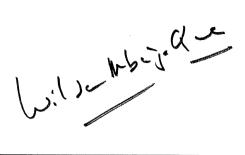
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Introduction

In recent times much has been written about the state of the American university in the twenty-first century. Much of the present dialogue focuses on the complex changes and transformations American colleges and universities are undergoing in response to a plethora of powerful and far-reaching social, economic, demographic, and technological forces. The various processes driving this change system include the breaking down of racial, ethnic, religious, and gender-based legal barriers to group and individual advancement, the welding of world communities through the processes of globalization and internationalization, the development of new technologies, and the emergence of a high-tech, knowledge-centered economy. Most often these changes are considered for their direct implications for the quality and quantity of higher education available to American students and conditions of higher education access in America. But even more significantly they are considered for the critical issue of how colleges and universities approach their traditional mission of research, teaching, and service.²

While the literature on the American university in the twenty-first century is most insightful and informative, it has two major shortcomings. First, virtually nothing has been written about the impact of contemporary social and structural changes, transformations, and pressures on the nation's historically black colleges and universities. Second, the literature overlooks the views and opinions of the men and women who lead black institutions. To date, no scholar has examined the perspectives of the presidents and other high-ranking administrators who sit

at the helm of historically black colleges and universities and who shoulder the critical responsibility of conceptualizing and articulating the mission and vision of these institutions in the new era.

This book is intended to bridge the gap in our knowledge of traditionally African American-serving higher education institutions. It presents the views, thoughts, opinions, perspectives, experiences, and ideas of ten presidents of the nation's historically black colleges (both retired and currently serving) on the position of traditionally black institutions in the changing world of higher education in the twenty-first century. The aim is to portray historically black colleges and universities from the viewpoints of the presidents, with the goal of helping us to better understand the challenges and opportunities facing black institutions, and how their leaders are responding to the environment of higher education in the new century.

In straightforward and candid fashion, the presidents share their views on a wide variety of issues. These topics range from the presidents' understanding of the important past contributions of historically black colleges to their concept of how the history and heritage of the black colleges inform the schools' present mission. Other topics include the effect of the changing technological environment on research, teaching, curriculum, and faculty of historically black colleges; how the presidents define diversity in higher education; and how they are responding to the diversity movement within America, as well as the twin phenomena of globalization and internationalization.

The presidents also discuss their fundraising priorities, the challenges they face in this particular area, and the strategies they are employing to obtain alumni, federal, corporate, and foundation support for their schools. Additionally, the presidents give insight into their understanding of service and university-community engagement, and discuss programs they are sponsoring to foster development in their local communities.

The ten presidents profiled in this study reflect the great diversity that characterizes historically black college leadership in the twenty-first century. The presidents hail from diverse backgrounds, espouse different outlooks, and inherited distinctive institutional legacies. As a group they represent six private institutions and four public. Their student bodies range from 550 to 8,200. Their curriculums encompass the broad scope of higher education, from liberal arts programs at the undergraduate level to comprehensive master's and doctoral level programs. Some of the presidents are themselves graduates of historically black colleges,

while others attended predominantly white institutions. Some came to their present position from within the black college administrative ranks, while others came from administrative posts at predominantly white institutions. One, in fact, left the presidency of a predominantly white institution to take on her present role at a historically black college. Another was chief academic officer of a large west-coast public system. The vast diversity of the personal and professional backgrounds of the featured presidents poses a strong counter to widely held notions about the homogenous nature of black college leadership.

The extraordinary breadth and caliber of their professional experience and the reach of their influence make these presidents key spokespersons for black higher education and historically black colleges. They are in the forefront of the national dialogue on race and higher education in America, presenting papers, leading workshops, and participating on national commissions and researches. One of the presidents featured in this book is a former United States assistant secretary for post-secondary education. Another is the president and chief executive officer of the United Negro College Fund, the nation's oldest and most influential black higher education consortium. Another is currently the longest sitting university president in America - black or white - with 35 years of service, and four currently serve on the White House Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges. Another is the past president and chief executive officer of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO), a consortium of 103 historically black colleges, and recently retired from his third college presidency. Still another is the author of a highly acclaimed book on race and education and served on a presidential commission on race, while another is a former president of the National Science Foundation. In their collective wisdom the men and women featured in this book are exemplary of the broad depth of personal and professional experiences and expertise needed to guide the traditionally black institutions through this time of transformation.

These presidents are united in purpose — helping the nation's historically black colleges and universities survive in the new millennium by successfully adapting to the changing conditions of higher education. This shared commitment among the presidents stems from their understanding of the historical forces that shaped and defined the development of African American higher education and its relationship to the larger black political struggle for freedom, justice, and equality.

Higher education institutions for African Americans emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War and the wake of Reconstruction.³ The

first institutions to emerge were the private colleges. The private schools were established under the supervision of a number of groups and organizations, including northern white missionaries, black church groups, and black communities. Of the northern white religious groups, organizations such as the American Missionary Association, the American Baptist Mission Society, and the Methodist Episcopal Church were leaders. The efforts of African American church groups to establish institutions of higher education were spearheaded by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Baptist Church. Other private institutions resulted from the efforts of visionary individuals such as Booker T. Washington, James Shepard, James C. Price, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.⁵ The advent of the public system of higher education for African Americans was a byproduct of the Second Morrill Act of 1890. The Act provided land-grant colleges for blacks in states where land-grant institutions existed for whites.6

During their formative years, which coincided with the period of American history known as Redemption, an era characterized by widespread racial repression, black institutions faced numerous challenges to their growth and development. African Americans were politically disfranchised, forced into the economically exploitative sharecropping and tenant cropping system, excluded from public facilities and institutions by mandate of Jim Crow segregation laws, denied equal opportunity in education, and subjected to horrendous racial violence.⁷ The educational impact of this contentious state of race relations was that African American elementary and secondary education in the South was extremely underdeveloped. This, in turn, hindered the growth and development of black higher education institutions as generations of African Americans who were potentially capable of completing collegelevel work were denied the opportunity to obtain the prerequisite secondary training. The culture and environment of the post-Civil War South adversely affected the development of African American higher education institutions in more direct ways, ranging from assigning black institutions the limited role of educating African Americans exclusively to starving black institutions of funding.8

This was the environment in which higher education institutions for African Americans were founded. Yet the black college story abounded with profound ironies. For in spite of all the limitations placed on the development of black colleges, these institutions that had been started to preserve segregation and inequality (at least in the minds of whites who imposed segregation and Jim Crow) turned out to be the tools that undermined segregation and inequality.

First and foremost, throughout the Jim Crow period, the black colleges provided the only available means of higher education access to generations of African Americans. The role black institutions played in providing higher education access was critical to black progress. As historian Adam Fairclough points out in his groundbreaking study *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow*, because slave-owners during the slavery period prohibited black literacy, African Americans would come to believe strongly that education was the key to freedom, liberation, and uplift. Because of this belief in the empowering quality of knowledge, the acquisition of education became the focal point of the black *political* struggle for justice and equality. And all debates about how to uplift the race (for example the early twentieth century debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois) always revolved around the question of what was the best educational strategy to accomplish the goal of race advancement.

