MISSION CRITICAL: THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION IN ADVANCING THE TRADITIONAL MISSION OF PUBLIC HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

by

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(Under the direction of Ronald M. Cervero)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The study was guided by the following research questions: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public HBCUs? and (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

This qualitative study was conducted during the spring and summer 2007 semesters at seven public HBCUs. There were a total of twelve participants in the study, three senior academic officials and nine continuing higher education program directors. Data collection methods included topical interviews, the analysis of primary and secondary documents, and field notes collected through observations.

The definition of the underserved as related to the traditional mission of public HBCUs has been redefined beyond race to include students who are displaced due to time and place barriers. These students are typically working professionals, adults, and

nontraditional students. The study found that within the context of a post-*Brown* school desegregation mission, continuing higher education becomes one strategy by which public HBCUs reach out to a new population of nontraditional, adult students. Continuing higher education also promotes a more racially diverse environment at public HBCUs by attracting non-minority students. Finally, the study found that continuing higher education supports statewide economic development initiatives and creates political gain for public HBCUs. Thus continuing higher education is central to promoting a new mission focused on the assimilation of public HBCUs into the higher education mainstream. However, the assimilationist strategies promoted by continuing higher education is perceived as a threat to the cultural and ideological identity of the public Black college.

The conclusions of the study were: (1) continuing higher education facilitates the advancement of a post-Brown mission for public HBCUs; (2) continuing higher education is at the nexus of social and political conflicts affecting public HBCUs; and (3) continuing higher education leaders use strategies to negotiate the conflicts between the old and new mission that are consistent with their marginal status within the institution.

KEYWORDS: Adult education, Adult students, Continuing higher education, Higher education, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Nontraditional student

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MISSION CRITICAL: THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION IN ADVANCING THE TRADITIONAL MISSION OF PUBLIC HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUs)

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INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

"There can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college…it must start on the earth where we sit and not in the skies wither we aspire" W.E.B. Du Bois, 1933

Historically Black college and universities (HBCU) have achieved unparalleled success in the higher education of African Americans. No other sector of the American postsecondary education enterprise has accomplished as much as the HBCU in preparing African American youth for leadership roles in society. Among all higher education institutions, HBCUs are credited with awarding the largest number of bachelor's degrees to African Americans, and thus serve as the main pipeline of Black student candidates for professional and graduate schools (Brown, Ricard, & Donahoo, 2004; Perna, 2001). Many of these Black students go on to attend graduate and professional schools at predominately majority institutions. As the nation's demand continues to increase for workers who are skilled in the critical fields of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM), HBCUs are the most prominent producers of African American graduates in these disciplines (Solorzano,1996).

Recent studies attribute the success of HBCUs to the social capital that is embodied in the traditional values of this special cohort of institutions (Allen, 1992; DeSousa & Kun, 1996; Freeman & Cohen, 2001; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002). Economists Francis Fukuyama, Glenn Loury, and Robert Putnam (as cited in Franklin, 2004b) describe social capital as "networks, community and neighborhood groups, social and fraternal organizations.." (p. xiv). Similar to financial capital that is used for

the purchase of goods and services and human capital that provides labor and expertise, social capital is important for the successful operation of business enterprises like the colleges and universities (Franklin, 2004b). Several researchers have described the social capital of the HBCU as being the nurturing and supportive learning environment that helps to promote academic success (Allen, 1992; Bohr, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1995; Fleming, 1984). African American students attending Black colleges exhibit a greater level of involvement from an academic perspective and demonstrate higher measures of educational achievements (DeSousa & Kuh, 1996). Studies reveal that African American students on Black college campuses appear to have more substantative interactions with faculty, fellow students, and mentors as compared to Black students attending predominately White institutions (Chism & Satcher, 1998; Freeman & Cohen, 2001; Nottingham, Rosen & Parks, 1992). Faculty members at HBCUs exhibit a holistic interest in the intellectual and personal development of students in order to prepare them for life in a racially diverse world. Furthermore, Black students attending predominately White institutions report that HBCU-educated faculty scholars continue to embody these ideological values as they mentor Black students (Reddick, 2006). Therefore the social capital embodied in the Black college experience becomes an intangible asset that is transported via its graduates beyond the boundaries of the HBCU.

Fleming (1984) determined that much of the Black college advantage can be attributed to the availability of social networks on Black college campuses as opposed to the isolation that Black students often experience at majority institution. However, there are gender differences in how the supportive environments of HBCUs affect

behavior. The adverse conditions of predominately White institutions are more likely to encourage self-reliance and assertiveness among Black females. Conversely, the supportive conditions of Black colleges encourage passivity and possibly negate the academic gains (Fleming, 1984).

HBCUs have played an integral role in the movement for social change in America. Black college campuses were sites of Black activism during the tumultuous years of the 1960s. Although public Black college presidents where unable to publicly show support for the civil rights movement for fear of retribution by state higher education officials, they operated behind the scenes by donating financial contributions and supporting faculty members who were activists (Jackson, 2005). Faculty members at Black colleges risked personal and professional persecution to support the civil rights movement. Students on historically Black college campuses were a part of the protest antiwar protest movement that swept college campuses during the Vietnam era (Cox, 2006). It is this commitment to the race advancement that illustrates Du Bois' conceptualization of the Black college as being the center of intellectual development (1946/1973). Du Bois argues that the unique American experience of Black people would provide a rationale for the Black college to serve as an institution that understood this experience and help to inculcate that insight into American culture.

The development of African American leaders has been a central focus of the mission of Black colleges, particularly among the private HBCUs (Anderson, 1988; Brawley, 1917; Bullock, 1967; Logan, 1969; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). The founding purpose of private HBCUs is a reflection of the civilizing ideology of the puritanical White religious and philanthropic organizations that founded the institutions (Bullock,

1967). Howard University, Spelman College, and Hampton University are among the more prominent HBCUs with endowments over $200 million (“College and University”, 2007). Many of the nation’s most well-known Black leaders are products of private HBCUs. These graduates include include Marian E. Wright, president of the Children’s Defense Fund (Spelman College), poet and scholar Nikki Giovionni (Howard University), John Hope Franklin (Fisk University), scholar and historian, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (Howard University), civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize recipient Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. (Morehouse College) and W.E.B Du Bois (Fisk University), noted sociologist and historian.

Atlanta University was the leading Black graduate university in the South up until the 1940s and graduates of the university were frequently appointed as presidents of other HBCUs (Bacote, 1967). Atlanta University merged with Clark College in 1988 to form Clark Atlanta University. Spelman College was the first Black college established for African American women. Morehouse College was organized to train Black male clergy and teachers (Brawley, 1917).

The establishment of public Black colleges and universities grew out of a White supremacist ideology that was articulated in Jim Crow practices and led to the development of quasi-state supported Black higher education. The South had long resisted public education, particularly for its Black citizens, however, the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 represented the first significant involvement of the federal government in the support of higher education. This legislation would lead to the establishment of over seventy land-grant colleges and universities throughout the country. These White land-grant institutions would develop the capacity to build a

research enterprise that would place them in an advantageous position in terms of programs, research capacity, and capital resources. However, the ideology that characterized the Black race as being inherently inferior to the White race did not support the technical curricular emphasis of the land grant institutions as envisioned by Justin Morrill. In the racist views of southern legislatures, Black schools were designed to educate African Americans to assume subservient roles in the American social order and were therefore undeserving of funding that would lead to more highly specialized technical skills and knowledge (Anderson, 1988; Watkins, 2001). Subsequently, it would take another twenty-eight years with the passage of the 1890 Morrill Act (known as the second Morrill Act) before funds would be available to establish Black land-grant institutions. During this more than a quarter of a century period, the predominately White land-grant institutions continued to benefit from the original Morrill Act funding at the expense of Black colleges by developing their physical plants, faculty expertise and research capabilities. Provisions of the second Morrill Act mandated that states either provide funding to establish separate land-grant institutions for Black Americans, or admit them to existing land-grant institutions. The ultimate outcome of the 1890 Morrill Act was the creation of Black land-grant colleges, many of which eventually evolved into public HBCUs.

Although the public Black land-grant colleges would be separate entities in the higher education arena, they would not be equal to their White land-grant counterparts in terms of academic programs, funding and facilities. Funds for Black land-grant institutions were consistently diverted to support the development of White land-grant colleges and universities. A poignant example of this disparity is illustrated by

comparing state funding for Clemson University, the White land-grant institution established in South Carolina and South Carolina State College (now South Carolina State University) the historically Black land-grant college. In 1920, the South Carolina legislature appropriated a total of $168,070 for Clemson University, which had an enrollment of 886 students, while South Carolina State College received $115,880 with a total enrollment of 900 students (Hine,1991). The University of South Carolina, the state's flagship White institution was appropriated $211,515 with an enrollment of 579 students. These decisions and practices set in motion the establishment of a dual system of public higher education that perpetuated a prolonged history of fiscal inequity that resulted in substandard facilities, limited academic programs, and practically non-existent research programs at public Black colleges and Black land-grant institutions (Brady, 2000; Hine,1991).

The federal government has attempted to remedy the historical funding inequities experienced by public HBCUs through the Title III provisions of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Title III authorizes special funds for the strengthening of HBCU programs which maybe used for the purchasing of materials such as library books, journals, and laboratory equipment as well as funds to establish or improve development offices to increase contributions from alumni and the private sector. However, the extent and duration of underfunding of public Black colleges has been so egregious that it would require a sustained and massive infusion of state and federal dollars well beyond that which is provided under Title III in order to compensate HBCUs for past funding disparities.

Although Title III is intended to provide redress to HBCUs for historical funding inequities, judicial rulings that were intended to dismantle dual systems of public education may have exacerbated the funding difficulties for public HBCUs by encouraging the attrition of high academic achieving Black students to attend predominately White colleges. In 1970, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund sued the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) for its failure to enforce Title VI of the 1965 Civil Rights Act against states that operated dual segregated public systems of higher education. In an effort to increase minority student enrollment at predominately White colleges and universities, these institutions aggressively began recruiting Black students with high academic achievements using lucrative scholarship packages. Similarly, Black colleges have been forced to restrict certain scholarships to White students in an effort to increase White enrollment (Brown, 2002).

Sims (1994) argues that as minority students at predominately Black institutions, White students are more likely to develop a more comprehensive self-concept and appreciate the unique benefits these schools offer. Furthermore, White students would benefit from the supportive learning environment that Black colleges have been more successful in providing. However, history does not support the argument that school integration leads to a change in attitudes regarding black inferiority. In fact, Derrick Bell (2004), noted legal scholar and former civil rights attorney argues that integration has not resulted in the improvement of Black student educational attainments and in many cases, has led to the elimination of Black teachers and principals as well as Black high schools.

Despite the contributions and the enduring resiliency of historically Black colleges and universities, these institutions are faced with some of the most urgent challenges in their history. These challenges are precipitated by the changes in the social and political climate affecting higher education and threatens the stability and future existence of these institutions. Brown v. Board of Education ushered in a new era of race relations that not only affected public elementary and secondary schools but set in motion a series of actions that would further complicate the future existence of historically Black colleges and universities (Brown, 2002; Bullock, 1967). These factors included the integration of public higher education and the creation of federal need-based financial aid programs in the 1960s. The judicial actions and federal programs opened doors to predominately White colleges and universities that were once closed to students of color. However, unlike public HBCUs, many of the predominately White four-year institutions who opened their doors to minority matriculants following collegiate desegregation are highly selective, and are less likely to accept students who are not academically prepared for college level work.

In 1976, Black students constituted 222,613 or 85 percent of all students enrolled in HBCUs. By 2001, the number of Black students enrolled in HBCUs had increased to a total of 289,985, but the overall percentage of students enrolled in HBCUs fell slightly to 82 percent (NCES, 2004). A number of HBCUs have merged with other institutions or have closed completely. Approximately 28 HBCUs have ceased to operate since the first institutions were established in the late nineteenth century (Appendix A). Especially hard hit has been the small, private, religious supported HBCUs. Mounting financial pressures from decreased enrollments has also been a contributing factor in the

number of HBCUs that have lost regional accreditation, particularly among private institutions. Regional accreditation is a process by which one of six accrediting agencies, each responsible for a specific geographical area of the United States, approves the programmatic and fiscal integrity of a college or university. Based on their prominent location within the southern states, the majority of HBCUs are governed by the Southern Association for Colleges and Schools (SACS) regional accrediting agency. According to *The Principles of Accreditation: Foundations for Quality Enhancement* (Southern Association, 2008), in order for colleges and universities to gain or maintain regional accreditation, institutions must comply with various standards promulgated by the regional accrediting authorities. Institutional accreditation is necessary for colleges and universities to remain eligible to participate in federal, state, and other financial aid programs.

With the disproportionate number of students attending HBCUs dependent on financial aid and the paucity of state and private revenue sources, the lost of regional accreditation is particularly debilitating for the most private HBCUs. Table 1.1 illustrates that the number of HBCUs decreased from a high of 121 institutions in 1936 to a low of 103 schools by 2004.

Table 1.1
Number of HBCUs By Year

Year	No. of HBCUs
1900	34[a]
1927	77[b]
1936	121[b]
1953	106[b]
1976	109[c]
2004	103[d]

[a]The College-Bred Negro (Du Bois,1900)
[b] NCES (1985)
[c] NCES (2004)
[d] Brown, Bertrand, Ricard, Donahoo-Appendix A (2004)

As the number of private HBCUs continue to be adversely affected by the rising tide of social change, public HBCUs have been confronted with similar challenges. Unlike many private HBCUs that have been forced into closure, public HBCUs remain in operation but under new missions (Brown, 2001; Brown, Ricard, & Donahoo, 2004; Harris, 2004). Collegiate desegregation decisions that were intended to dismantle dual systems of public higher education may further destabilize public HBCUs by influencing the attrition of Black students to predominately White colleges. In 1970, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund sued the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) for its failure to enforce Title VI of the 1965 Civil Rights Act against states that operated dual segregated public systems of higher education. In an effort to increase minority student enrollment at predominately White colleges and universities, these institutions aggressively began recruiting Black students with high academic achievements using lucrative scholarship packages. The irony of the situation has resulted in Black colleges having to restrict certain scholarships to White's in order to attract White students and promote a more racially integrated student environment (Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

As public Black colleges continue to struggle with the legacy of historical underfunding by state governments these challenges are compounded by the overall reductions in state support for postsecondary education (Brady, 2000). State appropriations for higher education have not kept pace with the rising cost of a college education. State funding now comprises a smaller portion of public higher education institution budgets (Carnesale, 2006). Due to their dependency on tuition revenues, public HBCUs are more sensitive than majority institutions, to reductions in state

funding for higher education and federal funding for need-based financial aid (Brady, 2000). Thus government support for higher education is critical to public HBCUs.

Clearly the cumulative effects of historical underfunding and the interpretation of desegregation rulings have had a negative impact on the fiscal base of historically Black colleges and universities. Yet in the opinion of fiscal conservatives, HBCUs can no longer use historical precedent as part of the justification for funding. Errol B. Davis, Jr., Chancellor of the University System of Georgia reflects such thinking when he suggests that, “The challenge for any HBCU is to understand that the market is not just there for the taking…Appeals for support going forward have to be made dispassionately, eliminating history and bias from the argument” (Matthews, 2006, p. 25). HBCUs must aggressively explore alternative revenue sources in this climate of fiscal austerity.

Continuing Higher Education in HBCUs

As HBCUs explore alternative sources of revenue to ensure their long-term viability, continuing higher education has increasingly become one of the major strategies by which colleges and universities seek to expand the number of student clientele (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Estimates on the number of students aged 25 years and older enrolled in U.S. higher education range from 40 to 45 percent of the total student population (Morey, 2004; The Council, 2000*).* The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that over 60 percent of higher education students in the United States can be characterized as nontraditional (The Council, 2000*)*. Between 1985 and 1996, the number of students 35 years of age and older increased from 1.7 million to 2.9 million or 65 percent (The Council*,* 2000).

University extension, as a form of continuing higher education, has an extensive tradition in the HBCU. However, up until the school desegregation in the 1950s, university extension in the Black college was associated with a race advancement agenda, rather than the contemporary model of revenue generation. Renowned African American adult educators such as Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver first pioneered the concept of agriculture extension with the development of the Jesup Wagon 'Movable School' (James, 1990). Importantly, the Black land-grant institutions would be prominent among Black colleges in agriculture extension programs because of their status as land-grant institutions authorized under the Morrill Act of 1890. The Act authorized funding that led to the establishment of Black public land-grant higher education institutions to offer an "education to a broad range of U.S. citizens primarily involved in agriculture and industrial work" (Harris & Worthen, 2004). Thus, agricultural development and industrial education were central elements of the Morrill legislation.

The association between the agriculture/industrial education programs of the Black land-grant colleges and the subsequent political intent of agriculture extension is intricately connected to the social status of the African American farmer in the early 20th century and the Washingtonian philosophy of Black economic development. Zeller (1998) describes the status of African Americans farmers in Arkansas in 1920 which in many ways was indicative of African American families throughout the South. The overwhelming majority of Black farmers were either sharecroppers or tenants who owned no land, possessed few tools, and were tied to a cotton plantation ruled by a rigid system of racial and economic exploitation (Zeller, 1998).

Booker T. Washington, the charismatic leader and founder of Tuskegee University (formerly Tuskegee Institute) espoused a philosophy that financial success for African Americans was not premised upon political and racial equality, but self-determination and racial solidarity (James, 1990). The Washingtonian philosophy and the mission of Black land-grant institutions crystallized in an effort to *promote racial uplift* among African American farmers through agriculture education and outreach programs. Tuskegee's adult and university extension programs included the Phelps Hall Bible Training School, Two-Week School for Farmers, Teachers' Institute, The Farmers' Institute, and short courses in agriculture and the well-known Farmers' conference (James, 1990).

In addition to extension programs in agriculture, religion and teacher education sponsored by Black land-grant colleges, private HBCUs supported community education as a form of university outreach. The People's College established by Atlanta University in 1942 was "an adult education program conducted …in cooperation with local educational and social agencies of the community" (Reid,1943, p.1). Organized under the leadership of Ira De Augustine Reid and W.E.B. Du Bois, the People's College (Reid, 1943) "…did not plan a mere program of adult education. It wanted to reach people who wanted to learn" (p.2) and provide an environment that was "free from the excess furbishings of the campus yet full of the realities of the town" (p. 4). Indeed, the People's College charged no tuition fees for classes, required no transcripts or proof of prior learning experiences and embraced a liberal attendance policy such that "students could attend classes when and if they wished" (Reid, 1943, p. 2). The sole requirement for admission was that "the student have a real interest in the subject" (p.

2). Participants came from all walks of life and included professionals, laborers, the educated and the uneducated. Thus, Atlanta University articulated a vision for the advancement of the Black race through its support of the People's College.

The need to sustain the movement to push forward towards social equality within the Black community has a heightened sense of urgency. The issues that confront the African American community, and subsequently the nation, require that Black social institutions not only be sustained, but further developed. As Franklin (2004b) argues:

> The advancement of U.S. African Americans from 'slavery to freedom' and their struggle against unjust racial discrimination and oppression has inspired movements for social change throughout the world. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the AIDS epidemic the disproportionate incarceration rates for African Americans, and the persistent underfunding of public school systems with large numbers of African Americans and other minority students are among the most significant threats to their future prospects. (p. XVIII)

As public historically Black colleges and universities explore strategies to ensure their survival in the midst of a changing political and economic climate, adult educators must understand the strategic positioning of continuing higher education within this context and how such programs add value to the overall mission of the institution. Critical program planning theories provide a useful framework for such an analysis because they take into account the social and political context of organizations.

