HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Triumphs, Troubles, and Taboos

Edited by Marybeth Gasman and Christopher L. Tudico
List of Tables and Illustrations    vii
Acknowledgments         ix
Introduction      1

1 Triumphs            13

1 For Alma Mater and The Fund: The United Negro College Fund's National Pre-Alumni Council and the Creation of the Next Generation of Donors  
Noah D. Drezner

2 On Firm Foundations: African American Black College Graduates and Their Doctoral Student Development in the Ivy League  
Pamela Felder Thompson

3 Bennett and Spelman Colleges: Creating Black Female PhDs in the Sciences  
Shannon Gary

4 Social Justice, Visionary, and Career Project: The Discourses of Black Women Leaders at Black Colleges  
Gaetane Jean-Marie

2 Troubles            75

5 McCarthyism's Effect on Black Colleges in Pennsylvania: A Historical Case Study of Cheyney and Lincoln Universities  
Patricia C. Williams

6 The Forgotten GI: The Servicemen's Readjustment Act and Black Colleges, 1944–54  
Meghan Wilson

7 Race, Social Justice, and the Jackson State University Shootings  
Mark S. Giles
CHAPTER 1


NOAH D. DREZNER

I believe that these colleges [historically Black] form a legacy ever devoted to the high ideals for which they were grounded and the pre-alumni council should promulgate not only the tenets of higher education but should promote the highest in race relations as well.

National Pre-Alumni Creed United Negro College Fund.

Member colleges of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), like most other colleges and universities, require voluntary support in order to balance their budgets and achieve their institutional missions. While acknowledging the need for alumni support as a result of decreases in funding from federal and state governments, many private and public institutional advancement programs do not instill a culture of giving in their students, nor do they teach the importance of providing financial support to their alma mater after receiving their diploma (Dysart, 1989; Zusman, 1999). Nancy Dysart (1989) suggests that colleges may be forced to teach a culture of giving to their students in order to encourage future alumni participation in development campaigns. The UNCF, through its National Pre-Alumni Council (NPAC), aims to involve students in fund-raising in order to encourage their support after graduation. Alumni support accounts for the majority of voluntary giving to the general academy.
For instance, alumni provided 28% of the private donations to higher education in the fiscal year 2001 (American Association of Fundraising Counsel [AAFRC], 2003). However, only 12.2% of alumni solicited support to historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the same year (Voluntary Support of Education survey, 2005).

Currently, fund-raising at colleges and universities is growing, resulting in increased competition. Voluntary support for higher education, from all sources, amounted to $24.2 billion in the fiscal year 2000, up from $7.56 billion (in constant 2000 dollars) in 1965 (AAFRC, 2005; Drezner, 2007). Fund-raising within higher education will only increase. As of March 2005 there were 49 campaigns, either announced or completed, with goals of raising over a billion dollars at institutions in the United States (Capital campaign status, 2005). John Lippincott, president of the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), predicts that in the near future “one or more institutions will announce $5-billion campaigns...the next psychological threshold to cross” (Strout, 2005). Nearly 2,000 private institutions and more than 1,500 public two- and four-year colleges and universities compete with each other for the same donations. Durmon and Loession (1991, p. 1) described this trend as follows:

The competition for private dollars, both within the field of higher education and throughout the entire nonprofit world, is more vigorous now than ever before. For some institutions, doing well in this competition is no less than a matter of survival. For all institutions, competing successfully for private support provides the money to ensure institutional growth and strength.

As a result of this competition for dollars, administrators are searching for all possible revenue sources to help meet budget requirements. Therefore, encouraging students to give and maintain their commitment and loyalty to their alma mater as alumni is very appealing to college administrators.

College and university advancement offices ponder over how to motivate donors and how to encourage alumni to make financial contributions to their alma mater on a regular basis. According to social psychologists it is possible to learn prosocial behavior, or voluntary actions that are carried out to benefit others (Eisenberg, 1982; Rushion, 1982; Schroeder et al., 1995). One example of prosocial behavior is alumni making voluntary donations to their alma mater.

