority group is too low to have an adequate number in every College, then those students should be concentrated in a smaller number of Colleges.

Thus while it is reasonable to expect that there would be Black students in every College, it may be necessary to concentrate Chicanos in four or five Colleges.

22. No minority student should be among a small number of minority students in a particular College, if he or she does not wish to be.

#### Rooming

Although after the freshman year students are able to select their own rooms and roommates, in the first year, roommates are assigned by the Residential College Deans. These assignments are made using a housing application form that all incoming students are required to complete. The form consists of general questions about the habits, academic interests, and personal preferences of individual students, and is used by the dean in matching students who are likely to have compatible interests and living habits.

The form is not designed to identify minority students or their preferences for rooming with other minority students. Although some students will volunteer this information, no systematic effort is made to take the particular preferences, lifestyles and tastes of minority students into account in the rooming process.

Experience has shown that placing a lone minority student in a suite for four or six persons is generally unsatisfactory, not only for the adjustment of that student, but also for encouraging interaction between minority and majority students. The single minority student in such a suite often feels uncomfortable, out of place, and unable to cope with his or her roommates.

The greatest sources of conflict in majority-minority student rooming relationships are differences in personal tastes and lifestyles. A clear example of this is found in musical tastes. Salsa, "Soul" music and/or Jazz are

frequently central to the social and personal experiences of many minority students, regardless of economic background. At the same time majority students often find this kind of music irritating and prefer to listen to rock music or country-western, which is equally irritating to minority students. The classical music lover, who is often the least tolerant of others' forms of music, adds a third dimension to the conflict. When there is more than one minority student in the room, their tastes are less likely to be ignored or trampled on.

Recommendations:

23. No minority freshman should be assigned to a room with only majority students unless that student indicates a preference for this arrangement. Whenever possible, rooms with minority freshmen should have at least two minority students of the same group, and at least two majority students.
24. The rooming form should be revised to include additional information, especially musical tastes.

Freshman Counseling

Each entering student is assigned a freshman counselor, a Yale College senior or graduate student who lives on the Old Campus in the entryway with his or her counselees and who is also a member of the student's Residential College. The counselor from the student's Residential College is the first level of academic, personal and social advising for the freshman, and plays an important role for the new student, particularly during the first semester.

The chief problem in this system as it relates to minority students is that there is very often a real or perceived barrier between the white counselor and the minority counselee which prevents an effective counseling relationship. In frequent cases, the Residential College counselor is not sufficiently

sensitive to difficulties, either academic or personal, that the minority student may encounter, and the student is reluctant to discuss these matters with the counselor. Thus, at the end of the year it is sometimes discovered that the counselor knows very little about his or her minority counselees and has not been able to be helpful to that student. Consequently, there is a need for more minority counselors. We think that the minimum acceptable number of minority freshman counselors is one from each Residential College.

In response to the problem of minority counseling, the Floating Counselor Program was established several years ago. Floating Counselors are minority undergraduates who live on the Old Campus, who provide additional academic, personal and social counseling to minority freshmen as needed, but who are not attached to a particular Residential College. The role of the floating counselor is viewed with some skepticism by the various members of the community with whom he or she comes into contact (College deans, Freshman counselors, freshmen, minority freshmen, dining hall managers, etc.). However, we see the floating counselors as essential supplements to the Freshman Counselor from the Residential Colleges.

A serious impediment to the effectiveness of the Floating Counselor Program is the lack of cooperation, consultation and recognition given to them by Residential College deans and freshman counselors. Floating Counselors have, on occasion, found that deans and counselors have refused to discuss freshman counselees with them, have not consulted them in cases of serious problems with mutual counselees, and, in particular, that deans have sometimes betrayed their confidences about counselees. It seems clear that deans and freshman counselors do not regard the Floating Counselors as legitimate counselors who share their interests in and concern for the individual minority freshmen. Indeed, some deans have expressed

openly their doubts about the Floating Counselor Program as well as their impression that the program is simply an indoctrination vehicle for "politicizing" minority freshmen.