Research Problem

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) occupy a unique space in the American higher education landscape. They have been able to overcome seemingly insurmountable odds to become a major source of African American college graduates at the baccalaureate level. Despite this accomplishment, they now face some of the most formidable challenges to their existence. Importantly, public Black colleges have endured a disproportionate share of the burden to desegregate higher education and reductions in state support for higher education has compounded fiscal challenges faced by these institutions.

One means of addressing this fiscal challenge is through continuing higher education. In their theory of Academic Capitalism, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argue that one example of how colleges and universities have compensated for the reduction in state support for higher education is the profit making objectives frequently exhibited by continuing education operations which target nontraditional students. Continuing higher education serves an outreach function of the institution, enabling colleges and universities to use their intellectual capital to respond to workforce development needs and thus reach new student markets. However, beyond the profit-making potential of university outreach, continuing higher education addresses the disparity that exist within the adult population in terms of education and access.

If continuing higher education has the potential to sustain the survival and foster the further development of public historically Black colleges and universities, then we must understand the centrality of continuing higher education within the mission of public HBCUs. Cervero and Wilson’s theory of adult and continuing education program

planning provides a useful lens for such an analysis because it connects the context of practice with the political forces that bind action. The theory posits that, “practice is inextricably connected to institutional contexts that have a history, are composed of interpersonal and organizational relationships of power, and are marked by conflicting wants and interests” (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 25). Moreover, individuals who develop continuing higher education programs are influenced by the social and institutional context that, “profoundly affect their content and form” (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, p. 28).

Although continuing higher education increasingly is becoming more mainstream in the academy due to its profit-making potential, the research literature on continuing education within the HBCU is quite limited in scope and relatively dated. Studies on continuing education in HBCUs are primarily descriptive, providing a quantitative analysis of programs, student demographics, and delivery methods. Other studies have examined the role of continuing higher education at HBCUs in supporting the economic development needs of area businesses and industries. Researchers suggest that through its continuing education units, HBCUs can play an important role in economic development (Richmond & Maramark, 1996); however the thrust of this effort is constrained by institutional mission and the inability of HBCUs to garner significant amounts of social capital among members of the business community. The literature remains relatively silent on the strategic positioning of continuing higher education within the HBCU.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of continuing higher education in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities. With the majority of African American college students enrolled in public HBCUs, it is important that institutional sustainability and survival focus on this particular institutional sector. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public historically Black colleges and universities?
2. How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

Significance of the Study

This study has theoretical and practical implications for the field of adult education and higher education. It extends the literature on the Cervero and Wilson theory of adult and continuing education program planning by examining planning practice within the context of public HBCUs. Although previous studies have revealed how organizational context influences the negotiation strategies used by educators to develop adult education programs, there is a lack of information regarding how adult educators practicing within the context of public HBCUs negotiate the social and political interests that have an impact on continuing higher education.

The results of this study are significant for state higher education policy makers who wish to promote the assimilation of public HBCUs into the higher education mainstream. This study illuminates the social and political factors that might impede or enhance the ability of public HBCUs, through continuing higher education, to articulate a

new mission. Finally, this study appeals to the leadership at public HBCUs in that it provides empirical evidence of both internal and external political factors that shape continuing higher education.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study the following definitions are used:

Historically Black Colleges and Universities - Institutions established prior to 1964 whose principal purpose was the education of African Americans (NCES, 2004).

Continuing Higher Education - Programs or courses offered by colleges and universities at the pre-baccalaureate level and specifically target students who are age 25 years and older. Study can be for credit or non-credit, degree or non-degree, certificate or some other generally recognized educational credential. In this study continuing higher education will focus on academic programs at the undergraduate level that are primary designed for students age 25 years and older.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"Science is a great and worthy mistress, but there is one greater and that is Humanity which science serves; one thing there is greater than knowledge and that is the Man who knows". W.E.B. Du Bois, 1908

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The central research questions that guided the study were: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public HBUCs? and, (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

The study was informed by three areas of the literature: (1) the development of the HBCU, (2) continuing higher education in the HBCU, and (3) the Cervero and Wilson theory on adult and continuing education program planning. Brady (2000) argues that, "anyone seriously wishing to understand…HBCUs and the educational policies that impact them, need to recognize the significance of their historical origins and development" (p. 49). Thus, the review begins with a historical perspective of HBCUs and is organized into three major themes that connects the founding of the Black college to the development of public education for African Americans in the South: Establishment of Freedmen and Mission Schools, Establishment of Black Colleges and Normal Schools, and Establishment of Public Black and Land-Grant Colleges. The historical overview draws extensively on two seminal pieces of literature

on the Black experience in America: *The Education of Black People* and *The Souls of Black Folk*. Terms used to identify empirical studies relating to continuing higher education in the HBCU were “adult education,” “university extension,” “continuing education,” “nontraditional students,” “post-baccalaureate education,” and “extended education.” These terms were used in various combinations with “Black colleges” and “historically Black colleges and universities” to search the Academic Premier, JSTOR, Dissertation Abstracts, and PsychInfo electronic databases as well as the University of Georgia library catalogue.

Terms used to identify research studies relative to the Cervero and Wilson (2006) program planning theoretical model were “program planning,” “adult education,” “curriculum development,” and “continuing education.” These terms were used in various combinations to search the Academic Premier, PsychInfo, Professional Development, and Dissertation Abstract electronic databases.

Overview of the History of HBCUs

With the arrival of the first Africans to America as indentured servants their role would be subscribed to that of service and later as chattel slavery. As the southern colonies became more dependent on agriculture, Africans were enslaved to provide a free source of labor to fuel an agrarian economy. An educated slave posed a threat to the plantation aristocracy and with the exception of a few instances, slaves were collectively denied the right to formal schooling (Brady, 2000; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Indeed, the “South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro” (Du Bois, 1903/1990, p. 29) and brutally enforced laws which prohibited slave education. In rare instances, sympathetic masters would teach house slaves basic

reading and writing skills. These attempts to provide basic literacy skills for slaves were seldom condoned and often carried out in a clandestine atmosphere (Brown, 2003; Burton, 1998; Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

According to Roebuck and Murty (1993) there were approximately four million Black slaves residing in the United States in 1860 out of a total population of approximately 31.5 million. The vast majority of the enslaved lived in the South where it was against the law to teach slaves to read and write (Myrdal,1944/1996). Despite these efforts, a relatively small number of slaves became literate through the efforts of slave owners or their wives who viewed slave literacy as a Christian duty (Myrdal,1944/1996).

Following the American Revolutionary War, a limited number of free Africans residing in northern cities established organizations such as African churches, private schools, and fraternal organizations for the purposes of providing basic education to slaves. Although wealthy private donors and contributions from the Black community supported these schools, they were generally poorly funded and operated in a clandestine atmosphere marked by violence and opposition (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Black slaves who were caught with books or attempted to read were subjected to physical mutilations, beatings and other forms of intimidation (Myrdal, 1944/1996).

Despite the lack of formal schooling, a small number of free Blacks were afforded education in more liberal areas of the nation. Two elementary schools for African Americans were established prior to the Civil War and would eventually become two of the first HBCUs founded in America. Ashmum Institute in Pennsylvania was founded in 1854 and was later renamed Lincoln University in 1866 in honor of President Abraham

Lincoln (Brady, 2000; Bullock, 1967). Cheyney State College (Cheyney University of Pennsylvania since 1983) was established in 1837 from money bequeathed by Richard Humphreys, a Philadelphia Quaker, whose purpose was the education of African Americans (Brady, 2000; Bullock, 1967). In fact, during the early part of the nineteenth century, twenty-eight African Americans were awarded baccalaureate degrees from progressive White institutions such as Berea College and Bowdoin College (Du Bois, 1903/1990; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Oberlin College in Ohio was one of the first White institutions to admit African Americans (Du Bois, 1903/1990).

Differences in attitudes among religious groups towards slave literacy contributed to the disparity in the education for African Americans. Early Puritans and Quakers who settled in the northeast held strong religious convictions and believed all human beings should be able to read the Bible in order to achieve salvation. Thus, education became somewhat more important and egalitarian in the northern states as opposed to the South. Despite these efforts of northern institutions to bring racial advancement to the Black race, the vast majority of African Americans who lived in the South during this period lacked access to formal education and schooling.

Establishment of Freedmen and Common Schools

During the period immediately following the War Between the States, the four million or more freed slaves lived in a social and economic environment that various Black scholars have characterized as a period of unruly disorder and racial persecution (Du Bois, 1903/1990). Into this abyss stepped the religious organizations and abolitionists who established schools to teach the freed people basic literary skills and provide material uplift for the race. (Brown, Ricard & Donahue, 2004; Gasman, 2002;

Roebuck & Murty, 1993).The American Missionary Association (AMA), a Congregationalist-supported association, was among the most active of the religious organizations in this social movement and is credited with establishing several common schools for Blacks during this period. However, researchers have questioned the motives of these early missionaries and suggest they were more interested in maintaining the status quo than true social equality (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Clearly, the benevolent organizations played an important role in establishing schools for the education of freed people; however, through the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau), the Reconstruction era federal government would, perhaps, have the most significant impact by providing the basic infrastructure that would lead to the development of a public school system for Blacks in the South. In fact, historians would argue that, "the greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau lay in the planting of the free school among Negroes and the idea of free elementary education among all classes in the South" (Du Bois, 1903/1990, p. 29). To a greater extent, the Freedmen's Bureau could arguably be referred to as the federal government's first major attempt at developing a social welfare agency.

Under the leadership of General Oliver Howard, the Freedmen's Bureau allocated funding for a wide range of educational opportunities for Blacks as well as poor Whites. It cooperated with missionary and religious educational organizations and assisted newly founded institutions, including Hampton, Fisk, Bera, and Atlanta University (Du Bois, 1903/1990; Logan, 1969, Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Perhaps the most generous and well known example of the Bureau's support for Black higher education was its leadership in the establishment of Howard University. Indeed, Howard

University gained substantial benefits from General Howard's membership on the schools founding Board of Trustees because of his position as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. In fact, by the time the Bureau closed in 1872, Howard University had received a total of $520,955.55 disbursements from the Bureau (Logan, 1969).

The establishment of Black schools in the South was not solely the result of the contributions by White benevolent organizations and the federal government. African Americans, both individually and collectively, also played a major role in the founding of schools for Black Americans. Anderson (1988) writes "slaves and free persons of color had already begun to make plans for the systematic instructions of their illiterates" before northern benevolent groups and abolitionists converged on the South (p.7). African Americans formed societies and raised money as craftsmen and day laborers to establish their private schools. They purchased land, built schoolhouses, and paid teachers' salaries (Franklin, 2004a; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). The Black religious denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the segregated Presbyterian Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion were instrumental in supporting the establishment of Black schools. Importantly, it was the cultural capital embodied in the Black church that galvanized the quest for higher education among Blacks (Franklin, 2004a). In Clarendon County South Carolina, a network of Black parochial schools provided the only means of formal education for African American children in the eastern section of the county up until 1954 (Recognition Program, 1991). These schools were established and supported by rural Black churches including Goodwill, Melina, Lodabar/Friendship, Oak Grove, Hickory Grove, St. Mark, St. John, St. Michael, Howard Chapel, Burnt Branch, Douglas Fork,

and Ebenezer. Black women also were among those most prominent in articulating a vision for the early schooling of freed people (Peterson, 1996). These pioneering educators included Lucy B. Laney who started the first school for African Americans in Augusta, Georgia. In "addressing the Negro problem and the need for an educational strategy for racial uplift, women such as Anna B. Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ida B. Wells, and Mary Church Terrell were but a few 'race women' who" galvanized the quest for education among Black Americans (Alridge, 1999, ¶ 14). By 1869, a reported 3,000 schools serving over 150,000 students were operated jointly by the missionary societies and African Americans themselves (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Du Bois (1903/1990) points to the fact that of the six million dollars that was expended on the development of Black education in the South, $750,000 came from the freed people alone.

Establishment of Black Colleges and Normal Schools (1877-1887)

Although severely limited in resources, these segregated missionary schools would essentially create a demand for Black teachers that would eventually lead to the development of the Black college. As Du Bois (1903/1990) suggests, the missionaries who came to the South during Reconstruction soon discovered, "If the Negro was to learn, he must teach himself, and the most effective help that could be given him was the establishment of schools to train Negro teachers" (p. 74). It is important to recognize that historically Black colleges and universities were distinctively different from other nineteenth century American higher education institutions. First, many HBCUs began as elementary and secondary schools that taught basic literacy skills (Roebuck & Murty, 1993) and emphasized industrial education at the secondary level.

Founded in 1868, Hampton University was still a high school in 1903 and Fisk University did not offer its first collegiate level program until five years after its establishment (Du Bois, 1903/1990). Examples of these dual curriculum structures could be found in the development of two historically Black colleges in Georgia: Fort Valley State University and Albany State University. In 1913, Fort Valley High and Industrial School in Georgia (to become Fort Valley State University) was composed of three academic departments: High School, Grammer School, and Industrial (Bellamy, 1996). The mens' industries were listed as agriculture, brick-laying and plastering, carpentry, shoemaking, and basketry. Women were taught cooking, laundering, plain sewing, dressmaking, and chair caning. (Bellamy, 1996) The school was a major producer of Black teachers for the rural areas of the state. The Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute (predecessor to Albany State University) was founded with the "sole object of the normal, industrial, agricultural, mechanical, domestic, scientific, literacy and religious training of the colored youth of both sexes" (Ramsey, 1973, p. 38). Perhaps the most well known of the industrial education Black colleges were Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute.

The emphasis on an industrial education curriculum was a reflection of the prevailing attitude in the nineteenth century that African Americans were an inferior race with a menial intelligence. However, throughout the early 1900s, industrial education was largely viewed by many leading Black educators as a means to assist Black men and women in their endeavor to assimilate into the economic fabric of American society (James, 1990). Embraced by many of the HBCUs, particularly the 18 Black land-grant institutions (Appendix B), industrial education became the drawing card to secure

support from the local white community as well as to attract philanthropic support that many HBCUs desperately needed (Gasman, 2002). When Dr. J.W. Holley, founding president of Albany State University proposed a curriculum that was modeled after the industrial/vocational program of Tuskegee Institute, he did so to partially out of an effort to appease the White power structure of Doughtery County, Georgia. Holley and his contemporaries knew that Whites would be far more supportive of an educational program that would prepare Blacks for manual labor jobs rather than professional and leadership positions (Ramsey, 1973).

Although not opposed to industrial education, some Black scholars would challenge the appropriateness of manual training as an educational strategy that would bring about social equity among African Americans. Du Bois (1908/1973) would argue that while industrial training “is one of the greatest and most promising movements of modern days” (p. 46), it did not have a place in the higher education of Black people. Often portrayed as a critic of industrial education (Roebuck & Murty, 1993; Potts, 1996), Du Bois was clear that his support for industrial and vocational training was predicated upon its appropriate placement in the curriculum of higher learning. It was not to take precedence over the classical training of learned men and women but integrated within the broader scope of higher education. Moreover, industrial education should not be used as the handmaiden of the industrial philanthropists and White supremacists to promote a form of social hegemony that would lead to the further disenfranchisement of Black people.

Alridge (1999) further clarifies Du Bois’ position on industrial education by suggesting that Du Bois was “opposed to these institutions’ practice of ‘industrious’

rather than industrial education" (¶ 13, p. 24). Finally, John Wesley Davison, the first Black principal of Fort Valley Industrial High School, felt strongly that Black people should determine the type of education that was appropriate for them. Davison wrote to a White philanthropist in 1902 that, "I have always thought that the colored man, when it comes to schools for his own people, should not only have considerable voice, but should be required to largely govern them, for the object of all education is to develop the power of self-government" (as cited in Bellamy, 1996, p. 17).

In addition to promoting an industrial curriculum for Black education in the South, philanthropy would directly influence the operational aspects of Black colleges through the complete control of the governing boards (Gasman, 2007). Members of the governing boards of the early HBCUs were overwhelmingly White and male. In fact, many of the private HBCUs did not appoint Black presidents until several decades following their establishment. Howard University was established in 1867 and appointed its first Black president in 1926. An African American president did not preside over Hampton University until 1927. Moreover, Spelman College, the nation's preeminent institution of higher education for Black women, did not appoint its first Black president until 1953, 63 years after its founding in 1881. Ironically, in the early 1900s, Dr. Alain Leroy Locke, chair of the philosophy department at Howard University who would later become the first Black president of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) was precluded from teaching a course on race and race relations by the institution's predominately White Board of Trustees at Howard (Guy, 1992).

Gasman (2007) suggest that some Black college administrators were willing to acquiesce to social norms to further their educational and personal agendas while

others were skeptical of philanthropic support of Black higher education. Black administrators looked the other way while philanthropic organizations engaged in race-bating tactics to secure the support of White donors in the South (Gasman, 2002). Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University practically controlled the flow of private funding to HBCUs because of his political connections with major philanthropic organizations (Gasman, 2002). If proposals from other Black colleges did not pass Johnson's litmus test of worthiness, they were likely to go unfunded. Conversely, Du Bois was generally skeptical of the motives of philanthropy, although on occasion he would agree to accompany the president of Atlanta University on fundraising trips to the North. In fact, it was Fisk' temporary foray into industrial education in 1906 that prompted Du Bois (1908/1973) to criticize severely the leadership of Fisk University for compromising the educational mission of the institution in its desperate attempt to attract philanthropic support. But regardless of how race men felt about the role of philanthropy in Black education, in the absence of state support for Black education and a wealthy alumni base, the Black college would be dependent on White philanthropy throughout their early existence and well into the twentieth century (Gasman, 2007).

The Establishment of Public Black Colleges

Sponsored by Vermont Congressman Justin Morrill, the first Morrill Act was signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1862. Officially titled "An Act Donating Public Lands to Several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts," the Morrill Act provided each state with 30,000 acres of federal land for every member of its congressional delegation

(*Backgrounder on the Morrill Act*). The Act specified that states were to sell this land and use the proceeds to establish colleges in engineering, agriculture, and military science. Jischke (2004) indicated Morrill articulated his vision for the Morrill Act legislation during a speech to his home state legislature in 1888, when Morrill explained "the fundamental idea was to offer an opportunity in every state for a liberal and larger education to larger numbers, not merely to those destined to sedentary professions, but to those needing higher instruction for the world's business, for the industrial pursuits and professions of life" (p. 1). Southern states did not allocate funding to Black colleges that was set forth in the first Morrill Act, despite the intent of the legislation to equally support industrial and mechanical education for all higher education institutions. Thus, the second Morrill Act of 1890 was passed in an attempt to reconcile the differences in funding support. In doing so, states were required to either establish separate but equal Black land-grant colleges or admit African Americans to predominately White institutions.

In order to comply with the provisions of the second Morrill Act of 1890, southern states moved to create a separate higher education system that was divided along racial lines. This action resulted in the assumption of several private Black industrial schools and converting them into public Black land-grant colleges. In 1917, the state of Georgia assumed control of the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute and converted the school to an agricultural, industrial, and normal school (Ramsey, 1973). In 1943, the name was changed again to the Albany State College and, with the addition of junior and senior level courses, the school became a four year baccalaureate degree granting institution in the University System of Georgia. In 1932, Fort Valley Normal and

Industrial School became a unit of the University System of Georgia and the name was changed to State Teachers and Agriculture College (Bellamy, 1996).