Studies show that as a person ages, developmental and moral reasoning can evolve with regard to helping others (Cialdini and Kenrick, 1976; Bar-Tal, 1982; Eisenberg, 1982; Kohlberg, 1985; Schroeder et al., 1995). Young children offer help as a result of extrinsic motivation—being told to help, being punished, or being promised a gift or prize. Less tangible motivations, such as peer approval, are associated with adolescent motivation to help others. Adults reach a different stage, where intrinsic feelings motivate their prosocial behavior (Cialdini and Kenrick, 1976; Bar-Tal, 1982; Eisenberg, 1982; Kohlberg, 1985; Schroeder et al., 1995). Schroeder et al. (1995), drawing on previous research, suggest that prosocial behavior can be taught and learned. Numerous scholars believe that direct reinforcement as well as observation and discussion of altruism influence prosocial behavior (Ahammer and Murray, 1979; Grusec, 1982, 1991; Israel, 1978; Rushion, 1975, 1982; Moore and Eisenberg, 1994; Smith et al., 1979).

The United Negro College Fund and its National Pre-Alumni Council

The UNCF, established in 1944, is a comprehensive fund-raising organization that solicits individuals, corporations, and foundations. The organization provides operating funds for its 39 private member HBCUs, scholarships and internships for students at hundreds of institutions, and faculty and administrative professional training. One extension of the UNCF is the NPAC, which is a student alumni association in which participants are engaged in fund-raising and alumni-relationship building for their institution, or in this case, their alma mater and the UNCF (Tipsord Todd, 1993). Recently, there has been research on the power of student alumni associations in engaging future alumni to help create a new generation of volunteers and donors at historically White institutions (HWIs) (Friedmann, 2003). However, this research neglects to look at Black colleges and universities and their unique position in having a community chest fund-raising arm—the UNCF. The UNCF’s NPAC was established in 1958 to stimulate interest and participation of students in the programs of the United Negro College Fund, to preserve and to further loyalty and fellowship between the member colleges and universities, assist in raising funds during the annual campaign and help them become better alumni while in school and upon graduation.

(UNCF, n.d.)

More specifically, the NPAC identified six goals to further its purpose. Of them, three are directly related to connecting students to the fund-raising needs of the UNCF:

1. Encourage individual [student] contributions to the College Fund/UNCF.
2. Give maximum assistance in raising funds during the annual campaigns of the College Fund/UNCF and NPAC member institutions.
3. Stimulate awareness among college students of the need to become active members in their respective Pre-Alumni Councils (PACs).

(Jefferson, 2004, p. 2)

Simply put, the NPAC’s purpose is to instill a culture of giving in its members. The intention of this chapter is to explore the UNCF NPAC as a model of socialization and how it involves and teaches the next generation of alumni donors the importance of supporting their alma mater and the UNCF. To explore this socialization process, I conducted a case study of the UNCF NPAC (Creswell, 2003). I interviewed current NPAC student leaders and past and present professional advisors throughout the nation and reviewed organizational documents, including NPAC newsletters, presentations, reports, and plans, to inform my findings.

HISTORY AND CONTEXT

Then president of Tuskegee Institute, Fredrick D. Patterson founded the UNCF in 1944 (Gasman, 2007). The UNCF’s mission was to provide assistance to Black college students through scholarships and to raise operating funds for its then 27 member colleges and universities. Over the past 62 years, individual, corporate, and foundation
BOND TO ALMA MATER AND THE UNCF

Successful fund-raising involves the donor feeling a personal connection to the organization to which he or she is giving (Mael and Ashforth, 1992). Student alumni associations, such as the UNCF's NPAC, are able to harness that identification and successfully solicit their members' support. Organizational identification, a part of social identity theory, is the act of an individual defining himself or herself by an organization. In the case of higher education saying "I am a student at . . ." or "I am an alumnus of . . ." qualifies as organizational identification (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Mael and Ashforth, 1992). Mael and Ashforth (1992, p. 104) suggest that college alumni conceptualize organizational identification because

(1) college can be considered a "holographic organization" (Albert and Whetten, 1985), that is, one where members share common organization-wide identity and are less likely to experience competing demands from, say, department-level or occupational identities, and (2) since alumni constitute a particularly critical source of support for colleges, alumni identification is likely to strongly affect the welfare of their respective alma maters.