Recommendations:

25. A serious and active effort should be made to interest and recruit more minority seniors and graduate students in the Residential College Freshman Counselor Program.
26. The goal for the Residential Colleges should be a minimum of one minority counselor from each College, and it should be made clear that the expectation is that in most years this goal will be achieved.
27. The Floating Counselor Program should continue to supplement the Freshman Counselor Program until it is clear that it is no longer necessary.
28. Efforts should be made to achieve a greater level of cooperation between Floating and Residential College Counselors. In particular, the College Deans should make a special effort to consult with Floating Counselors and to include them in counselor meetings and in discussions about particular counselees.
29. At freshman counselor orientation in the fall, special efforts should be made to make Residential Counselors aware of and sensitive to the special problems of minority students. This is an area where the assistance of the Floating Counselors in planning and presenting such a session or workshop could be invaluable, both in giving Residential Counselors important information and in gaining legitimacy for the Floating Counselors.

Social Arrangements

We believe that there is a particular need for minority students to have



a place to meet together for social, cultural, and educational activities. Such activities may or may not include non-minority students or students from other minority groups. The Committee recognizes that minority students of any particular group share a distinct cultural background that needs to be preserved and nourished. The opportunity to exchange and share these special perspectives and thoughts alone with one another is a vital part of the college experience for minority students that is personally and educationally reinforcing and satisfying.

Recommendation:

30. At the present time, each of the minority groups on campus has space on campus that is reserved for their exclusive use. The Committee urges that adequate meeting space continue to be made available to each group.

The matter of social activities fees presents a difficult problem for minority students. Many minority students would like to participate in at least some of the activities of their Residential College. At the same time, they believe it important that they support the activities of their minority communities at Yale. In the case of Afro-American Cultural Center for example, Black students find themselves faced with the payment of a double activities fee: \$25.00 for their Residential College social activities fee and \$25.00 for membership in the Afro-American Cultural Center. Black students often can afford to pay only one fee, and usually will opt for membership in the Cultural Center. The effect of this decision, caused by financial hardship, is essentially to shut them out of their Residential College social life, whether they wish to be or not.

For the other minority groups, an arrangement has been made through the Joint Council of Social Chairmen to share the social activities fee on a half-and-half

basis with the minority organization. Thus students are able to participate fully in the activities sponsored by both their Residential College and their minority organization. The Committee congratulates the Joint Council of Social Chairmen for this creative approach and urges that it recognize also the dilemma that is faced by Black students. Therefore, we also recommend:

31. that arrangement between the Joint Council of Social Chairmen and the Minority Student organizations, to share social fees on a half-and-half basis, with full participatory rights in the activities of both the minority group and the Residential College, be continued as a permanent arrangement.
32. that Black students who are members of the Afro-American Cultural Center be recognized as having paid their social activities fee and be given the right to participate in Residential College activities.
33. that Afro-American Cultural Center continue to co-sponsor many of its events each year with Residential Colleges so that the spirit of reciprocity is maintained.

V.

Support Services

Career Advisory and Placement Service (CAPS)

The career counseling needs of minority students are not being met by the Career Advisory and Placement Service (CAPS). In general, minority students do not regularly participate in events and activities or take advantage of opportunities available through CAPS. The reasons for this lack of involvement are not clear, but one explanation given by some minority students is that career planning is not a constant priority for them. This is not because they are unconcerned about their futures, but because they are usually directing most

of their energy and time towards academic performance and social adjustment.

Recently, the CAPS hired a minority staff person. He is a Black male graduate of the Class of 1975. Since he has been with the service, the staff has noticed an increase in the numbers of minority students who use the Service. The new staff person has explained that his success is due to his understanding of the minority student's life at Yale. He understands that because much of their time is occupied by things other than career planning, they need aggressive career counseling. He has tried to meet this need by becoming acquainted with the various minority student groups on campus and trying to assist them in integrating career planning into their college experience.

Because of the lack of minority student involvement in the Career Advisory and Placement Service, there is some concern for the premedical counseling of minority students. The staff who are most closely involved in premedical advising are worried that the lack of early participation in premedical planning on the part of minority students may be penalizing them by limiting their opportunities to succeed in gaining admission to medical school.

A further problem arises because CAPS, despite its name, is not a placement service for undergraduates. Last year the placement service for graduate students, which had operated in the Graduate School, was merged with career advising for undergraduates. Thus CAPS provides career advising for undergraduates, and placement service for graduate students. We understand the reasons for this distinction and we do not have sufficient grounds for recommending a change. We are aware, however, that placement is a problem for many seniors, including minority students, and we feel some fresh thought ought to be given to the functions of CAPS.