Yet coming into Emancipation African Americans still had a long road to travel in order to reach their goal of obtaining empowerment through education. When the Civil War erupted in 1861 at least 90 percent of all African Americans were illiterate, and only 28 percent had received college- or university-level training from any American institution.10 And in the whole of the country there were only three institutions-all in the North-established for the express purpose of providing higher education to blacks. By 1925, however, sixty years later, there were no fewer than one hundred higher education institutions for blacks, with most located in the South, and only 16 percent of African Americans were incapable of reading or writing.11 In 1928 there were 12,000 students enrolled in black colleges. By 1941 the number of African Americans enrolled in these institutions had increased to 37,000. Just nine years later, in 1950, on the eve of Brown v. Board of Education, this number had doubled to 74,000.12 The black college was single-handedly responsible for increasing the educational opportunities available to young blacks. By raising the level of education in the black community, black colleges made vital contributions to the African American political struggle for justice and equality.

Reflecting on the important role black institutions played in providing higher education access to African Americans, Walter E. Massey, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, states: "They provided a professional and educated class at a time when it was very difficult for any class to be educated in any other way." Michael L. Lomax, president

and chief executive officer of the United Negro College Fund and former president of Dillard University, maintains, "Black colleges and universities have provided access to education for African Americans. That has been the number one important role that we played, certainly since the nineteenth century when African Americans were excluded from every level of educational opportunity, till the twentieth century where, at least for the first half of it, historically black colleges remained the number one opportunity for post-secondary education for African Americans."14 Carolynn Reid-Wallace, former United States assistant secretary for post-secondary education and former president of Nashville's Fisk University, posits: "Without these institutions, up until literally the early seventies, large numbers of the educated population that we now know would not exist."15 Norman C. Francis, president of Xavier University of Louisiana and currently the longest sitting university president in America, similarly states: "America would not have had the professional cadre of African Americans that it has today and has enjoyed over these many years had it not been for black colleges."16

In addition to performing the political work of providing higher education access to African Americans, scholars have identified numerous other ways the black colleges contributed to the black fight for equality. One important contribution the institutions made was that they imbued African American students with an empowering black cultural identity that countered then dominant white supremacist ideas about the origins of black people and the contributions of black people to the world. During the early 1920s when the common currency among whites was that American blacks descended from an inferior race, Leo Hansberry, a professor of history at Howard University, was teaching black students about the "glories" of the African ancestral past. 17 Hansberry's efforts at Howard culminated in the formation of the first African studies program at a college or university in America. Of his works, Hansberry remarked: "No institution is more obligated and no ... school is in a better position to develop [an African diaspora] program [than] Howard.... This is the area in which Howard has the most promising and immediate opportunity to distinguish itself as a leader in the general cause of public enlightenment."18

Students studying history at Virginia State College in the 1930s under Rayford Logan received similar instruction in the history of Africa.¹⁹ A "Pan-African perspective has always been an integral part of the value-cluster" of black institutions, writes one scholar.²⁰ As early as

1895, Atlanta University hosted a conference on Africa, and in 1912 Tuskegee Institute convened an "International Negro Conference." Walter E. Massey, a student at Morehouse in the 1950s, recalls that during his student days the "Morehouse curriculum ... was very much infused with the history of black people.... There was a particular emphasis on it because it was recognized that these were the only institutions that were likely to teach the history." Massey remembers Morehouse offering courses such as "Black Religion," "Black History," and "African Affairs."

The black college served as the nexus for much of the African American progressive political activism of the early twentieth century. As Fairclough points out, many of the leaders of black colleges, especially the presidents of these institutions, were actively involved in a wide variety of civil rights, social justice, and human welfare organizations.²³ A range of black college presidents, including Robert Moton, John Hope, Charles S. Johnson, and Mary McLeod Bethune, figured prominently among the membership and leadership of organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, Southern Regional Council, Young Men's Christian Association, Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, National Council of Negro Women, and League of Women Voters.²⁴

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967, personified the social activist tradition prevalent among black college leaders of the early to middle twentieth century. Mays played an important role in the founding of the Southern Regional Council. He also served on the Board of Directors of the NAACP, chaired the National Sharecroppers and Rural Advancement Fund, and was a major figure in other social justice organizations, such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the American Crusade to End Lynching.²⁵ Mays always told his students that even though African Americans lived in a segregated world, they did not have to accept segregation in their hearts.²⁶

Many of the aforementioned social justice groups often met on the campuses of black colleges as black institutions were the only place in the segregated South where African Americans and forward-looking whites could gather and dialogue without fear of reprisal from white southerners. The Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation, for instance, held most of its meetings at the Atlanta University Center.²⁷ In 1952 Morehouse College president Benjamin E. Mays made the following observation: "If there is held an institute of human rela-

tions in Tennessee where people can come together as Americans and as Christian citizens, this institute must be held at Fisk, LeMoyne, or Lane.... There is no other institution in Tennessee where such an institution could be held with complete freedom.... If the Negro and white peoples are to get together in Georgia and discuss their common problems on the basis of complete equality, the meeting must be held on the campuses of the Negro private colleges.... These colleges (black colleges) set the pace in these areas for the colleges of the south.... The freedom which is inherent in the private Negro colleges does not exist on the campuses of the white colleges of the South.... The private Negro colleges are citadels of freedom and democracy."²⁸

In so many ways, as Benjamin E. Mays observed, the environment of the black college personified the democratic ideal in higher education. In the wake of the Nazi insurgence in Europe many Jewish scholars fled to the United States, where they sought employment in white northeastern colleges and universities. Finding the doors of white northeastern colleges barred by the lock of anti–Semitism, many of these Jewish scholars turned South, where they found employment opportunities in black higher education institutions.²⁹ Similarly, from the founding of black institutions to the present, Anglo-Americans were represented on the faculties and administrative staffs of the various institutions. And during the entrenched years of Jim Crow segregation, black foreign students (African and West Indian) who would have been excluded from white institutions freely enrolled at black colleges and universities. A cadre of African leaders ranging from Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana received their undergraduate education and training at black colleges and universities.³⁰

As Henry R. Ponder, former chief executive officer of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education and former president of Talladega, Fisk, and Benedict colleges, states: "Diversity has always been at the heart of everything we do." The claim recently made by one scholar that historically black institutions are only beginning to embrace diversity is outlandish and demonstrates a gross ignorance of the history of black colleges. The black colleges pioneered the idea of diversity in higher education.

Finally, the black college environment instilled within its students feelings of race pride and race consciousness, which in turn led to greater self-esteem and self-confidence. The very existence of the schools stood as symbols of the "highest level of black achievement," undercutting stereotypes that African Americans were intellectually inferior to whites and therefore incapable of running complex institutions.

African Americans who taught and worked in colleges for blacks towered as positive role models in the eyes of their students, proving that if given the opportunity blacks could become professors, deans, college presidents, social scientists, physicians, attorneys, and so on. If blacks occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder, the lives and accomplishments of these professional blacks seemed to say, it was not because of biological inferiority but because institutionalized and entrenched racism blocked their path to progress.