Brown and Davis (2001) suggest that many southern states "established separate public HBCUs for the sole purpose of having a legal beneficiary for the federal support" (p. 33), namely the Morrill Act funds. Indeed, Harris and Worthen (2004) write that the 1890 law was actually a "response to pressure for increased funding for White land grant institutions and only secondarily did it address the creation of separate land grant colleges for Blacks" (p. 1). Brady (2000) suggests that the growing need for Black teachers in the segregated public school systems fueled the demand for the creation of schools to "train" Black teachers. The inequities between the public Black and White colleges were so blatant that Roebuck and Murty (1993) posit:

> Public HBCUs were created by southern state governments for three reasons: to get millions of dollars in federal funds for the development of White land-grant universities, to limit Black education to vocational training, and to prevent Blacks from attending White land-grant institutions. (p. 27)

This discriminatory funding pattern would be one of the major factors contributing to the disparity between the physical plants of predominately White and Black public colleges (Hine, 1991).

In many respects, the assumption of the private Black schools by the states in the early 1900s resembled the process of school desegregation that would take place throughout the South during the decade of the 60s and 70s. As with the many Black high schools that were either merged or closed during integration, several private Black

industrial schools were merged to form public Black land-grant colleges. The names of Black high schools were often replaced with the name of the local White school during integration without regard to the social significance these school names represented to the African American community (hooks, 1994; Savage, 2004). Similarly, as private Black schools were being converted to land-grant Black colleges, they would undergo a series of name changes. Finally, although the administration of the Black land-grant institutions remained predominately Black, they were essentially stripped of their authority and relegated to minor level administrative roles in the new state higher education system. A similar process would unfold during school desegregation where Black principals and teachers would be disenfranchised as a result of integrated schools (Fultz, 2004; White, 2004).

Du Bois (1941/1973) predicted the fallacies of a dual system of higher education and its inability to face the challenges that America would confront in a multicultural society. In the wake of an increasingly diverse society America would be faced with three pressing social issues: income disparity among marginalized groups; continued race discrimination, particularly among African Americans; and the legacy of a Jim Crow society. America's public education system would hold the most promise for developing solutions to these complex socio-economical issues, if it were to embrace the legacy of a democratic society. As America stood on the precipice of a second world war in 1941, its segregated public higher education institutions, both Black and White, would be called upon to face the challenges of a growing multicultural society marked by an increasing number of European immigrants. Du Bois called attention to the hypocrisy of a nation that championed the virtues of democracy in the face of abject race and class

discrimination which relegated Black Americans to the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. Regardless of whether Black Americans were given the opportunity to attend desegregated colleges and universities, racial discrimination would continue to disenfranchise the Black race.

At the dawn of the Civil Rights era in America, Du Bois was among the Black intellectuals who recognized the benefits of a public education system that eliminated racial discrimination in order for Black students to freely matriculate at any higher education institution. Yet even as the drum beats began to roll for the elimination of the separate but equal doctrine in public education, Du Bois (1941/1973) called attention to the shortcomings of an integrated system of public higher education in terms of valuing human agency.

> The admission of a few colored students to the University of Missouri would not alter the mental complexion of the teachers and professors in that institution. They would know as little about the culture history and group difficulties of Negro students after as before…Whole sections of human history have been slurred over or misinterpreted; science has been systematically distorted to prove a prejudice; and above all most of these teachers have refused to visualize the possibility of a Negro becoming a full self-respecting American citizen. (p. 175)

In 1970, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund sued the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) for not enforcing Title VI of the 1965 Civil Rights Act against states that operated dual segregated public system of higher education. HEW found ten states,

including Georgia, in violation of Title VI by operating dual systems of public higher education (Brady, 2000). The result of this legal decision has been the merger of some Black colleges with predominately White institutions or policies directed towards specifically attracting a more diversified student body, faculty, and administration on HBCU campuses. For example, in Georgia, the Board of Regents of the University System approved the transfer of the teacher education program from Savannah State University, a historically Black public college, to nearby predominately White Armstrong Atlantic State University. In exchange, Savannah State University was given permission to establish a Master's of Business Administration degree program, for which the regents assumed would enhance the institutions racial diversity. However, this exchange was by no means an equitable arrangement because the demand for certified public school teachers in Georgia exceeds the demand for MBA's (*Regents Adopt*, 2005). Therefore a teacher education program is more likely to generate a larger number of enrollments than a graduate program in business administration.

As the demand continues to increase for qualified teachers who must address the needs of a diverse public school student population, the need for programs that can effectively prepare teachers to meet this challenge is also critical. Teacher education has been one of the hallmarks of public HBCUs since their earliest beginnings. In fact, many HBCUs began as normal schools and teacher education colleges in the late nineteenth century to meet the overwhelming demand for Black teachers in the South (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Du Bois, 1990/1903). Researchers have argued that although these segregated Black schools were poor in terms of resources, the teachers and principals who toiled in these institutions created a communal environment where

students succeeded despite these challenges (Walker,1996). Thus the transition of teacher education from Savannah State University to Armstrong Atlantic State University might have achieved a political goal, but missed an opportunity for the state to address a social need by taking advantage of the value-added benefit of the Black college experience in teacher education.

In addition to the legal discourse on desegregation, public HBCUs struggle with increased competition for qualified students, changing fiscal policies, and accreditation requirements (Keels, 2004; Press, 2005; Schmidt, 2005). Programs and policies designed to attract a more diversified student body may give priority funding to non-African American students. Higher education system admissions policies designed to strengthen the academic quality of state institutions may result in directing more African American students to community colleges. Efforts by leaders at HBCUs to diversify revenue streams may be perceived as sacrificing the social and cultural values of historically Black colleges and universities. With chilling accuracy, W.E.B. Du Bois predicted many of the challenges that face contemporary Black colleges in the wake of the Brown court decision. In the newly integrated era, he urged African Americans to "lay down a line of thought and action" (Du Bois, 1960/1973, p. 196) that would help to alleviate racial discrimination and preserve African history and cultural values.

Summary of the History of Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Historically Black colleges and universities represent a unique chapter in the history of American higher education. As education institutions, they evolved from a people who displayed a passionate yearning for education despite centuries of human bondage which denied them the opportunities for formal learning. Largely funded by

private foundations, the federal government, and benevolent organizations, many HBCUs began as grammar schools and slowly added secondary education with a curriculum that initially focused on industrial education and manual training. As the need for Black teachers steadily increased, normal education programs would be developed to train the scores of Black teachers needed throughout the South. These teachers would play a major role in significantly reducing the rate of illiteracy among Black men, women, and children.

Ironically, many of the early HBCUs would be governed primarily by representatives of large foundations, religious organizations, and local White citizens sympathetic to the education of the freedmen. This would be especially true for some of the most well known HBCUs such as Howard University, Fisk University, and Spelman College. However, because philanthropic organizations were more interested in supporting Black schools that promoted industrial education rather than those whose curriculum reflected a more classical orientation, many scholars and educational historians would question the real motives of these organizations. The struggle to define an appropriate educational mission for Black Americans would spark an interesting debate among leading Black educators and historians for years to come.

Public HBCUs represented state sanctioned racial separatism in public higher education. Although state funding to support the public HBCUs would pale in comparison to that which was provided to majority White institutions, the steady decline in private funding for Black colleges would force HBCU administrators to seek whatever financial support would be offered by the states in exchange for control of the institutions. Both public and private HBCUs were initially administered by members of

the dominant group who heavily influenced the nature and character of these institutions. Moreover, public HBCUs endured a legacy of disproportionate state funding which manifested itself in a limited curriculum and a sub-quality physical plant.

Today, the continued existence of public HBCUs as racially distinct institutions of higher learning is threatened by the legal challenges of desegregation. Moreover, like all small colleges, public HBCUs must struggle with the challenges of maintaining quality academic institutions in the face of increased student competition, an overall decreased public support for higher education, and a commitment to a historical mission of educating African Americans.

Continuing Education in Colleges and Universities

Houle (1980) categorizes continuing education providers as belonging to one of three groups: colleges and universities (including professional schools), professional associations, and independent providers. As higher education institutions, colleges typically have access to conference facilities and other infrastructure resources to support small and large-scale educational programs. Moreover, they enjoy the reputation of being educational institutions in which teaching and learning is the core of its mission. However, colleges and universities are often perceived as being too focused on theoretical applications of knowledge as opposed to addressing issues common to practice. This perception has often been articulated as an example of the disconnect that exists between industry and higher education (Cervero, 1988).

From an organizational perspective, continuing education has traditionally held a marginal role within colleges and universities, expendable during periods of financial austerity (Cervero, 1988; Merriam & Brockett, 1997). Many continuing education

programs are self-supportive and are only partially subsidized by the parent organization. The instructional staff generally consist of part-time, non-tenured faculty rather than the full-time, tenure track positions found in most traditional academic departments. Although continuing education has an instructional function similar to academic programs in Arts and Sciences, Business, and Education, the business model of continuing education distinguishes how the institution views these programs in terms of purpose.

From a management perspective, continuing education operations are organized based on a centralized or decentralized administrative structure (Cervero, 1988). A centralized management structure provides a core of central services to all units within the institution to support continuing education activities. These services typically consist of meeting planning, logistical coordination, and perhaps some degree of marketing. The academic unit sponsors the program and is largely responsible for program planning. In a decentralized model, each academic unit includes a continuing education operation, providing in-house logistical planning and program development services. A decentralized model may duplicate many aspects of the operation, leading to inefficiencies.

Continuing Higher Education and Economic Development

Helping adults to acquire and maintain the skills and knowledge that are necessary to adapt to a changing workplace has been a long standing focus of continuing education within the academe. Adult education scholars have indicated continuing education provides a means for colleges and universities to address the workforce development needs of local business and industry partners (Cervero, 2001). By placing continuing education at the nexus of economic development, higher

education institutions have affirmed that, “underlying many of the stated purposes of adult education in America is the assumption that the ideal of a democratic society must be maintained, and that education is one way to do this” (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999, p. 74). Lindeman posits that the purpose of adult learning is “Changing individuals in continuing adjustments to changing social functions” (as cited in Merriam & Brockett, 1997, p. 17). Malcolm Knowles’ (1970) reflections on the societal purpose of adult education are in close alignment with the goals of continuing higher education in that society needs a “crash program to retool…adults with the competencies required to function adequately in a condition of perpetual change” (p. 36). According to the University Continuing Education Association, the majority of continuing higher education administrators affirm that the aim of continuing higher education, whether credit or noncredit, is to assist individuals and organizations in adapting to a changing economy (University Continuing Education, 2003). In articulating the role of noncredit courses in serving the needs of nontraditional students, Milan (2005) argues that, “They are the primary vehicle by which schools provide workforce development training, IT training, career and occupational training” (p.55).

Clearly the goals of continuing higher education are closely aligned with those of economic development and have contributed to the prevailing assumptions regarding the strategic position of continuing higher education in colleges and universities. If we were to use part-time student enrollments as a barometer of the growth in continuing higher education, the demand in this area is quite evident. Of the approximately 15 million students who pursued an undergraduate degree in fall 2004, 6.3 million were enrolled at a two-year public college, and of that number 58 percent attended on a part-

time basis (University Continuing Education, 2006). Similarly, nearly 2.2 million students were enrolled in graduate programs during the fall of 2004 and over one-half of this population, (53 percent) were enrolled part-time, primarily matriculating at public universities.

The economic and social changes that began during the late nineteenth century and continued through the modern era have contributed to the growth in continuing higher education. The industrial revolution, which characterized the American economy through the end of World War II, created a demand for jobs in the manufacturing and service industries. During the 1920s and 1930s, African Americans, in an attempt to escape the racial prejudices of the Jim Crow South, migrated to the northern industrial centers to seek better opportunities in schooling, employment, wages, and housing (Fligstein, 1981; Grossman,1989; Johnson & Campbell, 1981). In 1900, 90 percent of the African American population resided in the Southern states. By 1950, one-half of a century later, the proportion of Blacks living in the South had declined to 68 percent (Margo, 1990). In the North, Black migrants would not find the promise land they envisioned, but the same form of racial discrimination and persecution that had become all too familiar in the South. They would be barred from the more lucrative civil service jobs and restricted to low wage positions as porters, dishwashers, laundresses, and elevator operators (Margo, 1990).

World War II fueled the American industrial economy as wartime industries provided employment in defense manufacturing. During this period, large numbers of women entered the workforce for the first time as men filled the ranks of the military. Black Americans participated in adult education training programs sponsored by Black

colleges such as Atlanta University and Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) to prepare them for skilled trade positions in the war industries (Reid, 1945). Black adult educators such as Ira D. Reid and Ambrose Caliver helped organized literacy and training programs for African Americans and believed such programs would expand employment opportunities in higher skilled occupations for Black Americans. However, defense contractors would not hire African Americans for these skilled positions, even though they had participated in government-sponsored training programs.

Racial discrimination in jobs, housing, and social inequality helped fueled the social unrest which led to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. When America emerged from the second World War as a superpower, its reputation as the leader of the free world was tainted by the images of Black civil rights activists being brutalized by southern law enforcement officials. Bell (2004) argues that the push for social and political equality converged with America's need to reconcile its image as the leader of world democracy created the ideological framework which led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. During the 1970s, African Americans took advantage of new employment opportunities that were previously closed to people of color such as jobs in the auto manufacturing, civil service, social service, and textile industries. Black colleges were often job recruitment sites for graduates seeking careers in government and social service agencies.

Manufacturing and service jobs which dominated the American economy from the 1920s through the civil rights era has been replaced by a demand for knowledge workers where information is the commodity of exchange in a global marketplace

(Bailey & Mingle, 2003; Kohl, 2000). The twenty-first century worker must solve complex problems and be able to use technology proficiently in all aspects of the work environment. Work is now integrated across all segments of the organization, supported by an interconnected network of project teams and driven by corporate demands for ever increasing efficiencies. Individual team members are frequently located throughout the world traversing boundaries of time, space, and culture (Friedman, 2006). Jobs that are considered critical to the support of a globalized economy driven by access to information are those that are categorized as knowledge occupations such as managerial, professional, and technical. The marginally skilled worker has been displaced by the economics of globalization creating a permanent class of the underemployed.

Within this work culture, a new meaning of lifelong learning has emerged; one that acknowledges the dynamic nature of organizations where employees must continually learn new skills and adapt to rapidly changing job roles (Bailey & Mingle, 2003). Yet, as Morey (2004) suggests, companies are experiencing difficulties recruiting skilled workers for new markets, thereby creating a growing demand for career-oriented educational programs at the postsecondary level. An aging workforce is also driving the demand for continuing higher education. Kohl (2000) predicts that by the year 2010, the baby boomer generation (those born between 1946 and 1964) will comprise a large percentage of the American workforce. Because American society has grown accustomed to a high standard of living, researchers suggest that it will take a productive labor force to maintain this standard as the population ages (University Continuing Education*,* 2006*).* Kohl (2000) predicts that the pipeline of college-educated

workers will be insufficient to replace more mature workers, thus creating a need for retraining of older workers, particularly those who lack 21st century job skills. Perhaps the most poignant example of the need for worker training is being played out in the field of workplace education. By all accounts, the single largest site for adult education is the workplace. Kleiner, Carver, Hagedorn, and Chapman (2005) indicated that 40 percent of adults in the nation participated in some type of workplace education during the year 2002-2003. In a study of corporate chief learning officers, Sugrue and DeViney (2005) found that the overwhelming majority of executives placed employee learning and development as strategic to the organization's mission.

Perhaps the most significant factor that has contributed to the growth of continuing higher education has been the advancements in information and telecommunications technologies. The Internet has enabled colleges and universities to extend access to educational programs to workers who, because of time, place, or physical disabilities, were previously unable to participate in traditional learning experiences. Cervero (2001) identifies distance education as among the major trends impacting continuing professional education during the past two decades. Rivera, Trierweiler, and Sugure (2005) identified online continuing higher education as a central strategy among corporate training executives and suggested that continuing higher education needed to be credible, cost-effective, flexible, and in alignment with strategic objectives of the organization. Technology has also prompted continuing higher education providers to redefine the meaning of service area (University Continuing Education*, 2005).* With the growth in Internet learning, service area is literally any location where Internet access is available.

Privatization of Continuing Higher Education

While the demand for continuing higher education has increased, state appropriations for higher education in general has decreased. Over the past 20 years, there has been a precipitous decline in state appropriations for higher education with a corresponding demand for improved accountability. While acknowledging the virtuous achievements of American higher education system, policy makers have also chastised colleges and universities for the "lack of clear reliable information and the cost and quality of postsecondary education institutions, along with a remarkable absence of accountability mechanisms to ensure that colleges succeed in educating students" (*A Test of Leadership,* 2006, p.vii). Funding priorities for state governments has shifted to support the rising cost of healthcare, the construction of prison facilities, and other human service expenditures. From 2002 to 2004, state governments reduced higher education appropriations by 10 percent from $63.65 billion to $60.29 billion (Carnesale, 2006). In reaction to this fiscal "belt tightening," colleges and universities have placed a greater emphasis on diversifying revenue resources including pursuing research grants, private philanthropy, and the licensing of patents and intellectual property.

One example of a potential revenue-generating venue for higher education is the rapidly growing e-learning industry. Instructional designers work collaboratively with faculty and other content experts to develop online instructional materials as learning objects. Once developed, digital learning objects can be shared among faculty who are seeking content to build online courses, but may not have the time, money, or expertise to develop high quality online materials. The instructional designers ensure that the learning objects meet technical and pedagogical standards to facilitate their reusability

across elearning systems (e.g., Desire2Learn, Blackboard). However, digital learning objects are also a source of potential revenues as they may be copyrighted and licensed by institutions. Thus, instructional content that has traditionally been available free for educational use is increasingly being copyrighted to protect possible future licensing agreements.

The move towards greater economic self-sufficiency has created an environment of commercialization in higher education that takes advantage of the new knowledge economy and globalized markets. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) have developed a theory of academic capitalism that explains the way colleges and universities behave in this new economic environment that has direct implications for continuing higher education. The theory of academic capitalism "sees groups of actors--faculty, students, administrators, and academic professionals--as using a variety of state resources to create new circuits of knowledge that link higher education institutions to the new economy" (p.1). The tenets of the theory include new circuits of knowledge, inter-organizational relationships, networks between the public and private sector and extended managerial capacity (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

The way in which colleges and universities behave in the new knowledge/learning regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), mimics the operation of continuing education departments within colleges and universities. Continuing education budgets are, for the most part, self-sustaining, without state appropriation support (University Continuing Education, 2005*)*. Many continuing professional education programs receive a large percentage of their support from commercial sponsorship (Cervero, 2001; Smith, 2004). The professional managerial staffs of colleges and

universities have increased due to the emphasis on commercialization. This is particularly the case in technology and fundraising (development) areas where professional managers are now considered to be as strategic, if not more so, than faculty. Continuing education departments are being merged with distance education and other outreach functions of the institutions, creating new management positions and responsibilities. A brief review of college and university web sites for continuing higher education departments reveals such names as “Department of Continuing and Distance Education” and “Office of Continuing and Professional Studies”.

Colleges and universities increasingly resort to the use of adjunct faculty as a part-time labor force. Part-time faculty have traditionally served as the core of continuing education instructional staff. Instructional content is being developed in a modular format that enhances its reusability. Once developed, these new digital “packets” can be copyrighted and licensed for use by other organizations. There is a new focus on certificate and career-oriented degree programs to attract a new market of adult learners. Nontraditional students historically have been the core market for continuing higher education programs. The privatization of higher education has the potential to elevate the status of continuing higher education within the larger organization; however, there is concern that the rush to privatization could very well create an elitist system of higher education, accessible to a narrow segment of society and accountable only to the powerful private corporations (Newman, Couturier & Scurry, 2004; Pusser, 2002). Thus privatization poses a threat to the egalitarianism that has come to define public higher education and specifically, the historically Black college and university.