We recommend that:

34. The Dean of Yale College and the Director of CAPS appoint a committee to review the policies and procedures of the CAPS. The committee should include five minority students (one from each of the minority student groups on campus; Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians), and three minority faculty and/or administrative staff. The committee should serve as an advisory committee to the Director making recommendations for changes that will promote minority student use of the Service.

Division of Mental Hygiene (DMH), Yale Health Service

On the whole, minority students do not differ greatly from majority students in the psychological and psychiatric problems they bring to DMH. Moreover, minority students use the services of DMH at about the same rate as other students or even slightly less. DMH sees approximately 10% of the student body each year; the figure for Spanish surnamed students is also about 10%, while for Asian Americans and Blacks it is about 8%.

However, in their discussion with our committee, Dr. Robert Arnstein, Psychiatrist-in-Chief, and Dr. William Ellis, psychiatrist, called attention to several important differences between minority and majority students in their relationship to DMH:

1. Minority students tend to bear the additional pressures of representing not only themselves, but also their families and their cultures, and they often feel more intimidated by the mystique of Yale.
2. While minority students may be aware of the existence of a service for helping them to deal with personal problems, they are more likely to seek informal methods for coping with their difficulties, such as friends, the Chaplain, Deans, or a freshman counselor.
3. Minority students are less likely than majority students to use DMH over a long period, and more likely to use it briefly and intensely. Dr. Ellis suggests as an explanation that as a general matter, minority

students are more likely to deal with problems only when they become acute. In the midst of a crisis they seek help at DMH but once the crisis is over, they tend not to continue in therapy.

4. Chicano students from the Southwest often have difficulties that stem from having to adjust not only to an unfamiliar cultural and social environment and the long New Haven winter climate, but also to a prolonged absence from their families because of the expense of returning home.
5. Minority students cannot ordinarily consult a psychiatrist who is a member of their minority. Dr. Ellis is the only non-white male on the staff of the DMH.

The Committee thus recommends that:

35. DMH seek to increase the number of minority members on the psychiatric staff.
36. Personal Problems: The Yale College Dean's Office should initiate a program of conferences, extending throughout the academic year, with college deans, freshman counselors, floating counselors and others who are involved with minority students. The objective of the conferences would be to help those who attend to acquire a better grasp of the special problems minority students face.

## VI.

### Minority Faculty

#### Recruitment

Since many departments have refused to take the initiative in the recruiting of minority faculty, greater pressure must be exerted by the administration on the recruiting process. Department chairmen generally do not take the initiative in contacting minority applicants; they expect interested applicants to contact them; and rather than actively seeking names of qualified minority applicants in their field, chairmen expect that minority students and minority faculty will bring such names to their attention. In many departments, openings not im-

mediately associated with minorities (ie., an opening for someone to teach Afro-American Studies) do not call forth (in the minds of department chairmen) a need for a minority faculty member. Most blacks on the faculty have a joint appointment with Afro-American Studies, and the one Puerto Rican and one Chicano faculty members are both in the Spanish Department. It should be noted here that the network of personal contacts that departmental chairmen usually establish after many years in the profession does not normally extend to minority educators, even though some of these minority professors are well-known in their fields.

In its recruitment of new women faculty members the University has concentrated on the hiring of non-minority women. The University's priorities seem to be in the recruitment of women, without any special attention shown to minority women.

A decision of a minority applicant to come to Yale may be adversely affected if the candidates perceive their hiring as an attempt to "showcase" them in terms of the University's affirmative action program. If candidates feel that they are being hired as a token minority, they are likely not to accept appointment. Moreover, since the numbers of minority faculty in higher education are still proportionately lower than those of the majority, competition for their services is keen.

Yale junior faculty salaries are generally not competitive with salaries paid by other comparable institutions.

Recommendations:

37. The Associate Provost's Office should continue to have an active role in the recruitment and hiring process.
38. Department chairmen should take the initiative in identifying and contacting qualified minority applicants. Openings should be advertised

in appropriate and widely-circulating journals, and departmental chairmen should not depend exclusively on personal contacts that may exclude minority educators and institutions. Chairmen should consult the Associate Provost's Office as early as possible with recruitment process.

39. Greater attention should be paid to the hiring of minority women for faculty openings.
40. Junior faculty salaries should be improved so as to make them more competitive with salaries at other comparable institutions.