The remarks and observations of black college alumni impress these points. In ripe old age when asked about the highlights of her school experience at Scotia College, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune replied: "My contact with the fine young Negro teachers ... who gave me confidence in the ability of Negro women ... and gave me the incentive and made me feel that if they could do it I could do it, too."33 The eminent sociologist St. Clair Drake wrote of his experience as a student at Hampton in the late 1920s: "I received a good liberal education plus training to teach high school. I also absorbed the service to the race values and learned to appreciate Negro history, music, and folklore. It never occurred to me that what I was getting was inferior."34 Going on to earn the doctorate at the University of Chicago, Drake added: "I never felt handicapped there by having gone to Hampton."35 Carolynn Reid-Wallace, former president of Fisk University and a student at Fisk in the late 1950s, asserts: "These schools [black colleges] ... offered to large numbers of people opportunities to study and to come to discover who they are.... I had no idea, no clue that I could one day become the president of a university, that I could one day make my mark on society.... The historically black institutions enabled you to understand your worth, your power, your potential, and your strength. They ennobled individuals to go forth and to be full citizens."36

Marie V. McDemmond, president of Norfolk State University, remembers her undergraduate institution, Xavier University of New Orleans, as a place where "you were told that you could do anything.... You were never given any doubt that you could not succeed.... No matter how poor you were or whatever ... it was expected for you to do well." Walter E. Massey, who attended Morehouse College during the administration of the legendary Benjamin E. Mays, recalls the college as a place where students were told that "you can do whatever you are inspired to do if you work at it and that we at Morehouse are going to hold you to very high standards ... standards perhaps even higher than those you will have to compete with in the non-African American world because you

must be better than everybody else.... As a Morehouse man that is what you have to strive for."³⁸ Earl S. Richardson, president of Morgan State University, remembers the faculty and administrators of his alma mater, Maryland State College (the forerunner of the University of Maryland Eastern Shore), as individuals who "made you think you were somebody."³⁹ Henry Drewry, a senior advisor to the Mellon Foundation and a 1948 graduate of Talladega College, states: "What we had on that campus—the education, the support—outweighed what the outside world could do."⁴⁰

In addition to African Americans who taught and worked on campus, the black college environment gave students exposure to black leaders and role models from the wider community. At weekly chapel, or campus-wide assemblies, students could hear blacks who were leaders in other fields (educators, politicians, business leaders, journalists, social workers, theologians, and so on) speak on issues pertinent to African Americans. 41 Oftentimes, campus assemblies featured black personalities from outside the United States. In the fall of 1954, William V.S. Tubman, the president of Liberia, then the only independent nation in black Africa, visited the Atlanta University Center, where he addressed an overflowing crowd at Sisters Chapel at Spelman College. Edward McIntyre, who was a junior at Morehouse at the time and who would go on to become Mayor of Augusta, Georgia, recalls of Tubman's visit: "My feeling was a feeling of pride and uplifting ... because here was a black president of a country.... It gave you a sense of saying, this can happen one day, maybe, in America.... It was overwhelming."42 Walter E. Massey, who was also a student at Morehouse at the time, remembers Tubman's visit as the "most memorable" chapel experience of his student days. "The fact that the president of what was then a very important and thriving nation was on campus was very memorable."43

Throughout the period of segregation, African Americans themselves recognized the ironies, contradictions, and paradoxes of their situation. On the one hand, they recognized that because the colleges were designated to educate blacks exclusively they seemed to hinder African Americans from entering mainstream society. But on the other, they recognized that the schools had also been instrumental in pushing the race forward. The black higher education institutions had trained generations of black leaders, and fostered the growth and development of a rich, unique, dynamic, and empowering black culture and identity.

Throughout his illustrious life and career, W.E.B. Du Bois, the preeminent African American scholar and activist of the early twentieth

century, repeatedly spoke about the paradoxes of the black situation, and especially that of the black college.44 Because of the ironies of segregation as it related to the role of black higher education institutions in the struggle for racial equality, Du Bois "feared that the fight against segregation would ... undermine the unique contributions of black Americans and warned against basing a challenge to segregation on the inferiority of separate Negro institutions."45 By the early 1930s as the Great Depression wore on, and Du Bois began to turn away from his assimilationist-integration view of racial uplift, he argued that the appropriate educational strategy for blacks to achieve equality in America was to fight against compulsory or enforced segregation - not because separate black institutions were inferior to white ones, but because segregation was unconstitutional - and at the same time to fight for the growth and expansion of black institutions. Du Bois wanted African American higher education leaders to agitate to bring black institutions to parity with white institutions, while simultaneously working to make both historically black and traditionally white institutions more inclusive. This strategy was premised on the school of thought we now know as "cultural pluralism" or "multiculturalism." 46 Indeed, historian David Levering Lewis posits that Du Bois' writings from the mid-1920s contain an "embryonic vision ... of multiculturalism."47

An examination of African American thought on educational strategies of racial uplift in the age of Jim Crow shows that the idea of cultural pluralism as the best program for racial equality and empowerment was also expressed in the speeches and writings of a number of Du Bois' contemporaries. These include intellectuals Alain Locke, Carter G. Woodson, Kelly Miller, Mary Church Terrell, and educators John Hope and Mordecai Johnson.⁴⁸

In the summer of 1936 Kelly Miller, a professor at Howard University, wrote an article in the *Journal of Negro Education* in which he argued that the use of "race-specific strategies" was a program African Americans needed to consider in their quest for empowerment. Miller argued:

The Catholics operate catholic institutions for the development of the peculiar type of character and qualities demanded by the Catholic church. If Jews support and operate their own institutions to cultivate their own geniuses and perpetuate their own tradition, if Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians undertake the extra expense of operating purely denominational schools for the sake of developing peculiar tenets of these several sects, why should not the Negro even without the compulsion of segregation favor and foster institutions of higher learning that cater to the talent and genius of the race?⁴⁹

As early as 1916 Alain Locke gave a lecture that outlined his vision of racial progress. Locke stated that he saw "culture-citizenship" as "the goal of race progress and race adjustment." "Culture-citizenship," he argued, "must come in terms of group contribution to what becomes a joint civilization." And in his study of African American life in Washington, D.C., from 1930 to 1960, Donald Earl Collins shows that the "combining of desegregation and multiculturalism as one strategy" was one tactic District blacks embraced in their struggle to achieve empowerment and equality. 51

Thus throughout the early 1950s, as the legal struggle against segregation in education was coming to a head and America stood on the cusp of great and mighty change, and the argument was being made in certain quarters that black institutions were inferior to white institutions and were negatively affecting black progress, and therefore integration and assimilation into white institutions was the best recourse for the race. African American educators and intellectuals were celebrating the achievements of black institutions and openly acknowledging their role in advancing the race. In 1952 Frederick D. Patterson, the president of Tuskegee Institute, confidently stated that the black college had been an important "spearhead" for African American progress in America.⁵² One year earlier, in 1951, when an official of the Rockefeller General Education Board asked for his thoughts on the long-term destiny of colleges for African Americans in light of the changing nature of race relations, Rufus E. Clement, the president of Atlanta University, responded in straightforward fashion: "Segregation or no segregation, Atlanta University and the Negro colleges will be needed.... The vast majority of Negroes prefer Negro colleges.... In these colleges Negroes are at home.... They have their fraternities, their football games, their loyalties, their friends."53

The dilemma black educators faced on the eve of Brown v. Board of Education was not whether to uphold their institutions. Rather, the dilemma was how to move forward without losing their institutions; how to carve out a space in the new and emerging environment of desegregation and cultural opportunity for African Americans that would both protect and expand the economic and cultural interests of black institutions. By debating about the future of black colleges African Americans were also debating about their history, their culture, their freedom, as well as the future of the race.