Continuing Education in the Historically Black College and University

As the operations of public colleges and universities adopt more commercial-like behaviors, the management structure of continuing education units may serve as a model for the remainder of the academy. The relative advantages and disadvantages of a centralized or decentralized approach to the management of continuing education within colleges and universities has long been a subject of intensive debate in the literature (Cervero, 1988, 2001; Gordon, 1980; Loch, 2003; Shoemaker, 1998). Studies of nontraditional degree programs in Black colleges note that when such programs are managed by continuing education units they exist outside the mainstream academic community (Hackney, 1981; McNair, 1980; Moore, 1981). The more successful programs are integrated within the traditional academic structure of the institution.

Despite the relative limitation of available information on continuing higher education organizations at HBCUs, nontraditional students comprise the overwhelming majority of enrollments among Black colleges. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, in fiscal 2000, undergraduate students age 25 years and older (nontraditional) presented 14 percent (37, 857) of the total student enrollment (270,773). In fiscal 2004, HBCU undergraduate enrollments totaled 271,326 with nontraditional students representing 21 percent (57,628) of the undergraduate student population. Although these statistics represent a significant growth in the numbers of nontraditional students at HBCUs, they are likely to be underestimated considering NCES data is limited to the fall term and only includes full-time students. Many nontraditional students enroll on a part-time basis and others attend special summer sessions.

As with all sectors of postsecondary education, enrollment of female students exceeds the number of males on Black college campuses, and the trend also holds true for adult age students. In 2004, women represented 38,706 (67%) of the 57,628 undergraduate students age 25 years and older enrolled at HBCUs. In fact, since 1990, women were the recipients of 60 percent or more of the associates, bachelor's, and master's degrees awarded by HBCUs. By all estimates, the number of female college students is expected to exceed the number of matriculating men by 2.5 million by the year 2010 (University Continuing Education, 2004). However, Fleming (1984) determined Black women did not experience the same level of acceptance at HBCUs as Black men. Adult students are more likely to be enrolled on a part-time basis, which indicates adults take more than the typical four years to complete a bachelor's degree (Bailey & Mingle, 2003). Moreover, adults must often manage the competing demands of work and family responsibilities in addition to class work (Reed, 2005) which makes online learning, accelerated programs, weekend colleges, and other alternative matriculation formats an attractive option for working adults.

One of the most important trends in continuing higher education has been the large number of programs being offered online and through other forms of distance education technologies (Cervero, 2001). Rivera, Trierweiler and Sugrue (2005) found that chief learning officers in corporate America confirmed the importance of online higher education to their workplace constituency. An increasing number of continuing higher education students are enrolled in online courses. Online degree programs are especially attractive to working professionals who must balance the demands of job and family (Pappas & Jerman, 2004). As online learning continues to grow, continuing

education and outreach operations of colleges and universities are being merged with distance education and instructional technology units to form a more cohesive and comprehensive service for nontraditional education. Thus, institutions must have the capacity to develop and offer online education to meet a growing need for quality, flexible learning.

The majority of Black colleges, particularly private institutions, still lag behind predominately White institutions in the quality of digital network connections and personnel who possess the skills necessary to maintain this infrastructure for faculty and students. In particular, HBCUs lack access to high-speed networks required to deliver multimedia rich educational content over the Internet (Clark, 2004). A study conducted in 2000 by the National Association for Equal Opportunity and Higher Education and the U.S. Department of Commerce found that 58 percent of HBCUs participated in some form of distance education, but only 15 percent offered online degree programs. This digital divide among Black colleges serves as an invisible barrier to the further development of continuing higher education which has grown significantly since the emergence of the World Wide Web and mobile computing technologies.

As with most small institutions, presidents at historically Black colleges and universities assume a much larger role in the decision-making process (Minor, 2004). Presidents who are more progressive and strategic in their outlook may actively encourage more entrepreneurial activities such as continuing higher education programs. Leadership that is more risk-adverse may be more cautious and reluctant to embrace new initiatives that depart from the traditional programmatic functions of the institution (Courtenay, 1993).

Studies of Continuing Education in the Historically Black College and University

Scholarship pertaining to continuing education in the Black college is located within the body of literature on African American adult education. The focus of these studies has been to articulate a description of adult education programs within this context. Alderman (1930) conducted one of the first comprehensive studies of adult education activities of colleges, universities, and normal schools which examined adult education in the form of university extension. Ten historically Black land-grant institutions participated in the study and reported offering college level courses as extension programs. The courses included industrial education subjects such as dairying and farm crops as well as courses in mathematics, science, sociology, Black history, and English. The researchers reported a total of 966 participants in their adult education programs of which women comprised three-fourths of the total enrollment.

In the National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes (1942) published by the U.S. Office of Education, researcher's found that adult education programs offered at Black colleges were categorized as cultural interest programs (dramas, musicals, cantatas, and pageants), industrial education, activities and religious education. These results were consistent with the findings reported by Alderman (1930) in which industrial education offerings were prominent among Black college adult education programs. In describing adult education at Black colleges, the authors suggested the primary purpose of such programs was to re-create the academic culture of the campus within the larger Black community rather than addressing social ills. Considering the social and economic status of Black Americans during the 1940s, the authors criticized Black colleges for not using adult education as a strategy to address more pressing problems

confronting the race including poverty, poor healthcare, crime, and illiteracy. Moreover, it suggests that in delivering adult education programs to the masses, Black colleges did not take advantage of more innovative educational practices of the time such as radio broadcasts, educational movies, and forums. The underlying criticism aimed at Black college adult education appeared to be that the programs reflected an elitist attitude towards the plight of the Black masses and were essentially non-responsive to the needs of the people.

While the results of this study raise some important questions regarding the purpose of adult education in the Black college during racial segregation, the authors failed to acknowledge how a white supremacist ideology shaped the eventual educational agenda of Black colleges to promote domination and to sustain the status quo (Watkins, 2001). Adult education in this sense, was not intended to liberate, but to subjugate. Moreover, the critics of Black college outreach totally ignored the effects of the twin evils of racial discrimination and disenfranchisement on Black unemployment, housing, healthcare, and other forms of social and economic well being. Thus criticism of Black college adult education seems misplaced in the face of these more ingrained social ills.

Cooper (1945) examined the extent of adult education programs in the Black college but with the use of a larger sample of HBCUs than what was reflected in Alderman's study. Cooper (1945) found that the majority of continuing education programs offered by HBCUs during this period were in subjects related to agriculture extension, which were delivered in form of conferences, institutes, and forums. This was consistent with the results reported by Alderman (1930) and the U.S. Department of

Education study in 1942, which found industrial education as a central factor in continuing education programming at HBCUs. Martin (1962) also identifies agriculture extension, off-campus courses, and home study programs as part of continuing education programs offered by Black colleges. However Cooper would point to other, lesser known adult education programs including the People's College at Atlanta University, Bennett College's weekly radio program, and Virginia State College's correspondence and home study program as examples of adult education programs sponsored by Black colleges. These programs offered classes in subjects such as public speaking, English, mathematics, music, and hygiene as well as forums for discussions of current events. The total number of adults participating in these programs was reported to be 44, 760 with an estimated 1 million participants comprising the radio listening audience. Again, the common message that is articulated in the curriculum of adult education programs sponsored by Black colleges is one of assimilation. Blacks must give up their cultural identity in order to gain acceptance into Western life. The concept of assimilation is deeply embedded within the philosophy of Black education.

The philosophical perspectives of Du Bois and Clements on the purpose of the private Black colleges were evident in the development of Atlanta University's People's College, an adult education program which began in 1942. The People's College was intended to "alter in Atlanta…the conception of a university's position in the community" (Reid, 1943, p. 2). The brochure of the People's College third session aptly reflects the programs political intent of race advancement:

You are most important to the success of the People's College. Your

> interest, your eagerness to make yourself better fit to meet a complex world, your willingness to work, will make the People's College worthwhile. (*The People's College Brochure*, n.d.)

Approximately 400 participants enrolled in the People's College during its inaugural term with the highest enrollments being in courses related to job training, public speaking and "those related to everyday living in a southern community" (Reid, 1943, p. 3). Those who attended the People's College were likely motivated by their own personal need for self-development and knowledge to overcome the circumstances in which they found themselves. The "enrollment reflected a need which existed not so much at the levels of the lowest literacy, but at the living levels of the average man and woman who interests have developed beyond the offerings of the public night school" (Reid, 1943, p. 2).

Consistent with a focus on the preparation of Black teachers for the public school system, teacher education was a major part of educational outreach programs at HBCUs. In an examination of the operations and functions of day and evening classes at Black colleges Wilkins (1942) reported that, 25 out of 54 institutions offered evening classes. The purpose of the evening schools was to provide teacher in-service training. These programs were essentially an extension of the traditional day program for teacher education, which suggests little to no accommodation was made by Black colleges to address the special needs of adult students. However, the author does not describe the sampling technique used to identify the 54 institutions included in the study, which calls into question generalizations that can be made to all HBCUs based on the results.

In an archival study of the academic preparation and training of Black teachers

during the early part of the twentieth century, Fultz (1995) asserts that the increase in enrollments at Black land-grant colleges during the 1920s were due in large part to the summer school attendance among Black teachers seeking to improve their academic skills. These educators were driven to improve their educational training by a combination of personal motivation and changing state certification requirements. Roberts (1948) analyzed the educational level of participants who attended summer school for ministers at Virginia State College from 1943 -1946. He articulates the need for ministry education, particularly for Black ministers who often did not have any formal education beyond the elementary grades. However, due to racial segregation, they did not have access to White schools or seminaries. Consequently, Black ministers often depended upon summer school programs such as those offered by Virginia State College during the 1940s. While the author passionately describes the struggles Black ministers in the South faced in their quest for education, it is written with gender bias which does not acknowledge the efforts of Black women ministers and the special challenges they faced as they sought their place among a male dominated clergy. However, these studies place the Black college at the nexus of continuing education for Black teachers and clergy during the early part of the twentieth century.

The results from the early data-based studies suggest that adult education programs in Black colleges espoused an assimilationist stance that maintained their second class status. Black teachers would become trained to teach in segregated public schools by attending summer school outreach programs. Black ministers would improve their skills in church administration through clergy continuing education programs at schools such as Hampton Institute. Black farmers and homemakers would learn skills

necessary to develop productive farms and to maintain a proper home environment through the agriculture extension programs. These findings are consistent with other research studies on the history of adult education and African Americans. In a compelling analysis of African-American adult education literature from 1920-1945, Johnson-Bailey (2006) concludes that adult education served three primary purposes for African Americans: assimilation, survival, and resistance.

> Embedded in the first theme of cultural assimilation is the requirement that Blacks relinquish any markers of their former culture that do not serve their new citizenship, a dressed-up version of their old slave status. According to education for assimilation, African Americans are to be trained for menial and laborious work. Furthermore, their education is to be confined to basic literacy elementary mechanical skills, and the rudimentary elements of service work. (p. 113)

Unfortunately, in their attempts to provide material uplift for the race, Black colleges were complicit in the effort to relegate African Americans to second-class citizen status.

Although agricultural extension, cultural development, and teacher training were prominent themes among the adult and continuing education programs of the early Black college, towards the end of the century, economic development began to assume a much larger role in the educational outreach mission of HBCUs. In a study of workforce development activities at a select group of HBCUs, Richmond and Maramark (1996) concluded that HBCUs were engaged in a variety of workforce development activities such as certificate programs and non-credit courses related to high demand occupations, training in new skills for displaced workers, contract courses with

government and industry and ESOL (English as Second Language) training for new immigrants. The certificate programs now offered as a part of continuing higher education programs is significant because they represent one of the fastest growing areas in higher education and often serve as feeder programs into graduate study (LaPidus, 2000; Patterson, 2000). Moreover, Richmond and Maramark (1996) speculate that the education mission of HBCUs, which has historically focused on the recent high school graduate population, a limited curriculum, and a lack of social capital among members of the business community may impede the ability of HBCUs to fully develop continuing higher education programs. However, the authors propose three compelling reasons why HBCUs should consider continuing, developing, or expanding their continuing education activities, particularly among public HBCUs: (1) decreasing enrollment and financial pressures can be countered by developing programs that reach new clientele; (2) to address the retraining needs of workers, particularly those in rural and urban areas served by HBCUs; and (3) to take advantage of the success HBCUs have achieved in preparing African American students for professional life, and thus, for improved earnings.

Several interesting parallels and differences can be identified between the earlier studies of continuing education in the Black college and the study by Richmond and Maramark (1996). Both studies were based on a purposive sampling of HBCUs, which reflected similar institutional characteristics across studies. Specifically, the institutional sample was primarily composed of public HBCUs. However, Richmond and Maramark examined one particular aspect of continuing education at HBCUs; that dealing specifically with workforce development, as opposed to earlier studies which assumed a

more comprehensive approach. Additionally, Richmond and Maramark broadened the discourse by suggesting a possible connection between workforce development and fiscal empowerment of HBCUs. Moreover, Richmond and Maramark raised questions regarding social and institutional factors that might impede the development of workforce development initiatives within HBCUs. These factors include a limited curriculum, institutional capacity, social networks, and education mission.

The literature on nontraditional undergraduate degree programs at historically Black colleges and universities has also drawn a connection between continuing education and workforce development. The University Without Walls weekend and evening college programs were among the most popular nontraditional degree programs at Black colleges during the 1970s and 1980s. Research on adult degree programs in Black colleges and universities found that adult students most often enter into nontraditional programs in order to obtain a degree that is job-related (Jones, 1997; Moore, 1981). In addition, these studies confirm that convenience and flexibility are among the most important aspects of nontraditional degree programs for working adult students.

Summary of Continuing Education in Colleges and Universities

Continuing higher education programs frequently exist as sites of innovation and entrepreneurial activities in public colleges and universities. The operational model of continuing higher education programs requires it to be market-driven and cost effective. Higher education now exists in an economic climate that is increasingly shifting the cost of education from the government to families, regardless of need and ability.

Consequently, continuing higher education has the potential to serve as a model for commercialization of colleges and universities.

Studies on adult and continuing education in the historically Black college and university reflect the broader social and political context. Adult and continuing education programs in the early HBCUs were primarily focused on agricultural extension, teacher training, and clergy education. The pre-integration curriculum of adult education programs reproduced the hegemony of a nascent political power structure. As the mission of public HBCUs have evolved since the end of racial segregation, workforce development has become the primary emphasis for adult education as higher education institutions seek to align their services with the needs of business and industry. However, researchers have suggested that a combination of social and organizational factors may impact the ability of HBCUs to take advantage of the increasing demands for worker training and development.

Program Planning through the Lens of Cervero and Wilson

The concept of power as a key dynamic in adult education program planning practice was first introduced in the literature through the work of Cervero and Wilson (2006). Cervero and Wilson conducted an analysis of planning practice and developed their theory based on the lived experiences of adult educators. The cases, which comprised the initial study, included a management education program, a community education program, and a practitioner inquiry educational program (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). Through the use of storytelling and open-ended interviews, a theory emerged that defined planning practice as “a social action conducted within varying relationships of power and characterized by the negotiation of interests” (Cervero & Wilson,1994, p.

126). Cervero and Wilson's theory represents a major departure from the traditional planning models in that it foregrounds the critical role of power and politics in planning practice.

Four significant concepts characterize Cervero and Wilson's theory: the relational nature of power in continuing education practice, the interplay of power and interests, the ethical dimensions of planning, and negotiation of interests as the foremost action of educators' practice. According to Cervero and Wilson's (2006) theory, power isn't something an individual possesses or uses through coercion. Rather, power is defined as having the ability to act and is "rooted in a specific structured relationship" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 85). It is "relational" because the same individual may be constrained from acting in one situation given the parameters of a different social relationship, institution, or social context. Therefore the educator's capacity to influence decisions or to perform actions is contingent upon the character of these relationships. As relational power is distributed among continuing higher education professionals, it is used at their discretion. The simple existence of an educator's power does not connote its actual use in practice. Power has to be exercised (Cervero & Wilson, 2006).

Another important aspect of power is the role of the educator's interests and the interests of others who hold a stake in the program (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). Unlike technical-rational planning theories which focus exclusively on the needs of the learner, Cervero and Wilson (2006) point to others who might have an "interest" in the educational program including faculty, institutional administrators, and the affected public. For example, a department chair may view continuing higher education as a means to increase the visibility of the department within the larger community. Faculty

may see the teaching role in continuing higher education as an enhancement of their scholarly activities if properly rewarded by the institution. Learners may be motivated by career advancement opportunities presented by continuing education. The continuing higher education administrator may be interested in partnerships with academic departments as an opportunity to position the continuing education department strategically within the organization. The same program reflects different meanings, desires, and hopes for all stakeholders.

Finally, Cervero and Wilson (2006) define negotiation as the exercise of power and the ability to successfully enact that power is closely aligned with the negotiation skills and knowledge of the educator. In constructing educational programs, planners negotiate their own interests and the interests of others in the presence of conflicting power relationships. Thus power and interests intersect in program planning in that people exercise their power (negotiate) based on their own personal or others' interests (motivations, desires, values). It is important to note that negotiation is not synonymous with fairness, particularly in conflictual situations. As McLean (2000) illustrates, the negotiation process may result in some interests being addressed while others may not. However, Cervero and Wilson challenged adult educators to use negotiations to structure the deliberative process such that the substantive interests of all who are potentially affected by the program are presented.

Ethical Commitment in Planning

Although power is used to negotiate interests in planning continuing higher education programs, the third concept in the Cervero and Wilson planning model challenges educators to assume an ethical stance to nurture a democratic planning

process. The meaning of democracy in this context is associated with the concept of meaningful representation as oppose to a political connotation of majority rule. Without this ethical lens, Cervero and Wilson (1994) suggest that “adult educators would always be at the mercy of existing relationships of power and the educational programs they develop would be casually shaped by the interest of those with the most power” (p. 140). Indeed, if educational programs are the manifestation of interest negotiated in environments characterized by unequal power relationships, then the potential exist for programs to be constructed that serve the interest of those who possess the greatest portion of power. If adult education is truly a means for personal empowerment, its liberating effect must be embodied in the programs that are developed.

Yet, adult educators do not practice in idealized worlds that are devoid of political action and where democratic ideals are consistently embraced. Drennon (2000) conducted a qualitative study of practitioner inquiry programs to determine which practice sites present challenges to the democratic planning and how facilitators respond politically to issues of power. In this study, planners are referred to as facilitators. Based on interviews, observations, and personal experience, Drennon concluded that enacting a democratic process isn’t easy. The goals of democratic planning are continuously challenged or called into question by group members, program administrators, funders, and others. Facilitators respond to these challenges by “negotiating in the web of relationships to get things done in a practical sense” (Drennon, 2000, p. 161). In the absence of a democratic planning process, educational programs can serve as a mechanism to maintain the dominance of one group over the other. As Tatum (1997) argues “Dominant groups, by definition, set the parameters

within which the subordinates operate. The dominant group holds the power and authority in society relative to the subordinates and determines how that power and authority may be acceptably used" (p. 23).

Substantive Democratic Planning Applied to the Technical-Rational Model

The Cervero and Wilson theory is situated within the language used in traditional curriculum development models. Thus the metaphor of the planning table emerges as a symbol that represents places where people make judgments with others and negotiations occur. For example, most adult educators are accustomed to engaging others in a discussion about educational programs while sitting around a table in a meeting room. Although discussions and deliberations about educational programs take place in spaces other than meetings, the table provides a strong visual with which most planners can identify. Multiple planning meetings can occur around various tables at different times regarding the same educational program. Therefore the planning table metaphor can be represented by a series of emails, faxes, telephone conversations, hallway discussions, or a literal meeting table. It is a space where the decisions regarding the program location, instructional content, objectives, marketing strategy, budget, and other technical judgments are made. Similarly, the planning table is where the social and political aspects of planning intersect with the technical decisions and are thus affected by power relationships (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). Power is a key factor at the planning table because power relationships determine who is represented at the table and, through proxy, what interests are heard. In essence, Cervero and Wilson use the planning table as a metaphor for the political, social, and technical aspects of planning.