#### Utilization and Retention

In addition to their normal academic responsibilities, minority faculty are often asked to teach courses on minority affairs and issues. Minority faculty members are also more involved in the recruitment of prospective minority faculty than other members of their respective departments. They are often involved in the recruitment of graduate and undergraduate minority students. These recruiting activities can be very time consuming. Moreover, the Undergraduate Admissions Office utilizes minority faculty members to read minority applicants' folders. Finally, minority faculty are asked to participate more often in student activities than regular faculty and may feel a greater obligation to respond positively to such requests.

Minority students have greater extra-academic expectations of minority faculty than majority students have of regular faculty. Minority students often seek understanding and counseling from minority faculty, whereas majority students may more easily turn to individuals appointed by the University to carry out counseling and advisory functions. Minority students are also in need of role models and expect minority faculty to provide them. Yale's Career Advisory

and Placement Service has at times been insensitive to the needs of minority students and minority faculty members have had to meet the career-counseling needs of minority students.

Recommendations:

41. Instead of expecting minority faculty to teach courses on minority affairs that may not respond to their academic disciplines or research interests, the University should hire additional faculty to fill gaps in the curriculum.
42. Publications in journals concerned with minority literature, problems, politics, etc., are often viewed as of inferior "quality." The quality of the published book or article should be the yardstick for evaluation.
43. Minority faculty should not be overburdened with the responsibility for the recruitment of minority faculty and minority graduate and undergraduate students. This should be the responsibility of the various departments of the University, and of the Offices of Graduate and Undergraduate Admissions.
44. Minority faculty should be utilized for committee work only to the same degree that other members of the faculty are utilized.
45. If minority faculty are to be used by the University to validate the work of committees that address minority issues, and to help coordinate minority student activities, these contributions should be recognized when a minority faculty member is being considered for promotion, tenure, or when teaching responsibilities are being offered. As it now stands, other administrative responsibilities (such as DUS) carry more weight with departments than minority-oriented responsibilities.

The preceding observations and recommendations lead us to conclude that the



answer to many of these problems would be an increase in the number of minority faculty, administration and staff at Yale University. Minority faculty have an unusually heavy demand placed on their time by administrators, colleagues, and students--because there are so few minority administrators, faculty members and staff at Yale. These responsibilities, were they shared by a greater number of individuals, would not be as burdensome as they are now to the few who feel obliged to assume them.

Continuing Need

One year has not been enough time to deal adequately with all the tasks our committee was assigned. On some matters, such as financial aid, we have barely scratched the surface. We have also had insufficient time to assimilate and interpret a large amount of valuable data on admissions and performance that the Office of Institutional Research undertook to develop at our request. It goes without saying that of course new questions will arise if our recommendations are adopted.

Our final recommendation, therefore, is:

46. that the Dean of Yale College appoint an advisory council to oversee the application of policies and the administration of programs directed to the problems of minority students. The advisory council should also be authorized to explore new questions and problems. It should consist of faculty members, administrators, and students, and should make itself readily accessible to members of the Yale community.

Appendix A

March 11, 1976

I am writing to invite you to serve on a committee which will conduct a study of the status of minority students in Yale College. While it is our hope that this study may be well underway by the end of the spring term, it is likely that publication of a final report will occur about the end of the fall term of 1976-77. I am delighted to say that Professor Robert Dahl has agreed to serve as Chairman.

The formation of this committee is prompted by concerns about Yale College policy in a number of areas where specific issues are particularly crucial to minority students. One area is, of course, our curriculum and our teaching effectiveness. It is sometimes alleged that in placing emphasis on the recruitment of groups of special interest to Yale, including athletes, alumni children and minority group applicants, we risk admitting students whose lack of strong preparation may limit their success in Yale courses, unless they are given assistance and attention. The Committee should review the special measures which have been taken in some departments and offices in the College to determine to what extent they have been successful in bringing such students through the difficult transitional period; and it should make recommendations for the future direction of such efforts in the context of its overall findings. In addition, the Committee will want to investigate whether the number of minority students who withdrew from the College for academic, personal or other reasons is proportionate to withdrawals in the undergraduate population as a whole. We should consider why those who leave do so, and what could be done to decrease the number of withdrawals, if they seem excessive.

The Committee also should address a number of complex and interrelated areas affecting the life of minority students in Yale College. These will predictably include the Freshman Year; residential and social arrangements; support services, the recruitment and utilization of minority faculty; financial aid; and admissions policy and practice. The questions raised below might serve as starting points for committee deliberation.