Mael and Ashforth (1992) also propose a relationship of organizational identification in which both aspects of the institution and individual feed into an alumnus' organizational identity, which then leads to an "organizational consequence" of supporting their alma mater. Using social identity theory as a basis, Mael and Ashforth predict that alumni identification with their alma mater corresponds to participation in gift campaigns and alumni relations events and encouraging others to attend the institution.

HBCUs perhaps have a better opportunity in creating the personal and organizational identity that Mael and Ashforth (1992) suggest. Gasman and Anderson-Thompson (2003, pp. 37–8) find that

for many Black-college alumni, the bond to alma mater is formed long before they arrive on campus—especially in the case of legacies . . . The college is 'alma mater' in the truest sense because it nurtured them much like a mother and gave them skills that they might not get elsewhere in a White-dominated society. If nurtured and re-kindled regularly, the surrogate parent image can be beneficial to institutional fund raising; if neglected, it can be devastating to alumni giving.

It is this "bond to alma mater" and the UNCF that the NPAC wants to develop and enhance through stimulating the interest and participation of students enrolled at member institutions (Wanga, 2005).

Chase Gayden (2005, pp. 4–5), the southwestern regional director of NPAC and a junior at Tougaloo College, identifies the "bond to alma mater" and the UNCF as a lifetime of insurance for me. Owing to its support, I realize that education is the key to success, a bus to a brighter future for our people. Without education, there is little that a person can do actually there is not a lot a person can do without an education. Through the UNCF I have been able to build my education, to strengthen it and to replenish it. We must continue to be knowledge seekers and we
must strive for a better life through education and support of the United Negro College Fund.

Another executive board member, Lavretta Moore, ties her bond to the UNCF and NPAC further to the African American experience:

[The] Pre-Alumni [Council] is significant on so many levels because it plants the mental seed and serves as a gentle reminder that our academic achievements and educational advancements are possible only because of the blood, sweat, and tears shed by our ancestors. We, as African-Americans, as descendants of slave and sharecroppers, as a people that once were not allowed to attend "other" institutions of higher learning, owe it to ourselves and one another to maintain and sustain our own; at one point, it was all we had!

(Moore, 2005, p. 5)

She continues, noting that her involvement in the NPAC is as a scholarship recipient, which is "a financial blessing," and sees her participation as "one of the only ways I am able to reinvest a mere portion of what the organization has vested in me" (Moore, 2005, p. 5).

ININVOLVEMENT LEADING TO EDUCATION

Students involved in the NPAC fund-raising efforts are likely to give and participate at a greater rate than their peers in postgraduation campaigns by the UNCF and their individual institutions (Nayman et al., 1993). Friedmann (2003, p. 80) notes that student alumni association advisors believed that "students involved in their organizations develop greater prosocial behavior and increased intrinsic motivation toward their institutions as alumni compared to members of the general student population."

By participating in fund-raising activities while in school, students "have a greater awareness and understanding of the significance of private giving to the institutions" than their peers (Friedmann, 2003, p. 80).

Friedman’s findings were confirmed by the current president of the NPAC’s executive board. She believes that "involvement in NPAC opens pre-alumni’s eyes to the work of the UNCF and how their education and their institution have benefited from the UNCF" (Wanga, personal communication, November 10, 2005). This idea is corroborated by other NPAC executive board members. Gayden (2005, p. 4) believes that his involvement in NPAC as the executive board’s southwestern regional director and member of the Tougaloo College Pre-Alumni Council not only taught him about the need for fund-raising for the UNCF, but it prepares students to become effective alumni under the guidance of dedicated alumni. It is important that we learn as pre-alumni about our responsibility to give back to our communities and schools, in hopes of allowing other young people to have the same opportunities which we have been privileged enough to receive.