Cervero and Wilson use language associated with the classical program development models to provide planners with practical guidance to sustain substantive democratic program planning. These prescriptions are used to conduct the needs assessment, develop the objectives, develop the instructional design, manage the implementation, and conduct the program evaluation. For example, in gathering information regarding program needs, educators are urged to identify all stakeholders who will be affected by the program, ascertain their interests and make decisions about their needs in relation to their interests (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). Additionally, in deciding whose interests matter, planners should create conditions where all stakeholders will have input into the needs assessment by carefully matching their negotiation strategy with the social and political context. The guidelines provide a political lens for adult educators to anticipate how power relationships shape the planning process and provide them with specific strategies to act politically to accomplish the technical tasks of planning while at the same time, sustaining a substantive democratic planning process.

The Centrality of Power, Interests, and Negotiations

Studies of adult and continuing education programs demonstrate the implicit and explicit expressions of power and how adult educators use interest to shape educational programs. In their study of an AIDS prevention education program, Archie-Booker, Cervero and Langone (1999) found that the program lacked cultural relevance for African American women. The researchers suggested that three factors accounted for this lack of relevancy: the interests of the organizations White gay male leadership dominated the planning table; the sponsoring agency's education mission lack of focus

on African American women; and the absence of legitimate representation of the interests of African American women in regard to program decisions. Based on a case study of planning in a health promotion coalition, Carter (1996) attempted to explicate how the interests of the planners affected the activities and outcomes of the planning process. Using observational data, Carter found that during the planning process, negotiations are centered on specific issues as people construct programs. The issues differ depending on the type of program being developed but may include decisions regarding the audience, funding, program content, and other important factors. Carter observed that during these negotiations, planners can often become distracted and educators must use strategies to ensure those affected by the programs have input into the discussions. Miller (1997) assumes a slightly different perspective and argues that internal and external interests can influence the development of adult and continuing education programs. Such interest has the potential to reproduce unequal power relationships if left unchecked. Similarly, in a case study of planning in a continuing medical education department, Maclean (1996) indicated divergent and often conflicting interests exist among those who have a stake in a particular educational program and planners do indeed attend to these multiple interests in their practice.

In addition to the exercise of interests, a fourth characteristic of the theory is "power itself is always being negotiated at the planning table" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 87). Negotiation is defined as the exercise of power and the ability to successfully enact that power is closely aligned with the negotiation skills and knowledge of the educator. In planning educational programs, people engage in discussions, arguments, and conferences, and make "judgments about what to do to produce the important

features of the educational program" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 94). These social activities represent negotiations: planners negotiate their own interests and the interests of others in the presence of conflicting power relationships to construct educational programs. Thus power and interest intersect in program planning in that people exercise their power (negotiate) based on their own personal or others interests (motivations, desires, values). Although the process of negotiation illuminates differing interests, it does not necessarily result in a fair outcome, particularly when those interests are in conflict.

The level of conflict that occurs within the planning environment is a strong determinant of the type of negotiation strategy used by adult educators. Cervero and Wilson identify three types of negotiations that characterize the deliberative process of program planning: consultations, bargaining, and disputes. Consultations occur when mutual interests exist among two or more parties engaged in developing the program, and such commonality outweighs potential conflicts. The planning environment is characterized as mutually respectful, congenial, and trustworthy. Power, in this situation, is a neutral factor having little impact on the negotiation process. In situations where two or more participants share both common and conflicting interests, bargaining becomes the negotiation strategy. Power in these situations become important because "Whose interests finally prevail when bargaining at the planning table is strongly influenced by people's political relationships" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 95).

Disputes are marked by high degrees of conflict in which the different interests that exist among all stakeholders outweigh the benefit of any common ground that might exist. The amount of power "that people bring to the table is vital to both the strategy

that needs to be used and the likelihood that a person will achieve her objective" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 96). Also, dispute situations require educators to be particularly astute in the use of their political alliances if faced with situations where they are in highly asymmetrical power relationships. Determining which strategy would be appropriate to use in a given situation is contingent upon a careful political analysis of the planning context and the extent to which there is agreement among stakeholders with respect to interests. The strategies are a clear acknowledgement of the omnipresent nature of power in planning and urge planners towards anticipatory action through an analysis of the political and social context. Moreover, it empowers planners with the tools to counteract forces that constrain a democratic planning process.

Responding to Sork's (1996) call for greater delineation and understanding of the different types of negotiation strategies used by program planners, several studies examined this aspect of planning practice. Yang (1996) developed a tool that objectively measures adult educators' power and influence tactics. Influencing tactics are strategies that adult educators utilized in negotiating among interests. Based on a survey of adult education program planners at various practice sites, Yang's instrument identified seven negotiation strategies used by planners including reasoning, consulting, appealing, networking, bargaining, pressuring, and counteracting. This study confirmed the existence of three of the four negotiation strategies proposed by Cervero and Wilson (1994) (bargaining, counteracting, networking) and suggested that the instrument could be used as a diagnostic tool for individuals and organizations to assess planning practice. In a subsequent study, Yang and Cervero (2001) would also confirm Cervero and Wilson's theory that a planner's power base and perceived conflicts within the

organizational context was a major influence on the type of interpersonal influence tactics that were used in planning educational programs. This finding supported those reported by Scott and Schmitt-Boshnick (1996) in which bargaining was suggested as the most effective political strategy for highly conflictual situations, but differs from others that point to networking as an effective tactic (Mosely, 2005). Additionally, Yang found no correlation between the adult educator's age and years of working experience and their choice of influence tactics. However, when considering race/ethnic group as a factor, adult educators use their own personal agency as a tactic to negotiate power in addition to networking (Gutierrez, 2005).

Hendricks (2001) pursued a slightly different focus of inquiry when compared with Yang's studies by determining if there was a relationship between the level of power and conflict within the organization, the individual characteristics of the educator (years of experience and problem-solving abilities), and the use of Yang's influencing tactics. The findings indicate that adult educators use different negotiation strategies depending on the context, which was consistent with other studies which sought to identify a relationship between planners' behavior and the sociopolitical context (Murphy, 2005; Scott & Schmitt-Boshnick, 1996; Yang & Cervero, 2001). However, in their study of planning for literacy education in Botswana, Maruatona and Cervero (2004) identified resistance as a negotiation tactic that was not reported in the earlier studies. Similarly, in planning environmental education programs, McDonald (1996) found the use of a surrogate as an effective strategy to counteract greater forces of political power. McDonald (1996) argues "This clandestine strategy may be the best option for planners whose real interests include promoting a democratic planning

process but whose political reality prohibits them from acting directly against those in positions of power" (p. 25). According to McDonald, the use of a surrogate may appear to be networking but in reality it is a form of counteracting.

Using a case study of a public health continuing education program, Umble, Cervero and Langone (2001) examined the utility of distinguishing between meta-negotiations (negotiations about negotiating) and substantive negotiations. Umble, et.al. concluded that meta-negotiations and substantative negotiations serve different purposes in planning practice. Adult educators use meta-negotiations to alter power relationships at the planning table. Conversely, substantive negotiations are used in changing the technical aspects of planning, such as the instructional design, methodology, location, marketing, etc. This study substantiates three major concepts theorized by Cervero and Wilson. First, the historically developing nature of organizational power and how this impacts adult and continuing education program development. Second, the centrality of interest and how the power of certain stakeholders can influence the content of educational programs. Third, the ultimate outcome of program content is a manifestation of negotiations and renegotiations.

Organizational Context and Planning Action

Context also appears to impact the types of negotiation strategies adult educators use in developing educational programs. In contexts characterized as being highly conflictual (power and interests), Hendricks (1996) indicates counteracting is the most dominate influencing tactic, which differs from the bargaining strategy proposed by Scott and Schmitt-Boshnick (1996) and theorized by Cervero and Wilson. However, Hendrick's finding concurred with Yang and Cervero (2001) in that there was no

correlation between the educator's years of experience or problem-solving skills and selection of negotiation strategies. In a study which focused on therapeutic recreation planning in a residential care facility, Murphy (2005) noted that prevalent therapeutic recreation program models encourage planners to analyze the context in terms of identifying community resources and client barriers to participation, but overlook the social and political aspects of the planning context. In a qualitative study of therapeutic recreation planning, Murphy (2005) describes how personal and organizational power and interests and the residential care context influenced how programs are planned and how therapists negotiate power and interests. The findings from the study identify environmental and organizational factors that influence planning decisions. Environmental factors include policy changes, government regulations, and facility restrictions. Organizational factors reveal structural (policies, finances, resources), cultural (traditions, beliefs, and values) and political (people, organizations) influences. The strategies that therapists frequently use to negotiate interests are reasoning, consulting, networking, and appealing with bargaining, and counteracting and pressuring used less extensively.

While it is clear that the negotiation strategies of adult education professionals are influenced by contextual as well as sociopolitical factors, the adult educator's position has also been identified as a major determinant of negotiation type (Mabry, 2000). Watkins and Tisdell (2006) represent one of the most compelling studies of how the adult educator's position affects planning practice, particularly in higher education environments. In this study, the researchers sought to examine the role of power and interests in adult degree programs within small, private, nonprofit higher education

institutions. The findings indicate that higher education adult degree program planners negotiate interest by using their status as faculty members, degrees, and job titles. The researchers go on to suggest:

> It is important to understand the significant aspects of planning in higher education contexts. These program planners generally do not have academic authority to push programs through. In that sense, they were marginalized and had to find ways to draw on their cultural capital to be able to successfully negotiate….Having relationships with and/or positioning themselves close to those with academic authority is absolutely crucial in higher education settings, giving that academia is what is at the heart of work in an academic institution. (p. 155)

As Kleiber (1996) points out, adult educators in colleges and universities "use different data in different ways with different departments" as a means to negotiate interest (p. 67). Thus negotiation of interests within higher education contexts are closely aligned with the positionality of the program planner and the primary strategy is to develop alliances with influential colleagues.

Summary of Program Planning Theories Based on Cervero and Wilson

The Cervero and Wilson program planning theory represents a significant departure from traditional curriculum development models in education. Cervero and Wilson define planning as a social activity in which adult educators negotiate multiple interests in the face of power relationships. These interests are played out in historically developing deliberations that evolve over a period of time. From these discussions,

programs are constructed. Power plays a significant role in this scene because power determines whose interests are represented during the deliberative process. Continuing higher education professionals are encouraged to embrace a form of program planning in which they anticipate threats to a democratic deliberative process and act politically to ensure that those who have a vested interest in the program have a legitimate ‘voice’ in determining how the program is constructed.

Studies that assume a critical perspective with regards to adult education program development have examined the negotiation strategies of various adult educators and the impact of interest in planning and program development within specific organizational context. These studies have substantiated theoretical assertions that negotiation is the central activity of planning practice and have illuminated the difficulties planners face in their attempt to enact a democratic process. Planners use a variety of negotiation tactics in their practice to nurture a substantive planning process and the use of these strategies are highly contextual. Moreover, research demonstrates that technical proficiency in the absence of a democratic planning process creates programs that serve some at the expense of others. Continuing higher education programs are particularly influenced by the positionality of the adult educator within the institution and their ability to be politically astute.

Summary of Literature Review

The review of the literature on the history of the Black college, continuing education in colleges and universities, and the Cervero and Wilson program planning theory yield several interesting insights regarding each of the topic areas. The development of public and private Black colleges share a common history in that both

evolved from efforts to educate the freedmen and to provide material uplift for a race that had been purposely denied the right to education for over 300 years. Additionally, both institutions were dependent on the generosity of those who considered African Americans, in many respects, to be inferior and only suitable for manual and service labor. However, it is clear from the literature that the development of the Black college crystallized around the issue of what should be the aim of education for Black people. The private Black college articulated a mission grounded in the preparation of African Americans to lead the race to social and racial equality. Conversely, the public HBCU, which emerged from the collegiate land-grant movement in America, was influenced by political forces which decided its purpose would be to maintain a separate but equal system of public higher education in the South and to provide an education that was fitting for a servant class--vocational/industrial education. These two important distinctions would shape the discourse on the development HBCUs in America and contribute to the differing viewpoints on the role of the Black college in African American history.

Continuing education serves an educational outreach function in colleges and universities; however, the popularity of distance education and career-oriented post-baccalaureate programs is changing the purpose and structure of continuing higher education within the academy. As colleges and universities explore alternative sources of revenue to offset declining public support and stagnant need-based financial aid,

programs and services which can be positioned to provide entrepreneurial opportunities become increasingly crucial to the mission of higher education institutions. Thus, continuing higher education serves as a potential model to transform the academic enterprise.

Although continuing higher education is assuming a more central role in the academy because of its profit-making potential as well as the need to address the disparities in workforce development, educational programs for adult students in the HBCU has been a limited area of research for adult and continuing education scholars. Inquiries on adult education within the HBCU reflect a recurring theme of workforce development as demonstrated by the early agriculture extension programs, teacher and clergy training, or the more recent adult degree programs. Moreover, the limited number of studies on adult learners engaged in HBCU scholarship has focused primarily on student experiences. While these studies provide important insights into the outreach functions of HBCUs and the perceptions of adult students within this context, no studies have examined the central role of continuing higher education in relationship to the traditional mission of public HBCUs; a mission that has historically emphasized the education of African American youth as a means for race advancement.

The racialized environment of the public HBCU provides a planning context inherently shaped by power and interests. The Cervero and Wilson (2006) theory of program planning provides a useful lens to examine the strategic role of continuing education in regards to the traditional mission of the public HBCU because the theory places power at the center of adult education program development. Studies that assume a critical perspective with regards to adult education programs have examined

how power impacts planning in certain contexts, programmatic areas, and the negotiation tactics of planners themselves. The literature lacks an empirical analysis of the contextual influences of a historically Black college in adult and continuing education program planning.

Chapter III

RESEARCH METHODS

"It is only but the hardest effort and the deepest sacrifice and devotion to the greater life that a group and a state can rise to the high conception of what a university can do and what it may be, and what place it should occupy in a democracy." W.E.B. Du Bois, 1941

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities. The central questions that guided this study were: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public historically black colleges and universities; and (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit. This chapter will discuss the design of the study, sample selection, data analysis strategies, procedures used to ensure validity and reliability of the study, and researcher subjectivities.

Research Design

Qualitative research is a systematic inquiry that searches for meaning and understanding of a particular phenomenon (Merriam, 2002a). This study employed an interpretive qualitative perspective because of my intent to understand the strategic purpose of continuing higher education from the perspective of administrators of public HBCUs. Qualitative inquiry is uniquely designed to "uncover or discover the meanings people have constructed about a particular phenomenon" (Merriam, 2002b, p. 19). Grounded in a subjectivist ontology, it is my belief that reality is socially constructed and in a continuous flux (Glesne, 2006; Merriam, 2002a). No single truth exists that can be

accessed by simply applying the appropriate tools and measures. Meaning is created out of the experiences of individuals in their interactions with the world around them. This constructionist philosophy lends itself to my research in that I was “interested in understanding how participants make meaning of a situation or phenomenon” (Merriam, 2002a, p. 6). In this study, the phenomenon that I wanted to understand was the meaning of continuing higher education at public HBCUs from the perspective of key administrators.

Qualitative research is contextual in that it is conducted where people live and interact as social beings (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). I wanted to be able to study continuing higher education within the context of public HBCUs, because it allowed me to see and experience the sights, sounds, and cultural enclaves in which my participants engage on a daily basis. Through the use of multiple methods that are “interactive and humanistic” (Rossman & Rallis, 1998), qualitative researchers develop an understanding of how people make sense of their worlds. By using interviews, field notes and document analysis, I was able to view my participant’s through multiple lenses to develop a broader understanding of their experiences.

Qualitative research is basically interpretive and emergent (Rossman & Rallis, 1998) and focuses on descriptions, analysis, and interpretations. I considered the methodology for the study to be a basic interpretivist approach. A traditional qualitative interpretivist approach assumes that knowledge is subjective, the researcher is engaged directly with the participants, and society is orderly (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). I endeavored to understand how administrators at public HBCUs viewed the role of continuing higher education as it applies to the institutions mission. I was also interested

in the interplay of power relationships and how these actions may ultimately determine who benefits from continuing higher education programs.

Sample Selection

I used a purposeful sample consisting of seven public historically black colleges and universities for the study. Merriam (2002a) states that, “Since qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants, it is important to select a sample from which the most can be learned” (p. 12). The phenomenon I wanted to understand was the strategic role of continuing higher education in advancing the traditional mission of public HBCUs; therefore, it was important that I select public HBCUs for the institutional sample. I used the following criteria to select the institutions for the study: (a) the institution was classified as a historically Black college or university by the U.S. Department of Education, (b) the institution was publicly controlled, (c) the institution had a continuing higher education or public outreach unit.

In July 2006, I conducted a review of HBCU websites, consisting of both public and private institutions. As shown in Table 3.1 there were 53 out of a total of 101 HBCUs with a web page devoted specifically to continuing higher education or a similar form of educational outreach. The information provided on the websites included a description of the continuing higher education unit, general program offerings, and contact information for staff members. Navigational links to various departments within the parent organization was also available. Websites for six schools were not accessible at the time the review was conducted.

Table 3.1

HBCUs with Continuing Education/Public Outreach Websites

Control Status	Yes	No	*Website Not Accessible
Public	35	12	1
Private	18	30	5
Total	53	42	6

*Site accessed in July 2006

Table 3.2 identifies the HBCUs included in the continuing education website review, delineated by institutional governance. There were 35 public institutions and 18 private HBCUs that listed a continuing education website. From this pool of 35 public HBCUs, seven institutions were selected for the study, which met the institutional selection criteria and represented a diversity of institutions in terms of urban versus rural geographical location and size of the continuing higher education unit.

Table 3.2

Organization of HBCU Continuing Education by Institutional Control

Public	Private
1. Albany State University	1. Concordia College
2. Alabama State University	2. Benedict College
3. Alcorn State University	3. Claflin College
4. Bishop State Comm College	4. Dillard University
5. Bluefield State College	5. Hampton University
6. Choppin State College	6. Howard University
7. Cheyney State University	7. Huston-Tillotson College
8. Coahoma Community College	8. Interdenominational Theological Center
9. Delaware State University	9. Johnson C. Smith University
10.Denmark Technical College	10.Meharry Medical College
11.Fayetteville State University	11.Shaw University
12.Fort Valley State University	12.Spelman College
13.Harris-Stove State College	13.Stillman College
14.J.F. Drake Technical College	14.Tougaloo College
15.Jackson State University	15.Tuskegee University
16.Kentucky State University	16.University of D.C.
17.Lawson State Comm. College	17.Virginia Union University
18.Lincoln University (MO)	18.Voorhees College
19.Lincoln University (PA)	
20.Mississippi Valley State Univ.	
21.Morgan State University	
22.Norfolk State University	
23.N.C. A&T University	
24.N.C. Central University	
25.Saint Phillip's College	
26.Savannah State University	
27.S.C. State University	
28.Southern A&M University	
29.Southern University at Shreveport	
30.Texas Southern University	
31.Trenholm State Tech. College	
32.Tennessee State University	
33.University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	
34.Winston-Salem State University	
35.University of Maryland-Eastern Shore	

Selection of Participants in the Study

There were a total of twelve participants in the study including three senior-level academic affairs officials and nine continuing higher education program directors. The academic affairs officials were the primary participants for the study and the continuing higher education program directors served as informants. A college or university's Academic Affairs Department provides administrative oversight and leadership for the institutions' instructional initiatives. The criteria for selection of the academic affairs official were that the individual had a job title of provost, assistant or associate vice-president of academic affairs within the institution's Academic Affairs organizational structure. The criteria for selection of the continuing higher education program director were that this individual had the position title of director or dean, and worked collaboratively with faculty and other campus constituents (both internal and external) to plan, develop, and administrator a continuing higher education program offered by the institution. Thus, by virtue of their position responsibilities, the program director was most suitable to discuss issues pertaining to how continuing education programs are developed, power relationship between continuing education, and other programs within the departmental unit and negotiation strategies that are used in developing programs.