Many aspects of the Freshman Year will have great importance to the study. For minority students, how effective is the present counseling system? To what extent are Freshman Counselors, Floating Counselors and Faculty Advisors able to help individual minority Freshmen to discover and make the best use of Yale's varied resources? Assignments to Residential Colleges, room allocations, and general residential patterns should also be looked at in terms of their effect upon the minority student's initial year at Yale. The Committee may wish to recommend changes as a result of its investigation of those and related questions.

The effect of residential and social arrangements upon minority students after their freshman year should also be reviewed by the Committee. Is there evidence which supports our assumption that Residential College life contributes positively to the quality of the academic and personal experiences of members of this group? Attention should be given also to the procedures by which individual room allocations are made; are improvements possible, given the overall needs of the College's students and the special needs or preferences of some minority students? What is the particular contribution of separate centers, such as the Afro-American Cultural Center and the M.E.Ch.A. Center? Does the practice of setting Social Fees both in the Colleges and in the minority centers force students either to make difficult choices about their primary allegiance or to add to their financial hardships by paying both fees?

The Committee may also choose to look at the role of non-academic support services. At least two specific dimensions, psychological services and Career Counseling, seem to deserve particular attention. Are the services offered in each of these areas sufficient for minority students and appropriate to their needs? As in the other areas I have enumerated, the Committee's explorations should be directed towards determining what changes, if any, seem feasible and desirable.

Yale College's policies in recruiting and utilizing minority faculty should also be examined. We will want to know what special burdens of academic and personal counseling are placed upon this small group of faculty. If their energies are being unduly called upon, what actions should be taken to limit such exploitation?

The University's financial aid policies and their implementation are of particular importance to many of Yale's minority students. One urgent question seems to be whether the proportion of self-help required of all students by our present policy creates special hardships for this group. Do these students' best academic interests require a period free of employment burdens? Do they experience disproportionate difficulties in obtaining summer jobs? Is there a higher than expected percentage of minority students who tend to be in arrears in the Bursar's Office? If so, an exploration of the reasons for such inability to meet financial commitments would seem to be indicated.

In the light of all its concerns and findings, the Committee will also need to address the College's admissions policy and its implementation. The scope and effectiveness of the College's minority recruitment efforts should be reviewed and evaluated. Do we have adequate access to those students in various minority populations most likely to benefit from the College's resources and to contribute to its purpose? Would it be more useful, for the College as well as for potential students, to bring minority applicants to Yale for a pre-admission visit, rather than to have undergraduates and alumni assume the responsibility for recruiting minority group members to Yale College? Answers to these questions are of great importance; however, it will be equally important for the Committee to review the criteria used in evaluating minority students for admission, and to make recommendations for any changes judged advisable.

All of this is a big order and the Committee may wish to add or to delete items as appropriate after discussion. The information-gathering resources of the College will be put at the Committee's disposal, as will clerical or bursary assistance, if needed. I hope very much that you will find it possible to participate in this important review and I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Horace D. Taft  
Dean of Yale College

HDT/bet

Appendix B

Evelynn Yamashita, Director of Minority Recruitment Program, Office of Undergraduate Admissions  
Roy Cosme, '77, Chairman Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (M.E.Ch.A.)  
Ruben Martino, '78 Despierta Boricua  
Magda Rosa, '78, Despierta Boricua  
Worth David, Dean of Undergraduate Admissions  
Robert Arnstein, Psychiatrist-in-Chief, Division of Mental Hygiene  
William Ellis, Psychiatrist, Division of Mental Hygiene  
Jeff Howard, Director of Efficacy Program, Harvard University  
Glen de Chabert, former Director of Minority Recruitment Program, Office of Undergraduate Admissions  
Sherry Penney, Associate Provost for Affirmative Action  
Kevin Allen, Career Advisory and Placement Service  
Priscilla Elfrey, Career Advisory and Placement Service  
Susi Wugmeister, Career Advisory and Placement Service  
Donald Brown, Professor of Economics, Chairman of Department of Economics  
Maria Luisa Nunes, Asst. Professor of Portuguese and Afro-American Studies  
Philip White, Asst. Professor in Afro-American Studies and Political Science  
Khalid Lum, Director of Afro-American Cultural Center  
Robert Cruz, '78  
Thomas Filomeno, '79  
Richard Harris, '77  
Dean Felix Lopez, Asst. Dean of Yale College  
Niyonu Payton, '79  
Peter Williams, '80  
Aubrey McCutcheon, '79