The notion of opening students’ eyes to the needs of the UNCF and their alma maters is important. This education process and demystification of Black college needs, done prior to graduation, can help increase future giving. There is a common misconception on the part of many HBCU alumni that the institution does not need support (Gasman and Anderson-Thompson, 2003). Many alumni simply believe that their alma mater is strongly funded by the federal government and supplemented by corporations and foundations and therefore not in need of alumni support (Gasman and Anderson-Thompson, 2003). By engaging students in organizations, such as NPAC, which encourage philanthropy and educate them about the UNCF’s needs, the participants are more likely to take part in annual campaigns (Friedmann, 2003).

THE USE OF BENEFITS TO ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION

Colleges and universities regularly solicit their alumni for donations, using intrinsic and extrinsic benefits as motivation (Worth, 2002). Extrinsic motivations may include small gifts, invitations to campus activities, listing of names in annual reports that are widely read by their peers, membership in giving societies, or the belief that alumni participation and dollars increase their alma mater’s reputation and therefore the value of their own degrees. In contrast, intrinsic motivations for giving include alumni giving to a scholarship fund that helps others attend college (Harbaugh, 1998).

The NPAC uses both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations to raise funds from its members. The most extrinsic motivation that the NPAC uses is open only to women—the Miss UNCF competition. Rather than a beauty contest, the Miss UNCF title recognizes a young woman’s fund-raising ability on behalf of the UNCF. Each UNCF member college can send a Miss UNCF candidate to the annual NPAC conference for the title. Local Miss UNCFs are determined on the basis of the amount of money that the individual pre-alumna raised in the school’s UNCF Drive, typically held in the fall semester. The woman who raises the largest amount (alternating yearly between aggregate amount raised and amount raised per capita student on her campus) across all 39 member institutions captures the Miss National UNCF title at the annual joint national alumni/pre-alumni conference. The “coronation” of Miss UNCF is the culmination of the conference. The ceremony is choreographed with the pomp and circumstance of a Miss America pageant. With the title comes a UNCF scholarship, a position on the NPAC executive board, and a seat on the NAC board of directors, in which Miss UNCF acts as the liaison and spokesperson of her fellow undergraduates to the UNCF and its sponsoring organizations (Wanga, personal communication, November 10, 2005).

The Miss UNCF program has been very effective. The 2006 winner, Wiley College student Natasha Jenkins, raised $50,000 for the UNCF (UNCF, 2006). However, this extrinsic motivation is geared only to female students. Men, not being allowed to compete for an equivalent title such as Mr. UNCF, are likely not as motivated as women to raise funds for the UNCF without the prestige, influence, and scholarship incentives that their female counterparts are given. By expanding such a successful program to men, perhaps the UNCF and the students’ alma mater will benefit in raising more money not only in the short term, but in the long term as well, by creating another population of engaged young alumni with a stronger commitment to and relationship with the UNCF and their individual institution.
On an intrinsic level, many pre-alumni council members solicit others for the annual fund-raising drives and give to their alma mater and the UNCF in order to make sure that other Black students receive scholarships and have the opportunity to attend HBCUs. The vice president of the NPAC, Wilberforce University junior Tatum Rucker, is not on a UNCF scholarship. However, she volunteers, fundraises, and gives simply because

for many years the United Negro College Fund has provided opportunities for African Americans to receive a higher education. As a college student and being knowledgeable of the hardships of financing an education, I wanted to be involved in providing scholarship opportunities for my peers. Although I am not on a UNCF Scholarship, I still recognize the significance of the UNCF/College Fund. Being involved in the NPAC has provided me with that opportunity.