African American educational leaders wanted equality but they did not necessarily think that equality was only achievable through assimilationist integration. In the minds of many, equality was associated with cultural pluralism: ending enforced segregation and thereby removing the stigmas associated with black institutions; bringing institutions once designated for blacks to parity with institutions established for whites; and encouraging diversity within both white and black institutions.

One moment where such ideas were expressed was the 1952 Howard University national conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in Education," convened one year before NAACP lawyers went before the United States Supreme Court to argue the case that would come to be known as Brown v. Board of Education. Though a historic event, or moment, in African American history, the conference has been overlooked by scholars of the black experience. The purpose of the meeting was to provide a forum for those working in the fight against segregation to discuss strategies for breaking down Jim Crow segregation in schools, ways to implement desegregation should the court ban segregation, and what desegregation could mean to educational institutions then serving African Americans exclusively.⁵⁴ The conference was attended by nearly 400 of America's leading African American civil rights activists, scholars, attorneys, social scientists, labor leaders, college presidents, federal officials, and journalists. The attendees were black and white and hailed from every region in the country.⁵⁵

At this meeting, Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College and then the most important and influential African American higher education leader in the nation, told the audience:

when integration comes ... the Negro and white colleges will be judged on their merits.... Those that meet the standards of excellence in scholarship, character, and equipment will survive and those that do not meet these standards will not survive.... No college will survive because it is a Negro college and no college will go out of existence because it is a Negro college.... The college will be judged on its ability to provide good education to all the people.⁵⁶

Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute and founder of the United Negro College Fund, asserted:

the future of the private Negro college under a system of integration is that of becoming an integral part of the whole of private education.... It shall do this, as private education remains a part of the whole of all higher education in America.⁵⁷

Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College and an officer of the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges, posited:

It is hopefully envisioned that in a matter of time Negro students will be admitted in all of the state's institutions that now serve white students only, and white students will be admitted into what is now the institution for Negroes.... We are directing our efforts to have what is now the state's Negro college become an integral part of the state's system of higher education.⁵⁸

Other African American higher education leaders present, including Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln University, and Martin D. Jenkins, president of Morgan State College, expressed similar views.⁵⁹

Even though the Brown verdict rejected the cultural-pluralism paradigm of desegregation advocated by African American higher education leaders at the 1952 Howard University conference, the black higher education leadership class continued to push for its multicultural vision of college desegregation. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s black college leaders such as Benjamin E. Mays, Frederick D. Patterson, and Rufus B. Atwood wrote treatise after treatise and delivered speech after speech defending the continued existence of traditionally African American higher education institutions.60 Led by Benjamin E. Mays, these black college presidents made the goal of shifting the national dialogue on the meaning and aim of collegiate desegregation from one based on integrating African Americans into previously all-white institutions to one that emphasized building black colleges up to the level where they could attract white students and subsequently enter the mainstream of higher education the central point of their post-Brown careers. 61 African American educators wanted black colleges to find new missions not defined by segregation; increase their curricular offerings to meet the changing manpower needs of the economy; and be in the vanguard of innovation and advancement in higher learning. In other words, black college leaders wanted their institutions to adapt and adjust to the changing environment of higher education in the new era, not fade into oblivion.

Throughout his illustrious career Benjamin E. Mays repeatedly called for a "two-way street" approach to integration. With a deep commitment to the values of producing outstanding leaders, service, personal integrity, and academic excellence, he endeavored to build Morehouse College into a first-rate institution that would showcase the great potentials of historically black colleges. Walter E. Massey asserts that Benjamin E. Mays, like many black college presidents of the desegregation era, "believed that historically black institutions could do both ... that the schools could maintain their heritage and predominant flavor and vision; but could maintain that while having it open, and by hav-

ing a large number of students who were not African American."63 According to Massey, Mays did not see it as "either/or."64

In 1953, as the social, economic, and demographic changes wrought by World War II and NAACP litigation were converging to pull the first props from under the system of segregation, Charles S. Johnson, the president of Fisk University, told a large audience gathered for the Annual United Negro College Fund Convocation:

In this transition, these Negro colleges are not beggar institutions waiting for an opportunity for their students to tip quietly into the back of the class-rooms of white colleges.... The colleges themselves and their products have something of great value, and, we believe even magnificence to contribute to the entire process.⁶⁵

In short, the African Americans who led black colleges through the profound and far-reaching changes and transformations of the 1950s saw desegregation as a vehicle to move their institutions from the margins to the center of higher education. African American educators believed that growing and expanding the colleges for blacks, rather than integrating them out of existence or separating them from the mainstream, would be the best educational solution to the problems of blacks and the best strategy to achieve justice and equality of opportunity for African American students. But most importantly, they believed strongly that in the immediate post-segregation period and beyond the colleges established for African Americans could play a critical role in rebuilding the nation along the true democratic ideals.

The story of black college presidents in the era of desegregation reconceptualizes our understanding of African American thought on the meaning of desegregation and its implications for historically black institutions. And more importantly, their story cuts at the heart of what Lisa Delpit calls the "debilitating myth," that is, the widespread belief that "the reason black people fought so hard for desegregation is that deep down they agreed with the larger society's view that without access to white culture, white teachers, white schools, and white leadership, black people could never adequately educate their children, nor hope to create a decent future for their race."

Earl S. Richardson, president of Morgan State University, maintains that for African Americans of the 1950s and 1960s "integration was not about closing schools.... It was about desegregating all schools.... It was about bringing blacks into the mainstream so they would have a choice of white or black institutions ... and it was the same for bringing whites to black institutions so they had a choice." But mainstream

America, Richardson notes, "misinterpreted what integration was all about.... They decided that what integration meant was to destroy part of what was supposed to be integrated."⁶⁸

The efforts of Benjamin E. Mays and other black college leaders to grow and expand their schools into the new era of integration and cultural opportunity for African Americans tells us much about black thought on crucial questions of race, empowerment, equality, and identity as America stood in the midst of great and mighty change. Their struggles open a window onto understanding not only nuances of the black experience as it pertains to the development of higher education per se, but also the wider, multidimensional nature of black culture, and the often contradictory and always complex ways in which educational ideology informed and influenced black interpretations of freedom and equality. This is the vision of black colleges in a post–Brown v. Board of Education America that the current generation of black college presidents inherited.

The present generation of black college presidents is working to actualize the vision of black colleges handed down by Benjamin E. Mays and other black college leaders of the mid-twentieth century. Building on the traditional values of leadership, service, and academic excellence, these presidents are working to move historically black institutions to the grand heights envisioned by Benjamin E. Mays, Frederick D. Patterson, Rufus B. Atwood, and other black college leaders of the midtwentieth century. Morehouse College president Walter E. Massey, for instance, states that Morehouse has followed and tried to maintain the legacy of Benjamin E. Mays in regard to his quest for black colleges to embrace a standard of excellence that transcends race. While the efforts of the present generation have resulted in numerous success stories, black colleges and their leaders as a whole face major challenges in their quest for excellence.