Table G-1: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants to the Class of 1975

EN	Appendix C										Totals
	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black American	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign				
# Applicants	5463	153	347	99	33	0	298				6393
% Men Applicants	85.5%	2.4%	5.4%	1.6%	0.5%	0.0%	4.7%				72.1% (All Apps)
# Admits	1520	51	102	27	12	0	70				1782
% Admitted	27.8%	33.3%	29.4%	27.3%	36.4%	0.0%	23.5%				27.9%
# Matrics	873	22	61	17	6	0	40				1019
% Men Matrics	85.7%	2.2%	6.0%	1.7%	0.6%	0.0%	3.9%				78.8% (All Mat.)
Yield	57.4%	43.1%	59.8%	63.0%	50.0%	0.0%	57.1%				57.2%

OXEN

# Applicants	2070	95	189	55	11	0	59				2679
% Women Applicants	83.5%	3.8%	7.6%	2.2%	0.4%	0.0%	2.4%				27.9% (All Apps)
# Admits	327	26	42	12	1	0	12				420
% Admitted	15.8%	27.4%	22.2%	21.8%	9.1%	0.0%	20.3%				16.9%
# Matrics	215	15	24	10	1	0	10				275
% Women Matrics	78.2%	5.5%	8.7%	3.6%	0.4%	0.0%	3.6%				21.2% (All Mat.)
Yield	65.8%	57.7%	57.1%	83.3%	100.0%	0.0%	83.3%				65.5%

OMBINED

# Applicants	7533	248	536	154	44	0	357				8872
% All Applicants	84.9%	2.8%	6.0%	1.7%	0.5%	0.0%	4.0%				(100%)
# Admits	1847	77	144	39	13	0	82				2302
% Admitted	24.5%	31.1%	26.9%	25.3%	29.6%	0.0%	23.0%				24.8%
# Matrics	1088	37	85	27	7	0	50				1294
% All Matrics	84.1%	2.9%	6.6%	2.1%	0.5%	0.0%	3.9%				(100%)
Yield	58.9%	48.1%	59.0%	69.2%	53.9%	0.0%	61.0%				58.8%

Table C-7: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants to the Class of 1976

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
<b>MEN</b>								
# Applicants	5337	130	317	95	46	4	312	6241
% Men Applicants	85.5%	2.1%	5.1%	1.5%	0.7%	0.1%	5.0%	71.3% (All Apps)
# Admits	1542	57	132	33	20	1	98	1883
% Admitted	28.9%	43.9%	41.6%	34.7%	43.5%	25.0%	31.4%	30.2%
# Matrics	846	33	65	21	13	1	41	1020
% Men Matrics	82.9%	3.2%	6.4%	2.1%	1.3%	0.1%	4.0%	76.0% (All Matc.)
Yield	54.9%	57.9%	49.2%	63.6%	65.0%	100.0%	41.8%	54.2%
<b>WOMEN</b>								
# Applicants	2091	86	190	39	23	2	85	2516
% Women Applicants	83.1%	3.4%	7.6%	1.6%	0.9%	0.1%	3.4%	28.7% (All Apps)
# Admits	428	36	63	16	11	1	18	573
% Admitted	20.5%	41.9%	33.2%	41.0%	47.8%	50.0%	21.2%	22.8%
# Matrics	245	18	31	9	5	0	14	322
% Women Matrics	76.1%	5.6%	9.6%	2.8%	1.6%	0.0%	4.4%	24.0% (All Matc.)
Yield	57.2%	50.0%	49.2%	56.3%	45.5%	0.0%	77.8%	56.2%
<b>COMBINED</b>								
# Applicants	7478	216	507	134	69	6	397	8757
% All Applicants	84.8%	2.5%	5.8%	1.5%	0.8%	0.1%	4.5%	(100%)
# Admits	1970	93	195	49	31	2	116	2456
% Admitted	26.5%	43.1%	38.5%	36.6%	44.9%	33.3%	29.2%	28.1%
# Matrics	1091	51	96	30	18	1	55	1342
% All Matrics	81.3%	3.8%	7.2%	2.2%	1.3%	0.1%	4.1%	(100%)
Yield	55.4%	54.8%	49.2%	61.2%	58.1%	50.0%	47.4%	54.6%