Madison (2005) suggests that, "Researchers should have a basic level of understanding of the field- the general history, meanings, practices, and beliefs that constitute it--before they plunge full force into the actual face-to-face interviewing" (p. 26). My background preparations consisted of reviewing the institutions' websites to obtain a subjective perspective of the institution from a distance and reading the institutional histories.

Data Collection

In accordance with university policy, I submitted an application to the Human Subjects Office for approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). My application was approved and I began the data collection in March 2007 and concluded in July 2007. The IRB application included the participant consent form and the interview guides. I did not have any personal contacts with the selected institutions therefore to facilitate my access to the research site, I initiated contact with the continuing higher education program director because by virtue of their job positions, they were more likely to have an interest in the topic and thus facilitate my access into the institution. In my introduction to the program directors, I carefully explained that I wanted to understand the central role of continuing higher education in advancing the traditional mission of public HBCUs. I emphasized that my study was intended to understand the issues from their perspective and not from an abstract quantification of statistics. I explained the informed consent procedures and indicated pseudonyms would be used to protect the anonymity of the institutions and participants (Appendix C). I asked the program director to assist me in securing an interview with the chief academic officer, or an assistant or associate vice-president for academic affairs who was responsible for the institutions outreach initiative. The program directors granted me initial permission and agreed to assist with arranging an interview with a senior academic official. I was able to schedule interviews with three senior academic affairs officials.

Participant Interviews

Because the research questions for this study focused on the centrality of continuing higher education within public HBCUs and political factors relevant to

program development, the data collection methods consisted of topical interviews and the analysis of relevant documents from the institutions' material culture. Interviews, observations, and documents constitute the three major sources of data for qualitative study (Merriam, 2002a). Madison (2005) argues that the "primary aim of much social science research is to locate valid and reliable information, with the interviewer directing the questions and the interviewee answering them as truthfully as possible" (p. 25). Janesick (2004) defines qualitative interviews as "a meeting of two persons to exchange information and ideas through questions and responses, resulting in communication and joint construction of meaning about a particular topic" (p. 72). Qualitative interviews have a unique character in that they "provide the researcher with the opportunity to learn about what you cannot see and to explore alternative explanation of what you do see" (Glesne, 2006, p. 81). Glesne (2006) describes three types of interviews used in qualitative research. Structured interviews are formal question and answer interactions that the researcher directs towards a range of intentions. Oral history interviews focus on "historical events, skills, ways of life, or cultural patterns that may be changing" (p. 80). Life history interviews "focus more on the life experiences of one or several individuals" (p. 80). Glesne suggests that oral and life history interviews are both examples of cultural interviews that explore the lived experiences of a particular group. The topical interview "focuses more on a program, issue, or process than on people's lives" (Glesne, 2006, p. 80).

The primary data collection method for this study was the topical interview which is directed towards an understanding of how public HBCUs view the role of continuing higher education. Madison (2005) describes four types of questions that are common to

qualitative studies: (1) behavior or experience questions which address ways of doing, (2) opinion or value questions which address a particular belief or opinion towards a phenomenon, (3) feeling questions which are concerned with the emotional affect a person experiences about a particular phenomenon, and (4) background questions which address concrete information concerning the phenomenon such as student enrollment, numbers of educational programs, and location.

I used the concepts from Madison (2005) to develop the interview questions for the study. A guide was created for the program director (Appendix D) and a slightly modified guide was developed for the senior academic official (Appendix E). With each participant, I began the interview with general questions pertaining to the individuals educational background, work experience and length of time in their current position. As I progressed through the interview, the questions became more open-ended which allowed me to probe for deeper meaning and understanding. After the initial introductory questions, program directors were asked to talk at length about their experience developing continuing higher education programs. Although the questions were listed sequentially in the interview guide, I re-ordered them during the actual interview based on the outcome of the question probes. Restating and probing was especially important for those participants who engaged in question-avoidance. These tactics included providing answers that were unrelated to the question which was asked. I found these instances particularly meaningful and probed for deeper understanding of why the particular question was seemed controversial.

I traveled to six of the seven HBCUs to conduct in-person interviews with the participants. One interview with a program director was conducted by telephone

because of scheduling conflicts. In-person interviews were particularly relevant for this study because of the importance of establishing a sense of rapport with the participants; however, the distance did not appear to interfere with the interview that was conducted by phone. Because of the unequal power relationships that sometimes exist between various levels of administrative officials, the senior academic officials and the program director interviews were conducted separately to encourage a sense of openness and sharing. Interviews averaged approximately 90 minutes.

Each interview was audio recorded using a tape recording device with an internal microphone. At the beginning of each interview, I spoke into the microphone and identified the participant by a pseudonym that I have created along with the date and time of the interview. I created a Microsoft Word table listing the actual names and pseudonyms for each participant and institution. This table is used only by the researcher. A notation was made in my field notes with the participant's real name, institution, date and time of the interview. I transcribed all twelve interviews in a single spaced document, with one inch margins and labeling each line of text in ascending order. The line numbering was continuous with each subsequent transcript. The header of the page included the participant and institutional pseudonyms and date.

Documents

I reviewed primary and secondary sources as part of the data collection strategy for the study. Butchart (1986) describes primary sources as any "material created contemporaneously to an event being studied" (p. 35). A secondary source is "an account created subsequently, usually by a historian or other scholar using a number of primary sources" (Butchart, 1986, p. 35). The primary sources used for the analysis

included semester course schedules, continuing higher education unit organizational charts, institutional and continuing higher education divisional unit mission statements, and institutional strategic plans. The secondary materials I reviewed included semester student enrollment reports, institutional Fact Books, and institutional histories. The institutional Fact Book is an aggregate summary of institutional enrollment, faculty, academic programs and student data. I requested budgetary statements for the continuing higher education units, however that information was not provided.

The Fact Books for one institution in the study included an interesting collection of photographs that were taken of various student groups at the institution during each decade beginning in the 1950s. Butchart (1986) states that “Much of what we know of the past and present and the way we think about the future comes from visual, not verbal, images” (p. 80). The pictures represented a visualization of how the student body at this particular public HBCU had changed over a period of time in terms of age and racial group as well as dress attire.

Field Notes

In qualitative research, the field notebook is the primary recording tool for documenting “ideas, reflections, hunches, and notes about patterns that seem to be emerging” (Glesne, 2006, p. 55). In describing the various types of field notes used in qualitative research Glesne (2006) identifies three major categories: descriptive, analytic and autobiographical. Descriptive notes are accurate, succinct representations of observations made by the researcher while in the research setting. Analytic notes reflect the intrinsic thoughts of the researcher that emerge before, during, and after an interview session. As Glesne (2006) suggests, they are “memos to yourself regarding

thoughts about what you are observing" (p. 60). Autobiographical field notes are a documentary of the researcher's behavior and emotions throughout the research process. As a repository of the researcher's subjective and objective artifacts, field notes can serve as an important source of insight for the study.

My field notes for the study consisted of descriptive, analytical, and autobiographical field notes. After each institutional interview, I reflected on the interview session and recorded in my field notes the relevant points that emerge related to my research questions and connect them to statements made by the participant. Additionally, I wrote notes before and after each interview session to reflect on issues such as my expectations for the interview and my observations of the interview setting, feelings I had during the interview and reactions by the participants. The memos were an important aspect of documenting participants' nonverbal actions and gestures that appeared during the interview but could not be captured on an audiotape.

Data Analysis

The topical interviews, observations, and document analysis revealed the centrality of continuing higher education in advancing the historical mission in public HBCUs. Rossman and Rallis (1998) poignantly describe the process of analyzing qualitative data as "immersion, incubation, insight, and interpretation" (p.188). In the pursuit of meaning in qualitative research, Ezzy (2002) argues that data analysis in qualitative research is predicated on thoroughly developed procedures that uncover the true understanding of the subjects. The analysis of data in qualitative research occurs simultaneously with data collection to facilitate the need for adjustments in strategies and to evaluate emerging themes and concepts (Merriam, 2002a). I transcribed the

audiotape following each interview and began to write memos of the emerging concepts. Beginning the transcription process immediately following each interview allowed me to reflect on the quality of the interview and adjust my interviewing skills as I moved through the process.

My study employed the constant comparative method of data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In describing the methodology for this process, Charmaz (2006) indicates that the researcher initially conducts a comparison of data with data to identify similarities and differences. Merriam (2002a) describes the process as "continually comparing one unit of data with another in order to derive conceptual elements of the theory, even though they may not be developing theory" (p. 8). I approached my analysis by collecting the interview transcripts, field notes, and document materials.

To assist me in organizing the analysis, I created a chart with three column headings entitled Initial Codes, Categories, and Themes. I marked up each transcript by highlighting segments of data that corresponded to a research question from the study. I labeled the segment with an initial code that "simultaneously summarized and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p.43). My codes were based on my reflections to the highlighted segments as I asked myself "What is going here"?, "What does this mean"? As I continued to code, I would return to previous codes and segments when the meaning from the new segment appeared familiar and reused the code if applicable. I entered the initial codes form the analysis into the chart in the column labeled "Initial Codes". Subsequently, I analyzed the codes to see if there were similarities between the codes to and grouped them together into categories.

I compared categories that emerged from the analysis of the program directors interview data with categories that resulted from the senior academic official interview data to identify any similarities or differences between the two groups. The comparison of categories across interview groups was an iterative process that I employed during the analysis.

I analyzed the observation data recorded in my field notes and document data by using the Constant Comparative Method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Text based documents such as mission statements, course catalogs and strategic plans that were in an electronic format such as a web page or Portable Document Format (pdf) was copied and pasted into a Microsoft Word document to facilitate my analysis. I again highlighted segments of the data that corresponded to the research question and assigned codes. These codes were compared with the interview data and categories began to emerge.

I reviewed my field notes from each on-site institutional visit and distilled relevant data from the field notes relative to the observation of (a) student, faculty and staff characteristics, (b) physical setting and location of continuing higher education program office and (c) community characteristics associated with outreach programs. These characteristics were reflected in the literature on public HBCUs and continuing higher education. Salient points were noted from the qualitative document on student enrollment statistics and compared with the codes that emerged from the data.

Internal and External Validity

It is important that research be conducted with the appropriate methods and procedures to ensure rigor. This ensures both readers and producers of research that

the findings can be trusted (Merriam, 2002b). In positivist inquiry, researcher actions that can pose possible threats to the validity and reliability of a study include survivor bias, selective sampling, and testing effect (Campbell & Stanley, as cited in Merriam, 2002b). In all research, strategies can be used to ensure the quality of scholarly inquiry and to engender a sense of trustworthiness. In positivist research, measures employed to ensure reliability and validity are widely known and accepted (Merriam, 2002b). In qualitative research, the issues of validity and reliability are also addressed but the strategies used to ensure rigor are based on questions which are consistent with the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research (Merriam, 2002b). Thus, in qualitative research, internal validity seeks to answer the question of how consistent are the research findings with reality where reality is the "researcher's interpretation of participants' interpretation or understandings of the phenomenon of interest" (p. 25). In essence, how close the findings of the study are representative of the participants understanding.

Data triangulation, member check, and peer reviews are three strategies used to establish internal validity in qualitative research. With triangulation, the researcher collects data through a combination of interviews, observations, and document analysis (Merriam, 2002b). Member checking involves asking the study participants to comment on the researcher's interpretation of the data to determine if they are plausible (Merriam, 2002b). Peer review involves asking a colleague or one who is familiar with the topic or the research to review the findings (Merriam, 2002b). The goal of establishing internal validity is to "uncover the complexity of human behavior in context" (p. 25).

Wolcott (1990) offers a similar perspective on strategies for achieving validity in qualitative research that are grounded in his professional experiences as a researcher. He describes nine techniques, which to some extent, are a combination of conventional and postmodernist approaches to validity. These techniques are: (a) active listening, (b) accurate recording of "what people do and say," (c) beginning the writing process early', (d) giving participants access to the data, (d) full reporting, (e) being candid, (f) seeking feedback, (g) achieving balance, and (h) writing accurately. I find Wolcott's approach very useful for ensuring the validity of the study because Wolcott embodies the techniques of an interpretivist theoretical perspective in addition to describing specific behaviors on how to carry out these techniques.

I used data triangulation to promote internal validity of the study. Data was collected and analyzed from three sources, topical interviews, observations, and documents, including primary and secondary sources. Additionally, I drew on Wolcott's strategies by engaging in active listening and being cognizant of nonverbal and linguistic cues during the interviews, making note of such actions in my field notes and comparing these with the interview transcripts.

While internal validity seeks consistency in the relationship between the researcher's findings and the participants meaning, external validity or generalizability, is the extent to which the results from the study can be applied to another situation. Strategies frequently employed in positivist oriented research to promote external validity include random sampling; however, in qualitative research, generalization has a different interpretation than what is used in quantitative studies. In qualitative research where purposive sampling is used rather than random sampling, the lens of

generalization moves from the researcher to the consumer. Generalization is conceptualized as how the *reader* determines the extent to which the results from a study can be transferred to their particular situation.

Strategies used in qualitative research to promote external validity are rich, thick descriptions or maximized variation in the selected sample (Merriam, 2002b). Although I used pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of the participant and institutional names in this study, the research report included an in-depth description of the institution, participants, and the community setting. Variation in the sample was achieved through the selection of public HBCUs representing urban and rural communities as well as institutions with small and large enrollments.

Reliability

Merriam (2002b) describes reliability as "The extent to which research findings can be replicated" (p. 27). However in qualitative research, replication is an assessment of "whether the results from the study are consistent with the data collected" (Merriam, 2002b, p.27). Merriam (2002b) also asserts that, "since reliability most often has to do with the instrumentation of the study…the researcher can become a more reliable instrument through training and practice" (p. 27). Qualitative researchers use techniques to increase reliability such as data triangulation, member checking, researcher's reflexivity, and the audit trail (Merriam, 2002b).

Merriam (2002b) describes an audit trail in a qualitative inquiry as a detailed description of "how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry" (p. 27). This is dependent upon the researcher maintaining a research journal throughout the study. Herbert and Beardsley

(2001) provide an exemplar for the use of an audit trail for conducting qualitative research. The audit trail is a way for the reader to trace the actions and decisions of the researcher and compare these with the findings to look for consistencies.

To promote reliability I maintained a personal journal to record my reflections after each interview session. Issues that I reflected on during the post-interview period include: (a) what was my reception by institutional actors, (b) what insights did I gain about this particular school, (c) what went well with the interviews, (d) what did not go as well, and (e) what aspects of my interviews will I change for the next institution?

Researcher Subjectivity and Positionality

Subjectivity has traditionally been considered something to avoid in research or, at a minimum, control against by using a variety of techniques (Glesne, 2006). However, Glesne (2006) asserts that, “subjectivity is always a part of research from deciding on the research topic to selecting frames of interpretation” (p. 119). As a researcher, Glesne (2006) suggests that the subjective lens is intricately tied to the emotions of the researcher. Subjectivities are invoked during feelings of anger, happiness, excitement, and sadness. Using hermeneutic interviewing for a school parent focus group, Freeman’s (2001) subjectivities are revealed when she responds poetically “Has everyone liked school but me? I had expected otherwise from you” (p. 650). Freeman’s historical experiences with school clearly influenced what she wanted and expected to hear from the participants. Rather than obstensively claim objectivity in research, qualitative scholars suggest that subjectivity should be recognized and can actually contribute to the study (Glesne, 2006).

Madison (2005) posits that the researchers positionality is important “because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, [and] privilege” while we are simultaneously calling into question the power structures impacting the participant (p.7). My parents and the majority of my relatives are all graduates of historically Black colleges. I also attended a HBCU during the first two years of my undergraduate collegiate experience. I can recall the many stories my father and mother told of how the social environment at their Black colleges was more like a family where the professors extended a caring attitude with regards to the personal and intellectual development of students. I compare this experience to the distant and often detached environment which characterized the predominately White state universities where I received my bachelor’s and master’s degrees. Clearly, I affirm my belief in the viability and sustainability of the historically Black college and university as an important and integral component of the American democracy.

As an African American scholar doing research in a predominately African American research setting and one who readily values the HBCU experience, the results of the study may be questioned by those who find the researcher’s insider’s perspective to be suspect. However, Johnson-Bailey (2004) refutes the notion that insider research is an extension of the researcher’s own personal agenda because this perspective “discounts differences that exists within groups” (p. 133). Johnson-Bailey (2004) argues that this position ignores the effect of internalized oppression and its impact on the research experience. This perspective does not acknowledge the complexities of those who research within cultural boundaries and how I, an African American researcher, maybe received by participants who are

affiliated with a historically African American higher education institution. Indeed, one participant in this study was passionate in her criticism of HBCUs and romanticized the social environment of predominately White institutions. Another participant repeatedly made statements during our interview like, “Just like any other schools”, or “We aren’t different from any of those other schools” as an indication of his frustration with research on HBCUs as unique institutions. These experiences illustrate that insider research is not always easy.

Summary of Research Methods

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the historical mission of public HBCUs. The study employed an interpretive qualitative approach because as the researcher, I endeavored to understand how administrators within public HBCUs view the role of continuing higher education within this context. A purposeful sample of seven public HBCUs were selected for the study, representing a diversity of urban and rural geographical locations. The selection of the seven institutions was based on the following criteria: (a) the institution was classified as a historically Black college or university by the U.S. Department of Education, (b) the institution was publicly controlled, (c) the institution had a continuing higher education or public outreach unit.

Data was collected for the study using interviews, documents, and observations. A total of three senior academic officials participated in the study and nine continuing higher education directors served as informants. These individuals reflected a depth of experience and responsibility to articulate meaning relative to power and the central role of continuing education with regards to the institutions overall mission. I traveled to six

of the seven institutions to conduct the interviews. I conducted an interview with one participant by phone. The data collection period consisted of five months, with the majority of the data being collected during the first two months of the study. I maintained a journal of analytical, descriptive, and autobiographical field notes to augment my research study.

Both primary and secondary documents were analyzed, which included institutional mission statements, strategic plans, and institutional Fact Books. In addition to general institutional documents, materials from the continuing higher education department were examined. These documents included the most recent organizational charts, program catalogues, and activity reports indicating the number of programs offered and participants enrolled. Observations were conducted within continuing higher education administrative offices and general public areas.

Data was analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The interview and text-based documents were coded and organized into categories and compared with statistical documents and keywords that were extracted from the field notes. Categories were created and themes emerged that manifested the central role of continuing higher education in the public HBCU.

To ensure internal and external validity of the study, I collected data from three sources: interview, documents, and field note observations. To enhance the reliability of the study findings, I maintained an audit trail in the form of a personal journal to document my research practices and my personal reflections after each interview session. Through this process of documentation, I critically reflected upon the decisions I make during the data collection phase as I became aware of my own positionalities.

Chapter IV

RESEARCH SETTINGS AND PARTICIPANTS

"It is a system largely determined by that very economic inequality which it seeks to solve; and the power to administer the system lies all too largely in hands interested in privilege rather than in justice and in class advantage rather than in democratic control". W.E.B. Du Bois, 1941

The purpose of this study is to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The study is guided by the following research questions: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public HBUCs? and, (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

This chapter will describe the study participants and their associated institutions. A total of twelve individuals were interviewed for the study, including three senior academic officials and nine continuing higher education program directors. Table 4.1 presents a profile of the study participants including race and job position title for each individual in the study. Pseudonyms are used to ensure the anonymity of the participants. Seven participants identified themselves as being African American or Black, one as Hispanic and four where White. A senior academic official was represented from all institutions in the sample with the exception of one school. The majority, or five of the nine continuing higher education programs directors in the study held dual department head responsibilities.