All of the presidents interviewed for this book maintain that one of the major challenges facing black colleges is related to availability of resources. Historically black colleges and universities, like predominantly white institutions, need solid financing in order to offer high-quality academic programs and maintain modern campus infrastructure. As Carolynn Reid-Wallace reminds us, a fancy mission statement or statement of priority means nothing if an institution lacks the necessary financial resources. To "If you do not have the money," she says, "all of the rhetoric in the world will not get you where you need to be."

Historically black colleges and universities lag seriously behind pre-

dominantly white institutions in this area. When the Chronicle of Higher Education recently reported the nation's top 300 colleges and universities in terms of endowment value, only four black colleges—Howard, Hampton, Morehouse, and Spelman—were listed.⁷² Most telling, Howard University, the black college claiming the largest endowment (\$312 million), lags far behind 130 predominantly white institutions. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the combined overall endowment value for all 103 historically black institutions is only \$1.6 billion, and the combined endowment value of Morehouse, Spelman, Howard, and Hampton accounts for nearly 45 percent of that total.⁷³ Having inadequate endowment funds limits the resources black colleges are able to channel toward key areas such as per pupil spending and annual operating budget.

The sources of the problems of black colleges in the area of financing are numerous. First and foremost, alumni generate the vast majority of philanthropy to higher education institutions. While paltry alumni giving is a problem for all colleges and universities in America, it is a special problem for black institutions. Unlike the graduates of majority colleges, the graduates of historically black institutions generally have not been able to amass vast personal wealth and establish links within

the corporate community.

Michael L. Lomax, president of the United Negro College Fund and former president of Dillard University, asserts that the "biggest difference between alumni philanthropy at black colleges in comparison to white colleges is that black institutions do not have as strong a base of donors."74 William Gray, former president of the United Negro College Fund, describes the situation this way: "Black colleges by the very nature of their constituency, operate very close to the line.... They simply do not have alums who have had access to capital accumulation; they generally don't have multimillionaires to draw from."75 Another problem is that many historically black institutions lack the high-tech advancement infrastructure and manpower necessary to aggressively seek alumni support ("it takes time and resources to gain the resources," says Lomax). Historian of education Marybeth Gasman also points out a greater inclination on the part of African Americans to give to black churches, fraternities and sororities rather than black colleges. These factors combine to make paltry alumni giving a serious problem at black higher education institutions.76

Corporate, foundation, and non-alumni individual support comprise other key sources of philanthropy for American colleges and uni-

versities. Several studies show that black colleges lag far behind white schools in such support. Far too often mainstream corporations, foundations, and private citizens tend to associate black higher education institutions (regardless of how sound the academic programs) with perceptions associated with African Americans generally: inferior and incompetent. Because of this thinking, corporate and foundation contributions to black institutions pale in comparison to what is given to majority white institutions. One of the presidents featured in this book speaks of what he sees as "some resistance in the corporate community to treating historically black institutions on a par with majority institutions." "We have a long way to go in getting the corporate world to understand the importance of what we do," another insists.

Black college presidents often find themselves in the position of constantly fighting longstanding public perceptions of their institutions. Marie V. McDemmond, president of Norfolk State University, states that it "is still very hard for traditionally black colleges and universities to prove their worth in the circles of American higher education."77 Likewise, Earl S. Richardson of Morgan State University posits that "people do not give to things they do not understand and appreciate."78 Morehouse College president Walter E. Massey asserts that the challenge for the president of a black college is to position the school as an "institution in which your donors and supporters want to invest because they see it as a important contributor to society ... rather than giving a handout as a form of charity to an institution that perhaps deserves support but would not survive or barely survive without the charity.... It is ... moving from being seen almost as a welfare case to one in which the donor wants to invest because when people give on the basis of charity they give small amounts of money ... but when they see it as an investment they give large amounts of money."79

Paralleling the situation in the corporate and foundation sectors, research indicates that black institutions are not receiving their fair share of federal funds. In the fiscal year 2002 black post-secondary institutions received less than 10 percent of all federal money earmarked for higher education.⁸⁰ Even with a recent 5 percent increase in federal support to black institutions, the overall federal outlay still totals less than 10 percent.⁸¹

In light of these circumstances, the task of fundraising has proven most daunting for the presidents of black colleges. One of the presidents featured in this book remarks that she had no idea it would be so hard to acquire funding for black institutions. Indeed, the pressures associated with fundraising have been the primary reason for high turnover rates of black college presidents. A recent report shows that in the past two years, more than two dozen black colleges—roughly a quarter of all black institutions—have lost presidents.⁸² The majority of the presidents cited the pressure to raise money as their main reason for leaving.⁸³ These constraints notwithstanding, historically black colleges and universities will remain viable only if they can successfully raise the funds necessary to pay for qualified faculty, cutting-edge technology, and modern physical plants.

Another challenge confronting historically black colleges and universities is their lack of visibility in higher education media and public relations circles. The reason for this is twofold. First, the content of mainstream higher education news publications is generally slanted towards majority white institutions. Little or no attention is paid to the happenings at traditionally black institutions. Because of this consistent ignoring of black colleges there is a major vacuum in the knowledge of many Americans - of all races - about predominantly African American serving institutions. Carolynn Reid-Wallace, former president of Fisk University, contends that black colleges are "doing some remarkable things but nobody knows about it."84 In a similar vein, Earl S. Richardson, president of Morgan State University, states that there is a prevailing ignorance in the minds of many Americans about the workings of historically black institutions.85 This gap in the visibility of black institutions in the national media and public relations community has led many black college presidents, including Beverly Daniel Tatum of Spelman, Calvin W. Lowe of Bowie State, Marie V. McDemmond of Norfolk State, and Earl S. Richardson of Morgan State to make raising the profile of their respective institutions a key goal.

The second aspect of the visibility problem is that far too often the scant news that is reported about black colleges is negative in nature. The only stories readers of the nation's leading mainstream higher education news publications encounter about traditionally black institutions are ones that highlight the so-called "crisis" of black colleges: stories about black schools experiencing management problems, losing accreditation, or facing financial bankruptcy. And while it is true that some black colleges struggle with such issues, to focus exclusively on these problems presents an incomplete picture of black institutions. Some black colleges, like some white colleges, have their problems and their struggles, but the institutions are still going about their mission of educating young people, reaching out to the community, and being in

the forefront of curricular advancements. And many are doing excellent work. The mainstream media's focus on the "problems" of black colleges is doing a major disservice to these institutions. What is needed is a *balanced* focus on black institutions. We need news stories about what black institutions are accomplishing in spite of not having the multibillion dollar endowments most white colleges enjoy.