Table C-3: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants to the Class of 1977

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
<b>WOMEN</b>								
# Applicants	5202	153	319	104	61	4	450	6293
% Men Applicants	82.7%	2.4%	5.1%	1.7%	1.0%	0.1%	7.2%	66.7% (All Apps)
# Admits	1262	56	102	38	28	2	99	1587
% Admitted	24.3%	36.6%	32.0%	36.5%	45.9%	50.0%	22.0%	25.2%
# Matrics	687	32	48	22	21	1	48	859
% Men Matrics	80.0%	3.7%	5.6%	2.6%	2.4%	0.1%	5.6%	65.8% (All Mat.)
Yield	54.4%	57.1%	47.1%	57.9%	75.0%	50.0%	48.5%	54.1%
<b>WOMEN</b>								
# Applicants	2575	93	216	56	45	4	154	3143
% Women Applicants	81.9%	3.0%	6.9%	1.8%	1.4%	0.1%	4.9%	33.3% (All Apps)
# Admits	597	30	170	18	21	2	37	775
% Admitted	23.2%	32.3%	32.4%	32.1%	46.7%	50.0%	24.0%	24.7%
# Matrics	353	13	30	13	14	2	21	446
% Women Matrics	79.1%	2.9%	6.7%	2.9%	3.1%	0.4%	4.7%	34.2% (All Mat.)
Yield	59.1%	43.3%	42.9%	72.2%	66.7%	100.0%	56.8%	57.6%
<b>COMBINED</b>								
# Applicants	7777	246	535	160	106	8	604	9436
% All Applicants	82.4%	2.6%	5.7%	1.7%	1.1%	0.1%	6.4%	(100%)
# Admits	1859	86	172	56	49	4	136	2362
% Admitted	23.9%	35.0%	32.1%	35.0%	46.2%	50.0%	22.5%	25.0%
# Matrics	1040	45	78	35	35	3	69	1305
% All Matrics	79.7%	3.4%	6.0%	2.7%	2.7%	0.2%	5.3%	(100%)
Yield	55.9%	52.3%	45.3%	62.5%	71.4%	75.0%	50.7%	55.2%



Table C-4: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants to ENG Class of 1978

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
EN								
# Applicants	5193	143	260	99	57	6	527	6285
% Men Applicants	82.6%	2.3%	4.1%	1.6%	0.9%	0.1%	8.4%	67.3% (All Apps)
# Admits	1344	61	97	32	16	1	106	1657
% Admitted	25.9%	42.7%	37.3%	32.3%	28.1%	16.7%	20.1%	26.4%
# Matrics	696	28	47	17	9	0	53	850
% Men Matrics	81.9%	3.3%	5.5%	2.0%	1.1%	0.0%	6.2%	64.7% (All Mat.)
Yield	51.8%	45.9%	48.5%	53.1%	56.3%	0.0%	50.0%	51.3%

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
OMEN								
# Applicants	2519	95	188	42	49	3	164	3060
% Women Applicants	82.3%	3.1%	6.1%	1.4%	1.6%	0.1%	5.4%	32.7% (All Apps)
# Admits	622	36	66	10	17	0	31	782
% Admitted	24.7%	37.9%	35.1%	23.8%	34.7%	0.0%	18.9%	25.6%
# Matrics	378	20	33	3	12	0	18	464
% Women Matrics	81.5%	4.3%	7.1%	0.6%	2.6%	0.0%	3.9%	35.3% (All Mat.)
Yield	60.8%	55.6%	50.0%	30.0%	70.6%	0.0%	58.1%	59.3%

COMBINED								
# Applicants	7712	238	448	141	106	9	691	9345
% All Applicants	82.5%	2.5%	4.8%	1.5%	1.1%	0.1%	7.4%	(100%)
# Admits	1966	97	163	42	33	1	137	2439
% Admitted	25.5%	40.8%	36.4%	29.8%	31.1%	11.1%	19.8%	26.1%
# Matrics	1074	48	80	20	21	0	71	1314
% All Matrics	81.7%	3.7%	6.1%	1.5%	1.6%	0.0%	5.4%	(100%)
Yield	54.6%	49.5%	49.1%	47.6%	63.6%	0.0%	51.8%	53.9%