Table 4.1

Participant Profile

Name	Race	Position Title	Institution
Beale	B[a]	Associate Vice President	Cosmopolitan State University
Monica	B	Program Director	Cosmopolitan State University
James	B	Program Director/Department Director	Coastal Hills State University
Hank	W[b]	Assistant Director/Program Director	Coastal Hills State University
Ralph	W	Program Director	Foothills State University
Susan	W	Program Director/Dean	Grove State University
Bob	W	Associate Vice President	Orange State University
Jana	B	Program Director/Department Director	Orange State University
Ramon	H[c]	Provost and Chief Academic Officer	Foothills State University
Janet	B	Program Director	Highpoint State University
Mary	B	Program Director	Metro State University
Marcus	B	Program Director/Department Director	Orange State University

[a]Black
[b]White
[c]Hispanic

The twelve study participants represented seven public historically Black colleges and universities. These institutions reflected a diversity of colleges and universities in terms of urban and rural location, research and teaching institutions, and student enrollment size. Table 4.2 lists the public HBCUs represented in the study. Pseudonyms are used to ensure the anonymity of the institutions.

Table 4.2

Institutional Profile

Institution	Carnegie Classification[a]	Geographical Area
Orange State University	Doctoral/Research Universities	Rural
Cosmopolitan State University	Doctoral/Research Universities	Urban
Coastal Hills State University	Master's L - Master's College and Universities (Larger Programs)	Urban
Grove State University	Master's S - Master's Colleges and Universities - Smaller Programs	Rural
Foothills State University	Baccalaureate Colleges[b]	Urban
Highpoint State University	Research Universities-High Research Activity	Urban
Metro State University	Research Universities-High Research Activity	Urban

[a]Classification information based on the most recent Carnegie designation.
[b]Foothills State University offers master's degree programs, however the institution is classified by the Carnegie Foundation as a Baccalaureate College.

Cosmopolitan State University

Beale, an African American female, is the Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs for the Walter Wright Campus of Cosmopolitan State University (CSU). CSU is a major, urban land-grant institution offering bachelor's, master's, and doctorate degree programs. Beale is the lead administrator for the continuing higher education unit at CSU, a position she has held since 2002. Previously, Beale served as Assistant Vice President of Extended Education for another public HBCU where she was primarily responsible for the Summer School Program. Beale is a soft-spoken individual who projects a sense of calm and confidence as she talks about her role as an administrator.

Monica, an African American female, is the Director of Off-Campus Programs and the Evening and Weekend College at Cosmopolitan State University. Monica reports to Beale at the Walter Wright Campus. As program director, Monica is responsible for working with the academic departments to develop programs and courses offered through the Off-Campus program and Evening and Weekend College. Monica is an energetic person who seems to be moving in all directions at once. She is currently pursuing a doctorate degree in Higher Education.

CSU's campus is located within close proximity to the downtown area and is surrounded by inner-city residential neighborhoods. In addition to the main campus, CSU operates an off-campus facility (Walter Wright Campus) which is located in the heart of the downtown business and government center. Programs at this facility are designed for adult and nontraditional students of CSU. These include continuing education, distance education, evening, and weekend programs. In fall 2006, CSU enrolled a total of 2,365 students in the continuing higher education programs.

The continuing higher education department is organized administratively within the Academic Affairs division of the institution. At the time of this study, there was a total of 20 staff members assigned to the unit, including the executive administrator. There is a sharp contrast between the appearances of the students on CSU's main campus versus those on the Walter Wright campus. On-campus students appear to be younger in age and predominately African American. In observing the flow of student traffic coming in and out of the Walter Wright campus, the students appeared to be older and more diverse in racial group. The community surrounding CSU's main campus is populated by older ranch style homes that are intermixed with convenience stores, car washes, fast food restaurants and other small service-oriented businesses. Comparatively, the Walter Wright facility is located in the heart of the downtown area close to the business and government district.

Coastal Hills State University

CHSU (Coastal Hills State University) is a public, urban, comprehensive university offering programs at the undergraduate and graduate levels. James, an African American male, is the Interim Director of CHSU's off- campus center. Established in the early 1900s, the institution is located in the southeastern United States and is recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as a historically Black university. CHSU is classified by the Carnegie system as a Master's- L institution, Larger Master's College and Universities. The fall 2006 undergraduate enrollment was approximately 5,400 students of which 22.5 percent, or 1,200, were age 25 years and older. James is also the part-time director of the special program for returning nontraditional and adult students, a position he has held since 2003. However, since

assuming responsibility as interim director for the center, he now manages the program on a part-time basis. In addition to his administrative duties, James works collaboratively with the departments at the university to develop academic programs offered through the center. James' office is cluttered with stacks of papers on tables, counters, and his desk. His telephone rings constantly and at times he appears to be annoyed by the distraction. Although he is polite, James appears to be very cautious in responding to various questions.

Hank, a White male, is the Assistant Director of Community and Professional Education programs for CHSU. He has held this position since 1997, previously serving as a training officer in the military. Hank works with business and industry partners to develop professional education programs. He is retiring from the university within the next year.

CHSU's main campus is located in the downtown area within the center of the city's business district. The institution offers academic and professional education programs at an off-campus site, which is shared by CHSU and another predominately White higher education institution. This cooperative arrangement allows each institution to offer programs and services to nontraditional students while sharing the cost and resources of an off-campus facility. CHSU's continuing higher education administrative office is one of several suites located inside the facility.

The continuing higher education departmental unit is organized administratively within Academic Affairs under the School of Liberal Arts. Within the unit, CHSU offers a special continuing higher education program designed to assist former CHSU students who are interested in completing their undergraduate degrees. The program was

developed in 1999 and enrolls students who are primarily working adults. At the time of this study, the program is supported by two staff members, a full-time administrative assistant, and a half-time director.

There is a noticeable difference in the general appearances and types of students attending classes on the main campus and those at the off-campus site. Students at the main campus appear to be younger in age, and predominately African American. Conversely, the students attending the off-campus site appear older in age and are predominately White in terms of racial group. Similar differences exist in the appearance of the two campuses. CHSU's main campus is located in the downtown area and is comprised of several traditional brick buildings serving as classrooms, student dormitories, or administrative offices. The off-campus site is a single contemporary brick and glass structure that resembles an office building configured with high-tech classrooms. There are several businesses located within close proximity to the off-campus site in addition to subdivisions with neatly trimmed lawns.

Grove State University

Susan, a White female, is the Interim Dean of Extended Education and Graduate Studies at Grove State University (GSU) where she is also Professor of English. GSU is a historically black land-grant university with a Carnegie classification of Master's S-Small Colleges and Universities. Established in the late 1800s, GSU offers bachelor's and master's degree programs in various subject areas. In fall 2006, GSU had a total undergraduate enrollment of 2,061 students. The university is in the process of rebuilding the educational outreach program which will focus on distance education delivery in the future.

Susan has been a member of the faculty since 1968 and throughout her tenure has held numerous faculty and administrative positions at the university. Susan is responsible for coordinating graduate studies and providing leadership for the institutions distance education, off-campus, and continuing education programs. Susan prides herself on having the respect of her faculty peers and believes that her long tenure at the university has enabled her to develop a deep understanding of the university's culture and operations as well as a level of credibility among the faculty. Although her responsibilities are varied, Susan's main focus appears to be more in the graduate studies and distance education areas.

GSU is located in a rural community in which agriculture is the major industry. As a land-grant institution, GSU provides a number of agriculture and agribusiness extension programs and services. In addition to the main campus, GSU offers graduate classes at an off-campus facility located approximately 50 miles away in a neighboring city. A continuing education center is located on the main campus and is used primarily by the agriculture extension service for various educational programs. Continuing higher education is organized administratively within Academic Affairs. The unit is responsible for the coordination of graduate programs, continuing education, and distance education. The entire administrative staff is comprised of two full-time staff members, the director, and a clerical support person.

The institution is located in a southern city with a small town atmosphere. A stroll through the downtown area reveals that this was once a very vibrant city with a variety of local commerce. A railroad track runs through the center of town and on the other side of the track is the road that leads to the GSU campus. Crossing over the track, the

street leading to the main entrance is lined with single board houses situated on tiny plots and a variety of small businesses such as auto repair shops and convenience stores. The GSU campus has an interesting collection of historic buildings spread out among the more modern brick structures.

Orange State University

Bob, a White male, is an Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs for Orange State University (OSU). OSU is a land-grant, doctoral/research institution, originally established in the late 1800s. The institution is located in a rural community where agriculture is still the predominate industry. OSU had a total undergraduate enrollment of 4,384 students in fall 2006. Bob has been in the position of Associate Vice President for one year. Prior to his administrative appointment at OSU, Bob was the Associate Dean for Business for a university which has a large adult student population. Bob is responsible for graduate studies, summer school, educational technology, and OSU's off-campus site located at the Maywood Center.

Jana, an African American female, is the administrative director of OSU's off-campus center, one of two outreach units at OSU. Jana has held this position for the past three years. Jana oversees the administrative and programmatic aspects of OSU's Maywood Campus including program development and student recruitment. Additionally, she is the coordinator for OSU's graduate program at the Maywood Campus. She holds a doctorate degree and has held junior level administrative and faculty positions at various HBCUs; however, the OSU Maywood Campus director position is her first high level management position. Jana is extremely emotional as she

describes the negative experiences she has encountered as a faculty member and administrator at historically Black institutions. She is expressive in her comments.

Marcus, an African American male, is the director of education technology, one of the outreach programs at OSU. He also holds a joint faculty position in the School of Education. Marcus' department provides support services for distance education programs at OSU and he oversees graduate and undergraduate education programs OSU offers in local school districts.

OSU's main campus is relatively small in terms of size and space with many of its buildings located in close proximity to each other. A football stadium and basketball auditorium are located on the perimeter of the campus along with several ranch style brick homes that previously served as faculty housing. Students who attend classes on the main campus have a younger looking appearance and are predominately of African descent.

In addition to the main residential campus, the institution offers educational programs at an off-campus center located in an area of the state known for its industrial development. The off-campus site is housed in a renovated shopping center fully equipped with high-technology classrooms, laboratories, and administrative offices. The center is designed to attract predominately nontraditional, adult students. OSU is one of five higher education institutions that offer classes at the site. When compared with the other institutions located at the center, OSU has the lowest number of enrollments among all of the institutions. In fall 2006, a total of 117 students enrolled in courses offered by OSU at the off-campus site. OSU has five full-time staff and faculty members

located at the off-campus site including the program director, administrative assistant, and three faculty members. Jana serves as the administrative director of the campus.

Foothills State University

Ramon, a Hispanic male, is Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at Foothills State University (FSU). FSU is a master's level, co-educational historically Black university located in an urban community in the southeastern United States. Established in the late 1800s, FSU enrolled a total of 5,650 students in fall 2006. As provost, Ramon oversees the academic mission of the institution and he is responsible for the integrity of the academic programs.

Ralph, a White male, is the Director of FSU's Evening and Weekend College. FSU offers a variety of undergraduate degree programs through the Evening and Weekend continuing higher education program. The program is designed for working adults who need the flexibility of an extended class schedule. In fall 2006, there were a total of 353 students enrolled in evening and weekend courses. Ralph works collaboratively with the academic departments to develop programs offered through the Evening and Weekend program and with other units within the institution. He has over 30 years of experience in higher education including positions at the faculty and administrative levels. Ralph has a doctorate degree in History.

The Evening and Weekend program is currently organized administratively under the College of Lifelong Learning, which includes distance education, continuing and professional development. However, due to a recent reorganization, the Evening and Weekend College will report administratively to the chief academic officer in the

future. The Evening and Weekend program has a total of five full-time staff members assigned to the program. The unit is organized under academic affairs.

Highpoint State University

Janet, an African American female, is the director of the Evening and Weekend College at Highpoint State University (HSU), a position she has held for the past six years. She also served as interim director for one year prior to being appointed permanently into the position. Janet has a Master's degree in Adult Education and a Bachelor's degree in Business Administrative Services. HSU is a public, research university, high research activity, and land grant university. The university offers degree programs at the baccalaureate, masters and doctorate levels, with an emphasis on engineering, science, technology, literature, and other academic areas. Located in an urban community in the southeast, HSU enrolled a total of 9,687 undergraduate students in fall 2006 of which 1183 were age 25 years and older.

HSU offers an Evening and Weekend program to provide exemplary offering of courses and degree programs during the evening and weekend and other nontraditional times and places to meet their educational needs. As program director, Janet is responsible for working with the academic departments at the institution to coordinate the development of evening and weekend courses and degree programs as well as to provide support services for nontraditional students. The Evening and Weekend program serves students who may be returning to school, entering after an extended absence, or those 24 and older attending for the first time, or other nontraditional circumstances. HSU offers four undergraduate degree programs in the evening and approximately 400 courses. Enrollments in the Evening and Weekend program for fall

2004 were 515, fall 2005 totaled 559 students, and fall 2006 was 554 students respectively. The Evening and Weekend program is organized administratively under the Summer School Department. The Evening and Weekend program is supported by two staff members, a full-time director, and part-time administrative support person. The part-time administrative position is shared with continuing education and distance education programs.

Metro State University

Mary, an African American female, is the Director of Special Academic Programs in the College of Lifelong Learning at Metro State University (MSU). Prior to her appointment as program director, Mary held an administrative support position at the institution. MSU is a public, research university, high research activity, historically Black university located in an urban area within the southeastern United States. Established in the late 1890s, MSU enrolled a total of 6,523 undergraduate students in fall 2006, of which 4,853 were age 25 years and older. The institution emphasizes public service programs that address the social, political, and economic needs of an urban community.

MSU's continuing higher education programs are organized administratively under the College of Lifelong Learning which includes three divisions: School of General and Continuing Studies, the Center for Adult and Professional Development, and the Continuing Education Center. In general, the College of Lifelong Learning is designed to meet the state's workforce development needs and adult learners, age 25 years and older. Also, the college serves as a portal of entry to the university for adult students. As program director, Mary works collaboratively with the academic departments to coordinate and plan academic courses and programs offered through the Special

Programs unit. The continuing higher education programs are offered in coordination with the institutions academic departments. At the time of this study, there were 24 individuals listed as staff members in the College of Lifelong Learning.

Summary

The study was conducted at seven public HBCUs with twelve participants. Two of the institutions were located in rural areas and five schools were located in urban settings. The institutional sample consisted of a diversity of institutions in terms of size and scope. Four institutions were designated by the Carnegie classification as being research institutions, two were Master's level institutions and one public HBCU was classified as a Baccalaureate College. At the time of the study, the Baccalaureate College institution had recently been approved to award master's degrees. Nine of the participants were directors of continuing higher education programs. These nine participants served as informants to the study.

Chapter V

UNVEILING THE PLACE OF CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION FROM WITHIN THE PUBLIC HBCU

"The college should be an integral part of the community, of the colored community, of course, first; but also and just as needfully of the White community, so that in all its work and thinking its government and art expression the community and college should be one and inseparable and at the same time the college could retain its leading function…" W.E.B Du Bois,

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public historically Black colleges and universities. The study was guided by the following research questions: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public historically Black colleges and universities? and (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

The chapter is organized into four major sections. The opening section presents the first theme that emerged from the data, *Struggling for a Place and Importance,* which characterizes the political and social interests of continuing higher education which benefits the public HBCUs included in this study. The subsequent section introduces the second theme of the analysis, *Pushed Towards the Margins*. This theme describes the political and social interests that marginalize continuing higher education that emerged from the analysis of the data. The themes *Struggling for a Place and Importance* and *Pushed Towards the Margins*, responds to the first question of this

study. The third component of the chapter introduces the theme *Negotiating the Struggle,* which addresses the third question of this study, the strategies used by continuing higher education directors to negotiate the social and political interests. These three themes were consistent across the analysis of the data from all seven institutions participating in this study. Table 5.1 presents the three themes and associated categories that emerged from the analysis. The chapter concludes with an overall summary of the research findings.

Table 5.1

Social and Political Interests Influencing Continuing Higher Education

STRUGGLING FOR A PLACE AND IMPORTANCE	PUSHED TOWARDS THE MARGINS	NEGOTIATING THE STRUGGLE
• Ensuring institutional survival • Promoting racial diversity • Gaining political capital	• Bound by tradition • Invisible from within • Resource constraints	• Developing networks • Advocating for students • Finding common ground

Struggling for a Place and Importance

The theme of *Struggling for a Place and Importance* represents the political interests influencing continuing higher education in the public HBCUs participating in this study. A political interest in this inquiry depicts the non-educational benefits that accrue to the institution through the provision of continuing higher education programs. The analysis of the data reveals three political interests of continuing higher education for the public HBCUs participating in this inquiry: ensuring institutional survival, promoting racial diversity, and gaining political capital.

Although the public HBCUs in this study derive certain benefits from continuing higher education programs as denoted by these political interests, the data revealed that there are apparent tensions that exist between the continuing higher education program directors and academic administrators participating in this study and those individuals in leadership positions who are responsible for defining the strategic priorities and directions for the institution. These individuals might include the president and other key administrators.

The lack of widespread institutional support for the use of distance education technology was the most common issue raised primarily by program directors. However, not all of the participants cited a lack of high level administrative support for the use of distance education at the institution. In fact, two informants with positions at the vice-president's level were explicit in their support of the use of instructional technology to deliver continuing higher education. Ten out of the twelve participants indicated that the institution needed to become more aggressive in the use of instructional technology to support continuing higher education initiatives.

Ensuring Institutional Survival

The theme of continuing higher education as a means of ensuring institutional survival is located in the discussion of the public HBCU's competition with predominately White institutions for African American students in a post-segregated society and the resulting impact on student enrollment at predominately Black institutions. A major finding of this study was that continuing higher education programs enable the public HBCU to increase the enrollment among adult and nontraditional students of all races. The majority of the continuing higher education program directors

and academic administrators, ten out of eleven, explicitly reported that continuing higher education programs at their institutions enrolled primarily nontraditional, adult students and it is their belief that these students represents a growing market of potential enrollees. Four of the twelve program directors indicated that even among the 18-22 year old age group, an increasing number of students are attending part-time or have work and family responsibilities that precludes their being able to participate in a traditional residential campus experience. James from Coastal Hills State University had this to say about the change in the student demographics at his institution, “Probably 65%-75% of our students are probably that nontraditional student.”

Most higher education institutions struggle with sustaining enrollment growth but it poses particular problems for HBCU’s. In many states, formula funding and institutional allocations are based in part on student headcount enrollment. Archival data presented in Table 5.2 illustrate that there has been no significant gains in undergraduate enrollments for six of the seven institutions participating in the study when comparing Fall 2004 and Fall 2006 terms. In fact, for Grove State University, undergraduate enrollment declined by 10 percent during this period. The only institution that demonstrated an appreciable gain in enrollment, Foothills State University, has made extensive use of distance education technologies as a program delivery mechanism. The increased use of distance education technology has allowed Foothills State University to increase access to programs to students whose lifestyle require more flexible course scheduling options.