For instance, in recent times journalists writing for the nation's leading mainstream higher education news magazines have made a fetish out of the financial difficulties Clark Atlanta University is experiencing. Yet how many of these journalists have ever mentioned that Clark Atlanta has the first and still the only American Library Association-accredited school of library studies in Georgia and therefore has trained the lion's share of Georgia's librarians—black and white? Or how many have noted, for that matter, that the Princeton Review recently included Clark Atlanta University in its listing of the 100 best colleges in the southeastern United States?86 And while writers for mainstream higher education news publications deluge us with story after story about the troubles of Morris Brown, they have avoided telling us that for many years Morris Brown sponsored numerous programs geared toward empowering the local community. Norfolk State University president Marie V. McDemmond insists that black colleges are generally not "noted for the treasures they are."87 According to Earl S. Richardson of Morgan State University there is a great need for "educating the public on the value nuances of historically black colleges."88

Finally, another problem confronting black colleges is continued ambivalence over their existence. While this problem is not as great as it was in the 1970s during the immediate post-Civil Rights Movement era, remnants of it still emerge from time to time. In light of the fact that black colleges educate only 18 percent of African Americans enrolled in higher education, and recent courts rulings have extended the life of affirmative action in higher education admissions at majority-white institutions, questions frequently arise as to the continued need for black institutions. In his 2001 book Is There a Conspiracy to Keep Black Colleges Open? sociologist Gerald A. Foster argues that the continued existence of black institutions is a roadblock to black progress.89 The argument, as scholars of education Roebuck and Murty write, is that "in a society that is striving for racial integration, the further duplication of physical facilities, academic programs, and services within a racially segregated, two-tiered higher education system is counterproductive financially, philosophically, and pedagogically."90

This lingering ambivalence over the continued existence of black institutions is a direct result of a major vacuum in collegiate desegregation policv. It has been 50 years since the Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education outlawed racial segregation in the elementary and secondary schools of the nation. The verdict of the court in Florida ex. rel. Hawkins Board of Control (1956) extended the concept of desegregation to higher education, which in turn was reinforced by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. 91 Yet in the half-century since these court rulings and legislative acts mandated desegregation, legislatures, the judiciary, and others who write and influence policy affecting higher education in American have failed to clearly and cogently spell out what college desegregation means, what strategies are required to achieve it, and what criteria measure its observance.92 But most importantly, legislatures and the judiciary have failed to define the meaning and implications of desegregation for the colleges originally established for African Americans. The works of numerous scholars of black education, most notably Russell W. Irvine and Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, M. Christopher Brown II, and Charles V. Willie, remind us of this vacuum.93 The problem, these scholars and analysts argue, is that most legal mandates pertaining to desegregation are "full of ambiguous concepts," laden with vague and ambivalent legal jargon, void of clear and straightforward meaning.94 Confusion in terminology has prevented clarity of concept, which in turn has made it patently impossible to interpret the law with the goal of gleaning insights that could lead to the formulation of meaningful policy.

In his study The Quest to Define Collegiate Desegregation, M. Christopher Brown writes: "Higher education is still without a prevailing legal standard that clearly articulates what it means for postsecondary education to be desegregated or to have dismantled dual educational structures." The judiciary, Brown contends, has failed to "establish a legal mandate that resolves the following issues: What is meant by desegregation? What policies constitute compliance...?"

In a similar vein Irvine and Irvine assert:

What constitutes a desegregated school environment? Is desegregation the same as integration? What is a necessary and sufficient racial mix to be considered a desegregated situation? These are questions for which there are no easy, readily available answers.⁹⁷

Charles V. Willie maintains that a "similar feature" of court cases and legislation decreeing desegregation is "the absence of a clear definition of desegregation and little, if any, guidance by the court."98 Other scholars have expressed related views.99

This vacuum, scholars and analysts of desegregation and black colleges argue, has created a situation in which the black colleges have been left - literally - in limbo, surrounded by confusion and disagreement over their mission and purpose in a post-Brown America. Black colleges since the era of civil rights, Bowles and De Costa maintain, have been caught "between two worlds." This situation has spawned much ambivalence and uncertainty in the minds of Americans of all races about the value and importance of black higher education institutions. This ambivalence, they reason, is a major factor behind reluctant, tepid, and unequal public support of black colleges. Earl S. Richardson of Morgan State University states that "there are still those in the public sector who when they hear historically black college throw up a wall.... For them it conveniently denotes segregation."101 This combination of ambivalence and unequal support tends to complicate plans to grow and develop historically black colleges, which in turn makes it difficult to establish programs of long-term strategic planning. 102 As Charles V. Willie writes, "It is time for the court and the legislature to say what they mean and mean what they say" with regard to the implications of desegregation for black colleges. 103 The viability of black colleges in the new millennium will depend on these critical constituencies reaching consensus.

Despite these challenges, the leaders of historically black colleges and universities continue to soldier on, working to make the vision of Benjamin E. Mays a reality. All of the presidents interviewed for this book state emphatically that there is no conflict between the existence of historically black institutions in the twenty-first century and the national emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism. America is a highly pluralistic society, and historically black colleges and universities, like women's colleges, schools with strong religious backgrounds, and similar colleges with a specific racial or ethnic heritage, enhance diversity in higher education.

Among the distinctive features of their heritage and mission, most black colleges include the emphasis on collaborative rather than competitive learning, the maintenance of a nurturing and individualizing environment, the emphasis on the history, the culture, and the contributions of African Americans, and the focus on service to the community. All of the presidents agree that institutions of traditionally black higher education should preserve these features of their heritage and mission. While serving as president of Dillard University, Michael L. Lomax embraced "a heritage quality" to his vision for the institution. 104

Marie V. McDemmond of Norfolk State University adds: "I think historically black colleges and universities should preserve their heritage and historic mission." 105

Yet while recognizing the strengths of the heritage and historic mission, the presidents also recognize that we live in a global society, and that historically black colleges and universities must prepare their students to live and work in this society. The colleges, the presidents state, must adapt and adjust to the changing environment of higher education in the twenty-first century. As they see it, in order for black colleges to be successful in the new millennium, the institutions must undertake the task of both preserving past strengths and becoming relevant to the new era. The institutions must merge what Walter E. Massey of Morehouse College calls the "best features of their heritage and mission" with the vast opportunities and advances of the present.¹⁰⁶ They must identify those core values that according to Calvin W. Lowe, president of Bowie State University, go "beyond value to black folks ... but that have intrinsic value" to all people. 107 In other words, black colleges must use the values and strengths of the past as a foundation for future success in the wider world of higher education. As Lowe describes it, black college leaders must "look to our history and our traditions as a guide, not as an anchor."108

Part of becoming relevant to the new millennium means that black colleges must have access to what United Negro College Fund president Michael L. Lomax calls the "cutting edge of technology and science and the ability to communicate across cultures and across geographies that purely are elements of the new millennium." It is here, in this quest for excellence, that as Carolynn Reid-Wallace posits, "what it means to be a historically black institution in the twenty-first century is not unlike what it means to be a majority white institution in the twenty-first century." Like all colleges, historically black institutions are trying to maintain the competitive curriculum, strong faculty, outstanding and diverse student body, and stable financial base crucial to success in higher education in the new millennium. This is where the mission and vision of all colleges and universities in America—regardless of racial or religious background or heritage—merges.

For their part, the presidents featured in this book are making efforts that are truly noteworthy. In keeping with the legacy of Benjamin E. Mays, the presidents view the pursuit of academic excellence as their foremost priority. Accordingly, they are placing great emphasis on curricular development. Several of the presidents argue that the success of

the black college in the area of curriculum development is largely dependent on the institutions resolving themselves to the fact that they "cannot be everything to everybody." With this observation in mind, the presidents are consolidating programs in their existing areas of strength, dismantling outmoded or duplicate programs, and establishing new programs to meet the needs of the changing economy.