Table G-5: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants by the Class of 1972

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
<b>MEN</b>								
# Applicants	5259	155	284	104	66	2	493	6363
% Men Applicants	82.6%	2.4%	4.5%	1.6%	1.0%	0.0%	7.7%	67.0% (All Apps)
# Admits	1311	61	108	40	26	0	77	1623
% Admitted	24.9%	39.4%	38.0%	38.5%	39.4%	0.0%	15.6%	25.5%
# Matrics	681	30	47	15	18	0	40	831
% Men Matrics	81.9%	3.6%	5.7%	1.8%	2.2%	0.0%	4.8%	61.6% (All Mat.)
Yield	51.9%	49.2%	43.5%	37.5%	69.2%	0.0%	51.9%	51.2%
<b>WOMEN</b>								
# Applicants	2535	102	191	70	30	3	197	3128
% Women Applicants	81.0%	3.3%	6.1%	2.2%	1.0%	0.1%	6.3%	33.0% (All Apps)
# Admits	713	40	75	30	13	1	32	904
% Admitted	28.1%	39.2%	39.3%	42.9%	43.3%	33.3%	16.2%	28.9%
# Matrics	421	23	36	16	9	1	13	519
% Women Matrics	81.1%	4.4%	6.9%	3.1%	1.7%	0.2%	2.5%	38.4% (All Mat.)
Yield	59.0%	57.5%	48.0%	53.3%	69.2%	100.0%	40.6%	57.4%
<b>COMBINED</b>								
# Applicants	7794	257	475	174	96	5	690	9491
% All Applicants	82.1%	2.7%	5.0%	1.8%	1.0%	0.1%	7.3%	(100%)
# Admits	2024	101	183	70	39	1	109	2527
% Admitted	26.0%	39.3%	38.5%	40.2%	40.6%	20.0%	15.8%	26.6%
# Matrics	1102	53	83	31	27	1	53	1350
% All Matrics	81.6%	3.9%	6.1%	2.3%	2.0%	0.1%	3.9%	(100%)
Yield	54.4%	52.5%	45.4%	44.3%	69.2%	100.0%	48.6%	53.4%

Table G-6: Applicants, Admits, and Matriculants to the Class of 1980

	White & Unspecified	Asian American	Black	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Native American	Foreign	Totals
<b>MEN</b>								
# Applicants	5324	181	243	67	59	5	471	6350
% Men Applicants	83.8%	2.9%	3.8%	1.1%	0.9%	0.1%	7.4%	66.9% (All App)
# Admits	1276	65	98	32	24	2	88	1585
% Admitted	24.0%	35.9%	40.3%	47.8%	40.7%	40.0%	18.7%	25.0%
# Matrics	637	31	42	21	11	1	45	788
% Men Matrics	80.8%	3.9%	5.3%	2.7%	1.4%	0.1%	5.7%	60.6% (All Mat)
Yield	49.9%	47.7%	42.9%	65.6%	45.8%	50.0%	51.1%	49.7%
<b>WOMEN</b>								
# Applicants	2608	112	177	35	33	5	178	3148
% Women Applicants	82.9%	3.6%	5.6%	1.1%	1.1%	0.2%	5.7%	33.1% (All App)
# Admits	709	49	67	18	11	2	40	896
% Admitted	27.2%	43.8%	37.9%	51.4%	33.3%	40.0%	22.5%	28.5%
# Matrics	425	22	32	7	4	1	21	512
% Women Matrics	83.0%	4.3%	6.3%	1.4%	0.8%	0.2%	4.1%	39.4% (All Mat)
Yield	59.9%	44.9%	47.8%	38.9%	36.4%	50.0%	52.5%	57.1%
<b>COMBINED</b>								
# Applicants	7932	293	420	102	92	10	649	9498
% All Applicants	83.5%	3.1%	4.4%	1.1%	1.0%	0.1%	6.8%	(100%)
# Admits	1985	114	165	50	35	4	123	2481
% Admitted	25.0%	38.9%	39.3%	49.0%	38.0%	40.0%	19.7%	26.1%
# Matrics	1062	53	74	28	15	2	66	1300
% All Matrics	81.7%	4.1%	5.7%	2.2%	1.2%	0.2%	5.1%	(100%)
Yield	53.5%	46.5%	44.9%	56.0%	42.9%	50.0%	51.6%	52.4%