(Rucker, personal communication, November 8, 2005)

On one level, this sense of “giving back” is consistent with other student alumni associations in which students report a “feeling of reciprocity, giving back to the [institution] that helped them” (Friedmann, 2003, p. 109). However, this rationale for involvement is even more interesting when looking at giving as a statement of racial uplift. Gasmann and Anderson-Thomas (2003) bring forward historical evidence and current research that support the notion that Black donors are motivated to give or give back in order to promulgate racial uplift. Further, these authors find that Black college alumni often give “to continue the legacy of... Black college[s]” (2003, p. 38). Robiaun Charles, a former Pre-Alumni Council advisor and advancement officer at Johnson C. Smith University (Charlotte, NC), believes that it is the students who perceive the UNCF as something “racially uplifting” and use those messages in their activities rather than finding messages of racial uplift within official UNCF materials (Charles, personal communication, March 13, 2006).

When asked “Why is the UNCF important today?” Wanga (2006, p. 2) reflects this idea of being involved and giving back as a mechanism for future racial uplift:

UNCF is important today because it gives hope to the hopeless, life to the lifeless, healing to the broken-hearted and opportunity to the disadvantaged. Society has labeled these students as uneducable and lazy, however UNCF has illuminated its torch of opportunity and recognized these same students as young bright minds.

In this statement, Wanga’s emotion goes beyond the typical feeling and donor motivation—showing how she believes that the UNCF, and therefore Black colleges, are instrumental in uplifting the race.

**Encouraging Other Forms of Philanthropy**

Kang (2005) suggests that participating in other forms of philanthropy, such as devoting time to community service while a student, also has a positive effect on future giving. Likewise, Rushton (1982) believes students involved in a group that encourages various forms of philanthropy (monetary giving, service, etc.) have an increased socialization to the organization and stronger identity, which increases their prosocial behaviors. Building off of this theory, the NPAC requires its member councils at each institution to engage in a service project within their campuses’ home community—often supporting Black organizations (Rucker, personal communication, November 8, 2005). The NPAC suggests that local PACs engage in service to “spread the mission of [sic] UNCF and promote unity between your PAC, campus, and community” (Rucker, 2005, p. 1).

The NPAC executive board promotes community service programs such as (1) adopt-a-class, where participants work with a primary or secondary class and implement activities that have an educational and historical component; (2) health disparities forums, where students choose a health issue that affects their community and invite experts to share information on the topic with fellow students and the local community; and (3) high school visitation days, in which local secondary students are invited to the campus for a college tour and information about the UNCF and other member institutions (Rucker, 2005). The high school visitation days project grows out of the goal to “assist [the National Alumni Council] in its aim to encourage young people to attend College Fund/UNCF member institutions” (Jefferson, 2004, p. 2).

In addition to these projects, the National Miss UNCF designs and coordinates the implementation of a national service project that culminates in the annual NAC/NAPO conference. By engaging in large community service projects such as these, not only does the PAC promote itself and its mission, but gives the participants another avenue to reach the members about the importance of helping others, and more specifically, the Black community.

**Implications on Future Alumni Giving**

Building upon Atchley’s (1989) continuity theory, Lindahl and Winship (1992) and Okunade and Justice (1991) find that past giving behaviors are correlated with current and future giving practices. These findings suggest that by enhancing students’ prosocial behavior through instilling a culture of philanthropy, colleges can establish relationships that will continue long after graduation. Research shows that young alumni giving, even in small amounts, has the potential of having great effects on lifetime giving (Lindahl and Winship, 1992; Monks, 2003; Nayman et al., 1993; Okunade and Justice, 1991).

Texas College senior and the current president of the NPAC, Carolina Wanga, believes that alumni who are involved in their PAC are more active in the UNCF and their institution after graduation. She has seen the most involved students become active young alumni in the UNCF NAC and their institution’s regional alumni councils or interalumni councils. Wanga argues that one of the reasons for this transformation is the students’ observation of dynamic alumni involved in activities such as the annual NAC/NAPO conference (personal communication, November 10, 2005).

Understanding that the NPAC encourages students to participate in the monetary support of the UNCF and their alma mater and in the service to their community, we can expect, when applying the continuity theory, to observe that after graduation those involved in the NPAC will be continually engaged in the support of the UNCF and their institutions.
NOTE

1. A few UNCF schools have local “Mr. UNCF” contests but these are not recognized at the national level.

REFERENCES