At traditional liberal arts institutions such as Morehouse College, Spelman College, and Fisk University the presidents are working to enhance their already rigorous academic programs. Similarly Xavier University is reinforcing its strengths in the areas of mathematics and science around a strong liberal arts core. Another notable example is Dillard University under the leadership of Michael L. Lomax. After assuming the presidency of Dillard, Lomax hired a range of new and nationally prominent faculty who worked collectively and in conjunction with an outstanding provost to completely revamp the curriculum. Their efforts resulted in an academic program capable of competing with the best in the nation.

The historically black colleges are also keeping pace with the technological trends of the economy by increasing their programs and strengths in science and technology. This is especially true of the larger institutions. Since becoming president of Norfolk State University, Marie V. McDemmond has consolidated nine schools into five, with a heavy focus on mathematics, science, and technology. Norfolk State University has added both undergraduate and graduate programs in engineering, and has started a graduate program in computer science. Several other institutions, including Savannah State University, Morgan State University, and Bowie State University, have also added new programs in engineering, computer science, and information science.

While making every effort to prepare students for life and work in the American society of the twenty-first century, the presidents also recognize that their students must be able to live and function in the global society of the new millennium. In light of that recognition, the presidents are placing a great deal of emphasis on globalization and internationalization as curricular components. Dillard University has a Global Studies program, which provides oversight for international curricular infusion. Spelman College has an International Affairs Center and a highly acclaimed Japanese Studies Program. Xavier University of New Orleans maintains a Center for Intercultural and International Programs. Morehouse College is home to the Andrew Young Center for International Affairs. Savannah State University sponsors an Interna-

tional Education Center. Norfolk State University employs a dean for internationalization.¹¹²

Moreover, many of the colleges maintain study-abroad programs and student exchanges and partnerships with international universities. Dillard University has an exchange program with several Asian and African universities. Savannah State University has an exchange program with universities in China and Ghana, and is developing one with a university in the Virgin Islands. Norfolk State University offers a joint Master's of Social Work program with a university in St. Croix.¹¹³

In addition to maintaining competitive academic programs with emphasis on internationalization and globalization, historically black colleges and universities are also making significant contributions to the production of knowledge. Many of the institutions have helped advance the science of knowledge by expanding their research infrastructure through the creation of centers and institutes where faculty and students engage in cutting-edge research and study. At North Carolina A&T State University, an institution with a legacy and tradition of excellence in science and technology training, faculty and students engage in research in several institutes and centers, including the Center for Aerospace Research, the Center for Electronics Manufacturing, and the Center for Energy Research and Technology. The university's research sponsors range from NASA to the United States Department of Agriculture and from the Department of Defense to the National Science Foundation and the Department of Transportation. At Norfolk State University, the Center for Materials Research is a hub for graduate work and research in the sciences. Savannah State University is home to a nationally recognized research program in marine sciences. 114

Like Benjamin E. Mays and other members of the mid-twentieth century generation of black college leaders, the presidents featured in this book have built their quest for academic excellence around a commitment to diversity. Numerous studies have shown that diversity is a vital aspect of learning and education. However, much of the present dialogue on diversity in higher education focuses on diversity in the context of majority white institutions. There is virtually no dialogue on diversity as it pertains to the nation's historically black colleges and universities. Hence, there is a widely held assumption among Americans of all personal and professional backgrounds that historically black colleges and universities are not diverse institutions. As Carlton E. Brown, president of Savannah State University, asserts, "People often make the

assumption that historically black colleges and universities are all black."¹¹⁶ Conversations with the presidents of black colleges, however, reveal a picture that is quite different.

Several of the featured presidents point out that although historically black colleges may be majority African American the institutions are in reality very diverse. This diversity, they argue, stems from the great internal variation within the black community. Diversity is manifested by the fact that even though the students are predominantly black they come from different religious backgrounds, different socioeconomic strata, different geographic backgrounds and so on. Walter E. Massey, the president of all-male Morehouse College, asserts that "one has to move beyond the obvious framings of diversity: race, gender, and ethnicity ... you must also look at what diversity means at an individual level.... What we tell our students is that you look among your student body here and though you are still predominantly African American and male, you try to look at the diversity that exists.... You come from all over the nation, all over the world in fact." 117

Beverly Daniel Tatum, president of all-female Spelman College, says: "There are lots of ways to think about diversity.... You can think about diversity in terms of sexual orientation.... You can think about diversity in terms of the black experience within the context of color differences.... You can think about diversity at a women's college in terms of who is in a sorority, who is not in a sorority.... There are a lot of ways of speaking about the diversity of the community." Massey and Tatum add another dimension when they point out that at their respective institutions (Morehouse and Spelman Colleges), the majority of their students have been in predominantly white schools and communities all their lives. For such students, according to Massey, "four years at a predominantly black institution is not the same as white students who have been in a predominantly white environment all of their lives going to a predominantly white institution and encountering people of color." 119

The diversity of historically black colleges resulting from differences within the black community has been greatly enhanced by the sustained efforts of the presidents to recruit more broadly among non-African American populations. The most recent census has identified Hispanics as one of the most rapidly growing ethnic communities in America. Many of the presidents interviewed for this study speak of making concerted efforts to recruit within the Hispanic community. Several state that their drive to recruit among this population is based on a recognition that the challenges Hispanics face in higher education are similar

to those faced by African Americans. Marie V. McDemmond of Norfolk State University maintains that her institution has a "very large push to diversify" its student population with special emphasis on the recruitment of Hispanics, a significant population group in the Hampton Roads area. Norfolk State University has a Hispanic lab and a Hispanic recruiter who actively visits Hispanic communities. The University is also a member of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities—the only historically black college or university with membership in this organization. 121

During her tenure at Fisk University, Carolynn Reid-Wallace also made special efforts to reach out to the Hispanic community. Reid-Wallace states that one of her strategies was to engage Hispanic communities by frequently speaking to Hispanic leaders and educators about Fisk. As a sign of her dedication to building a bridge to the Hispanic community, Fisk offered free computer technology courses to Hispanic students. Savannah State University boasts a significant number of Hispanic students, and the university's radio station was the first in the area to offer Hispanic programming. Other presidents, including Calvin W. Lowe of Bowie State University, speak of significant recruitment efforts among Hispanics.

In addition to the recruitment and enrollment of Hispanic students, the presidents also speak of efforts to recruit and enroll foreign-born black students, primarily from Africa and the West Indies. As previously stated, the historically black colleges and universities of America have a long and extensive relationship with Africa. African students have been enrolled at black colleges since the founding of the institutions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The tradition continues. All of the presidents interviewed for this study speak of having African students enrolled in their institutions. In similar vein, all of the presidents state that their respective institutions have significant enrollment of students from the West Indies.

The Asian population is another ethnic community whose presence is increasing on the campuses of historically black colleges and universities. Norfolk State University reports the enrollment of several Asian students. At Xavier University of Louisiana, 25 percent of the enrollment in the college of pharmacy is non-black, with a significant part of the non-black population being Asian. ¹²³ In addition to the enrollment of Hispanic students, foreign-born black students, and Asian students several of the presidents report significant enrollment of students from Europe. A noteworthy example of international enrollment at a histor-

ically black college is Savannah State University, which enrolls students from forty-seven countries.

Diversity within the black college community is also manifested at the faculty level. As earlier noted, since the era of their founding historically black colleges and universities have been models of racial diversity at the faculty level. When the schools were initially established many had predominantly white faculties and administrative boards. Several had white presidents even into the mid-twentieth century. True racial diversity at the faculty level remains a distinctive feature of the black colleges. At Xavier University of New Orleans the teaching faculty is roughly 53 percent white. 124 Numerous other historically black colleges report similar numbers. In addition to white Americans, faculties of Asian, African, Hispanic, and European backgrounds add to the diversity of institutions of traditionally black higher education.

When all these factors are taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that historically black colleges and universities are very diverse institutions. In fact, they are far more diverse than their white counterparts. Carlton E. Brown of Savannah State University, for instance, points to the fact that his institution has more non-black students and faculty than the University of Georgia has non-white students and faculty. ¹²⁵ Indeed, Savannah State University boasts the most diverse faculty in the University System of Georgia.

Another strategy the presidents have used to promote institutional diversity is forming partnerships with majority research universities. Dillard University maintains a teaching exchange program with Emory University and an exchange forum with the University of Colorado at Boulder. Xavier University has major partnerships with Tulane University, the University of New Orleans, and Louisiana State University. Doth Morehouse and Spelman collaborate with the Georgia Institute of Technology. Norfolk State University partners with Old Dominion University. Numerous other presidents report partnerships and collaborations with majority institutions.

The presidents state that the end result of diversity in higher education is to help students understand and appreciate cultures others than the one in which they were raised. "To help people accept differences ... and not trying to acclimate everybody to one ethnic or cultural bias," that is the end result of diversity, Marie V. McDemmond of Norfolk State University maintains. 128 This understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures is a prerequisite for successful living in the highly pluralistic American society of the twenty-first century. Once students

acquire this understanding and appreciation, the presidents hope, the long-term impact of having diversity at the college level will be the emergence of what Morehouse College president Walter E. Massey calls a "less prejudiced and discriminatory society." 129

Finally, the current generation of black college presidents is continuing the legacy and tradition of service championed by Benjamin E. Mays. Marie McDemmond's constant exhortation to students at Norfolk State University is that "service to our community is paramount." She adds, "What I say to students, I say it in graduation speeches, convocation speeches, everything, is that you have an obligation, because you have made it this far, to go back and educate those in your community, those from where you have come, be it family, neighbors, or whatever." Walter E. Massey speaks of inspiring the present generation of Morehouse College students with the ideals of service he heard roll off the lips of Benjamin E. Mays at Mays' famous chapel talks during Massey's student days. Carolynn Reid-Wallace passed on to her students the message of service she received from her teachers at Fisk University in the 1950s.

The teachings of the presidents have translated into concrete programs and initiatives. Many of the schools maintain centers that coordinate institutional activities to uplift and promote positive change within the community and instill within students a commitment to the idea of service. At Morehouse College, the Emma and Joe Adams Public Service Institute weaves the school's community outreach initiatives into a cohesive thread. The Spelman College Center for Leadership and Civic Engagement empowers students to promote change in not only the local community but the world. Outreach programs at Bowie State University are coordinated through the school's Maryland Center.¹³⁰

The specific ways the presidents are using the resources of their respective institutions to help find solutions to the problems and challenges faced by local communities are manifest. Xavier University, in partnership with Tulane University, sponsors the National Center for the Urban Community, which spearheads renewal efforts in urban communities of New Orleans. Morgan State University and Jackson State University also support urban renewal programs.¹³¹ Several of the colleges, including Savannah State University, Norfolk State University, Jackson State University, and Bowie State University, maintain small business entrepreneurial centers to foster economic growth and development in local communities. Bowie State University partners with Prince George's County in an SAT Preparatory Saturday Academy.¹³²

Spelman College students participate in Habitat for Humanity projects. Students from Xavier University tutor in the local community. Dillard University participates in the Campus Kitchen Food Drive. Students from North Carolina A&T State University installed a computer laboratory in a public housing complex. When Carolynn Reid-Wallace assumed the presidency of Fisk University one of the first things that she did was to remove the fences that separated the college campus from the local community. Her goal was to make the campus more welcoming to locals. Because of the good works of the presidents and students, the historically black colleges and universities are making vital contributions to efforts to solve problems and challenges that afflict communities across the country.

As for the overall progress of black colleges and universities in their quest for excellence, the record speaks for itself. Historically black colleges and universities constitute only 3 percent of all colleges and universities in America, but they carry the lion's share of the responsibility of educating students from underrepresented population groups. Institutions of traditionally black higher education produce 28 percent of all bachelor's degrees, 15 percent of all master's degrees, and 17 percent of all first professional degrees earned by African Americans. And nationally, 85 percent of all African American physicians, 75 percent of all African American PhDs, 50 percent of all African American engineers, and 46 percent of all African American business executives received either their undergraduate or graduate level training at a historically black college. Several of the presidents featured in this book preside over institutions that have single-handedly led the trajectory of black college success.

Xavier University of Louisiana, for example, ranks first in the nation in the number of African American students earning undergraduate degrees in both the biological/life sciences and the physical sciences. Xavier is also a national leader in educating African American students in psychology, computer science, and mathematics. Moreover, Xavier carries the distinction of placing more African Americans into medical school than any other college or university in the nation. Morehouse College was the first historically black college to produce a Rhodes Scholar. North Carolina A&T State University trains a disproportionate share of African American engineers. Fisk University ranks in the top ten percent of colleges and universities nationally whose graduates go on to earn the PhD in the sciences. Bowie State University is a national leader in the overall production of African Americans with mas-

ter's degrees in computer science and information sciences. The Morgan State University ROTC program ranks second nationally (West Point ranks first) in the production of African American generals.¹³⁸

A recent study revealed that of the top twenty four-year colleges and universities producing African American students who go on to enroll in PhD programs, twelve of the top twenty are historically black colleges. ¹³⁹ Among the twelve are institutions such as Fisk University, Talladega College, Morehouse College, and Spelman College. Describing the productivity of black colleges in successfully educating African American students, Norman C. Francis, president of Xavier University of Louisiana, states: "It is not a chicken and an egg situation. It is just a practical where is the productivity coming from and the answer to that is that it is disproportionately coming from black colleges." ¹⁴⁰ In terms of providing higher education access and opportunity to minority students, the contributions of historically black higher education institutions are second to none.

These factors make it imperative that the American public embrace historically black colleges and universities and support programs and initiatives geared toward helping the institutions reach their highest potential. Efforts to improve the overall standard of education in America must consider the vital contributions made and being made by black institutions. And from a larger perspective, finding an appropriate policy program to enhance historically black colleges is fundamental to developing an overall national plan for solving the many problems that challenge America's minority communities, especially problems of poverty and inequality.

If America is to remain in the vanguard of global economic growth, production, and prosperity it must support the institutions that have made possible the current national success. Benjamin E. Mays and his contemporaries held a grand vision for black colleges coming into the new era of integration and cultural opportunity for African Americans. The men and women who currently lead historically black colleges and universities are continuing the work begun by Mays and other African American educators of the mid-twentieth century. The present challenge is for America to hold up the hands of those who hold up the historically black colleges and universities.

Notes

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