Table 5.2

Total Undergraduate Enrollment (Headcount)

Institution	Fall 2004	Fall 2005	Fall 2006	Percent Change from Fall 2004 to Fall 2006
Orange State University	3704	3888	3839	3.6%
Cosmopolitan State University	7257	7036	7112	-2.0%
Coastal Hills State University	5393	5337	5403	0.2%
Grove State University	2300	1982	2061	-10%
Foothills State University	4805	5566	5650	17.5%
Highpoint State University	9121	9735	9687	6.2%
Metro State University	6600	6660	6523	-1.7%

Thus, sustaining and increasing enrollment becomes a survival issue for the institution from an economic standpoint. Ralph, from Foothills State University had this to say about the connection between enrollments in his continuing higher education program and credit hour generation: “Because we [continuing higher education unit] are producing results in terms of the measures in which the state uses. In [this southeastern state] it’s a real simple little thing. It's SCH and what that means is student credit hours.” Ralph also explains how the institution has re-organized continuing higher education to support future enrollment growth:

> As FSU has experienced unprecedented growth in EWC and as the [state system] and FSU priorities have created greater expectations for online/distance learning programs, the two thrusts have been separated in order to permit

> greater focus on both. In five years, we expect to double the enrollment of EWC and quadruple the growth in online/distance learning programs.

Bob, the assistant vice-president of academic affairs at Orange State University talks about the financial situation at his institution and why he believes that part of the solution to these financial problems rest in the development of educational programs that target adult students such as continuing higher education:

> Senior leadership is dealing with a situation where [traditional] funding is decreasing, you know, money from the state and different things like this. So they have to look at different areas in order to get funding. But if you look at the big picture compared to other institutions, we don't get very many corporate grants and things like that. So they have to struggle with the funding level and they are constantly moving priorities around and having do things like that. But I think the fastest way, and that's based on other experiences that I've had, I think they just need to aggressively embrace reaching out to a larger student audience, the [continuing higher education programs].

When I asked Marcus, the director of an outreach program at Orange State University how did he defined success within the expectations for his department, he responded, “Success is to increase the student enrollment; double the student enrollment by 2014. And this department is responsible for 2000 students that are not currently enrolled in the university.” Janet, a program director for Highpoint State University, offered further amplification of the relationship between continuing higher education and student enrollment. In this example she describes how the evening and weekend program suddenly becomes an attractive solution for academic department

heads who previously rejected this form of delivery, “And another thing that I see is if the [program enrollment] numbers are pretty high, I don’t see a level of wanting to do evening [offer programs in the evening]. But you let those numbers start to drop a little bit and all of a sudden, may be we can do Evenings.”

Another aspect of continuing higher education as a strategy to ensure institutional survival is the potential for continuing higher education to counteract the decline in enrollment of Black high school graduates. Eight of the twelve informants talked about the changes in college attendance patterns by African Americans as a result of school integration and how this trend has negatively impacted enrollments at their institution. A common sentiment that was shared among these informants was that the removal of legal racial barriers in public education means that Black colleges can no longer afford to think of themselves as exclusive providers of higher education for African Americans. As an increasing number of Black high school graduates, particularly those that are academically prepared for collegiate work, select predominately White postsecondary institutions, this competition poses a very real challenge to the survival of Black public colleges that have historically depended on this student population. Susan, the interim dean and program director for Grove State University explains the situation:

> We use to figure we were entitled to the Black students. But that’s not true anymore. I mean 51 percent of [peer predominately White state university] is Black. [Another predominately White state university] has a high percentage of Black students. [Nearby predominately White state college] has a pretty good percentage. HBCUs can’t just count on Black students, let alone the good Black

> students, coming through our doors. And so those things meant that our enrollment, seems like every time it was going up, it would take a hit and go down. So more and more Black students may be going to other places and we haven't been holding our own.

Beale, the assistant vice present of academic affairs for Cosmopolitan State University explains how CSU can no longer assume that young African Americans will choose to attend a Black college as opposed to a predominately White institution. Her use of the phrases 'our back yard' and 'population we use to count on' refers to African American recent high school graduates:

> So the population we use to count on, we're not going to be able to count on anymore. We can't count on them. We cannot just sit here on our laurels and think that that same population who use to come to us is coming to us because they are going to the [predominately White institutions in the state].

Jana, from Orange State University also describes how desegregation has impacted student demographics at HBCUs: "Well HBCUs have prided themselves on that traditional students, come to the campus, let's have marching bands and fine girls dancing. And in it's hey day, that was the bomb! Well that time is over. These students now have far more choices." For these informants, continuing higher education is a strategic imperative to achieving institutional survival in that academic programs for adult and nontraditional students allows the institution to reach out to populations that historically might not have chosen to attend a historically Black college because of race.

These participants purport that continuing higher education positions their institutions to overcome the negative effects of collegiate desegregation by offering

educational programs that will attract students who value access and affordability. A by-product of this strategy is increased student enrollment because of the growing population of adult learners. Beale states, “So we’re going to have to reach out and, reaching out will mean a nontraditional population or a diverse population that is not necessarily here in our back yard. It’s going to be crucial that we compete even in a global marketplace.”

Promoting Racial Diversity

An analysis of archival and interview data reveal that the word ‘diverse’ is reflected in all seven institutional mission statements. The use of the word diverse is intentional and prominent, particularly in the descriptions of the institution’s students, faculty, and staff. The mission statement of Coastal Hills State University includes a reference to a culturally diverse student population:

> Coastal Hills State University mission is to provide an affordable, high-quality education for an ethnically and culturally diverse student population, equipping them with the capability to become productive citizens who continuously contribute to a global and rapidly changing society.

As James described the programs and services offered by the continuing higher education unit at Coastal Hills State University, I asked him how these programs and services further the institution’s strategic objectives. He responded, “It’s an attempt, consistent with the university’s mission, which is to provide affordable higher education to a diverse population in different cultures.”

Cosmopolitan’s State University’s mission statement characterizes its student body, faculty and staff as being diverse:

> Cosmopolitan State University, an 1890 land grant institution, is a major state-supported urban and comprehensive university. This unique combination of characteristics differentiates the University from others and shapes its instructional, research, and service programs designed to serve [the state], the nation, and the global community. The University is committed to maintaining its diverse student body, faculty and staff.

Grove State University includes a broad reference to diversity:

> Cultural, ethnic, racial and gender diversity in the faculty, staff and student body, supported by practices and programs that embody the ideals of an open, democratic and global society.

In a review of Orange State University's academic programs which was commissioned by the Board of Trustees, an education consulting group included the following statement in its final report:

> Orange State University should seek to have a more diverse student population that includes students from other cultural/ethnic backgrounds to include international students and the growing number of students of Hispanic origin that are entering [the state]. In addition, the college must find a way to attract both high achieving students and adult students who have very different expectations about the quality and flexibility of academic programs.

Continuing higher education programs for the institutions participating in this study not only promote institutional survival by enabling the institution to reach new student markets, but interview and observational data affirm that these new students are predominately White, thus contributing to the institutions' diversity goals. The

diversity mandate is the consequence of collegiate desegregation policies in which scholars have argued there has been a lack of political, judicial, and legislative consensus (Brown, II, Ricard & Donahoo, 2004).

Observational data provided evidence of the racial diversity that is apparent among continuing higher education and traditional program students. As I waited for my interviews at six of the institutions I visited, I observed that students entering and leaving the continuing higher education offices at these institutions were usually White in appearance. However, as I walked around the main campus or sat in the student center located on the main campus, I noticed there were more African American in these areas of the campus than the students I observed in the continuing higher education office.

In addition to observational data, interview data provided further insight into the difference in the racial make-up of continuing higher education programs versus traditional programs. Monica describes how the racial composition of the Off-Campus program at Cosmopolitan State University is a reflection of the racial composition of the local community. Thus, locating the continuing higher education program in a predominately White community effectively assures that the students enrolled in these programs will also be predominately White:

> Off Campus programs because of the demographics of [local area] and the surrounding communities is primarily a White [race] program. Because when you leave the [local area], which is about 25 percent African American, the surrounding counties are about 90 to 95 percent Caucasian. So when you leave

> the [city area] and go out to establish an off-campus base, you're drawing from a predominately White population and those programs are predominately White.

In addition to program enrollments, interview data also reveal continuing higher education is used as an intentional diversification strategy in academic program planning. When I asked Susan how she became involved in program planning for adults she responded, "I got interested during our desegregation mandate in developing a program that might attract different kinds of people." Susan's use of the phrase 'different kinds of people' when referring to students of non-African descent demonstrates that her interest in developing continuing higher education programs was motivated by the need to create a more racially diverse student population at the institution.

Ramon, the provost and vice-president of academic affairs for Foothills State University compares the number of White students enrolled in a distance education nursing program at Foothills State University with the overall White enrollment at the University; "Foothills University is currently 30 percent White and our nursing program is 50 percent White enrollment." Ramon's example illustrates how continuing higher education programs, such as those delivered via distance education, enroll a larger percentage of White students than those same programs offered on campus. Whether the use of distance education is an intentional diversification strategy or not, the outcome is the same with regards to attracting new types of students. For example, even policy makers acknowledged that in order for Cosmopolitan State University, a predominately Black institution, to become more racially diverse, the institution would need to develop educational programs and services that would attract White students age 25 years and older. Beale puts it this way:

> CSU was not going to attract a large White population from the traditional student population. The way the courts understood and the people who were writing the dissent decree, they knew that the greatest White population to be attracted to Cosmopolitan State University was going to come from the age group of 25 years and older.

Although the interview and observational data reveal that continuing higher education contributes to increased student diversity, both in terms of student age and race for the public HBCUs participating in this study, the subject of race was not a topic openly embraced by all informants. James, Marcus, and Mary, who are African Americans, used various tactics to avoid responding to questions which probed for greater understanding of the traditional HBCU mission as it relates to race and continuing higher education. James, in particular, appeared defensive when questions of race were raised during the interview and stressed that HBCUs were unlike predominately White institutions in terms of being insensitive to the needs of adult students. “The problem is not one that is endemic to Coastal Hills State University. When we go to [continuing higher education] conferences we [program directors] invariably end up talking about the same thing.” Marcus and Mary would provide responses to race-related questions that were unrelated to the question. Moreover, when I asked for continuing higher education enrollment data by student racial classification, James, Mary, and Marcus did not provide the information. These actions of silence through question avoidance and stressing institutional parity suggest that while increasing racial diversity is a strategic priority for all public HBCUs participating in

this study and continuing higher education promotes the achievement of that objective, the discussion of race remains controversial.

While the study found that public HBCUs benefit politically from new enrollments that are generated from continuing higher education programs, particularly among White students, this benefit is not universally accepted by alumni, faculty, and staff. Two informants reported that some members of the campus community felt that special academic initiatives that are designed to enroll large numbers of White students at the expense of Black students, such as continuing higher education, threaten the institution's traditional mission. This is how Beale describes the reaction of some faculty and administrators at Cosmopolitan State University to the Walter Wright adult education center:

> There are some people who if they could they would sell off this, this campus. They feel that strongly about it. And it's ignorance more than anything else. And it's that feeling, that tension that's always there.

Beale talks about the mission paradox that exists between the 'traditionalist' or those members of the campus community who see value in maintaining the traditional mission of the HBCU and those who embrace a new mission of diversity and outreach. This tension is often manifested by those who question the quality of alternative delivery methods such as evening and weekend, off-campus, and distance education. Beale counters those accusations by assuring her colleagues that, "The standards that I'm going to uphold are the same standards I would think people on the main campus would want to uphold. And sometimes that gets in the way."

Monica also acknowledges that this conflict exists, however she believes that the changes to the racial makeup of the institution as the result of academic programs such as continuing higher education are inevitable. She believes that Black college resistance to collegiate desegregation is a larger threat to the traditional mission than the programs themselves. Monica argues that by being more proactive in terms of accepting the inevitable consequence of collegiate desegregation, Black colleges and universities are more assured of their ability to persist in a post-Brown era. “In being made to serve the other population you lose, you lose your old focus, your mission. And it is incumbent upon the alumni supporters to realize that change is coming. And you can choose two strategies. You can fight it and lose or you can realize it and adapt.”

Rather than conceptualizing continuing higher education as part of a concerted effort by policy makers to replace the historical mission of public HBCUs, three of the informants argued that continuing higher education programs should be viewed as an extension of the historical mission of public HBCUs. These informants, who I refer to as ‘mission extensionists,’ consider extending the definition of the underserved, which is implicit in the race advancement theme of the traditional mission, beyond, those who have been denied access due to race, to include those who are denied access due to place and time barriers. From this perspective, the underserved may include the single parent who works full-time or the adult who needs training to advance in an existing career or to pursue a new career. These extensionists embrace a twenty-first century philosophy of the mission of the public Black college.

Ramon, the provost and vice-president of Academic Affairs at Foothills State University suggests that, “Our HBCUs are at a threshold.” The whitening of public Black

colleges created in part by White enrollments in special diversity programs such as continuing higher education, is part of the transition affecting public historically Black colleges. For Ramon, his use of the term 'threshold' indicates that historically Black colleges and universities are rapidly transitioning from institutions where the concept of underserved was defined as those who were denied access due to race, to institutions where the underserved is more broadly interpreted to include those who are denied access due to affordability, place, and time barriers. When I asked Ramon how the Lifelong Learning program influences the traditional mission of Foothills State University as a historically Black institution, he suggested there is a new definition for underserved:

> In the past, HBCUs have provided an education to those who due to segregation were unable to attend majority institutions. Historically, this institution provided access to higher education for those who were denied access otherwise. Therefore, in terms of its historical mission, continuing higher education for FSU, is an *extension* of our historical mission of providing access to higher education.

Bob from Orange State University also supports a mission extensionist viewpoint in that the underserved should include those denied access due to time and place barriers, regardless of racial identity:

> I think that a very large part of the nontraditional students are equally underserved. They're out in jobs that aren't paying as much as they could if they had an education to compliment their credentials. They are running into a wall that says, you're doing a good job here whatever their hourly salary is, but in to be a supervisor you need some formal education or an associate degree and

> employers are starting to demand it. So your even having, like I say, underserved adults...family started, working, whatever.

Susan believes that an expansion of the institutions mission to include nontraditional and adult students is a prudent strategy for increasing enrollment. But she goes on to suggest that an institution whose history has been to serve African American students is less likely to be a negative factor among adults of all races when deciding on a college or university to attend:

> I would say that most of the non-Black students that we've had, most have been nontraditional, meaning not coming right out of high school. The majority of our non-African American students are adults. So I don't think we have to worry about that [being a historically Black university] as much for Continuing Education, Outreach and Graduate Studies goes because by the time people are adults, they just need their education and they aren't likely to let something like that [being a historically Black university] stand in their way.

A key finding of this study is that positionality was an attribute of the mission extensionist viewpoint. Bob, Ralph, and Susan, who are White and Ramon, who is Hispanic, supported a mission extensionist rationale for continuing higher education and spoke openly about the issue. The interview data suggested that for these informants, race as a determinant of the HBCU traditional mission, is a legacy of segregation and that a post-segregation era required HBCUs to think and act beyond racial issues. Beale, Janet, and Monica, who are African American, agree that the mission of historically Black colleges and universities must change to reflect the realities of an integrated society; however, unlike the mission extensionist cited in this study, they

acknowledge the conflict within the African American community surrounding the issue of the contemporary Black college mission. Indeed, Monica, Janet and Beale suggest that the traditionalist are not opposed to diversity, but the perception that programs that promote diversity, such as continuing higher education, are being pursued at the expense of students who traditionally have been served by Black colleges.

Gaining Political Capital

In addition to ensuring institutional survival and promoting racial diversity, the analysis of interview data reveals that the institutions in this study gain political capital from continuing higher education. Political capital in this study is defined as the intangible benefits that accrue to the institution by engaging in activities that place the institution in a favorable position from a public relations standpoint. Among the three political interests identified in this study, gaining political capital appeared to be the least significant of the three interests as reflected by the interview data. James talks about the risks involved if his institution discontinued their participation in an off-campus consortium that serves an adult student population. “If Coastal Hills State University would say we don’t want to be in the center anymore, (a) the [predominately White school] would be delighted and (b) from a public point of view, it would look like a CHSU loss.” Jana indicates that her institution is motivated to offer continuing higher education because it gives the impression of being competitive with predominately White institutions. However, there is insufficient commitment to the program:

> They don’t want to be left out of anything that predominately White institutions are doing. Whether those programs are meant to grow or not, they want to have a showing. They want to have a presence. So their need to have a presence, as

> oppose to their need to give some folks some access. We've never had anybody from admissions and recruitment to come down here and really do some plowing and advertisement in this area. I have to send out my own stuff on homemade paper. Ride around and recruit people. The infrastructure is something they think of on the back end. It's all nice to have a presence, but to put your money towards the presence is a lot of times not there. And I... think that it's motivated by … the institution wanting to be promulgated in the community as being prestigious. And without that [resources], it's just here, just surviving.

Ralph, from Foothills State University, describes how the continuing higher education program at state expects to increase access for all students at the postsecondary level:

> So for years when the administration of the higher education system of this state would put pressure on the institutions' presidents, we have to do this accessibility thing, so come up with something. So one of the things that you come up with is, well, let's make ourselves more accessible in the evenings to adults. So we'll have classes in the evening. So the president says to the provost, I want some evening programs. So the provost says to the dean, we gotta have some evening stuff. So they [deans] go to their chairs and the chairs say, okay, we're totally left to our own devices to figure this out. We'll put in some classes at 4:00pm. But almost no classes were put in at 6:00pm or later. So we had this just whirly, derby, kind of flailing about thing.

Summary of Struggling for a Place and Importance

The theme of *Struggling for a Place and Importance* responds in part to question number one in this inquiry. It describes the political interests that influence continuing

higher education in the public HBCUs included in this study. A political interest in this inquiry represents the non-educational benefits institutions derived from the provision of continuing higher education programs. The interview, archival and observational data revealed that beyond the stated educational interest of increased access to learning opportunities, the political interests of continuing higher education programs were to increase enrollment by reaching out to new student audiences comprised primarily of adult and nontraditional students, to increase student diversity through the attraction of adult White students, and to gain political capital by promoting a positive public imagine.

Interview data also suggest that there are potential social costs associated with these interests due to the tension that is created between those within the HBCU community who support the historical definition of underserved versus those who embrace a more contemporary vision of the underserved as including those students who are denied access due to time and lifestyle barriers. Importantly, the study found that the positionality of the informant was a factor in determining whether the participant was sensitive to the issue of how these political interests might be interpreted within the HBCU community. Four of the five White participants who identified their racial identity as being other than African American did not perceive a conflict between the historical and contemporary mission of HBCUs. Conversely, five of the seven African American participants noted some resistance to an expanded definition of the underserved, particularly among members of the alumni community.

Pushed Towards the Margins

Pushed Towards the Margins is the second major theme that emerged from the analysis. It reflects the social and political interests that marginalize continuing higher

education within the institution. The study found three social and political interests that challenge the continuing higher education unit for the institutions in this study: a culture of tradition, the invisible status of the continuing higher education unit, and resource constraints. The theme *Pushed Towards the Margins* recognizes that although continuing higher education is positioned as a strategy to promote a new mission that focuses on diversity and globalization, there is a parallel cultural conflict within the public HBCU constituency between those who support the concept of a new educational mission for public HBCUs and those who are proponents of the traditional mission of serving African American youth. As an educational diversity strategy that is often linked to the new mission, continuing higher education becomes a target of that conflict which, in some instances marginalizes the unit within the institution.

Bound By Tradition

The interview and archival data revealed that the most prominent aspect of *Pushed Towards the Margins* theme is the public HBCU tradition of providing educational opportunities for younger, residential high school graduates rather than adult or part-time nontraditional students. All of the informants were unanimous in their description of institutional administrative practices that are aligned with the needs of young people rather than commuting or working adult students. Among the institutional practices cited as being the most problematic to continuing higher education was the lack of adult-friendly student enrollment services: admissions, registration, and financial aid. Eleven of the twelve informants I interviewed in this inquiry spoke of the challenges their continuing higher education programs faced in terms of providing support services appropriate for adult learners.

These informants indicated that it is indeed a challenge to convince student services administrators and staff that adult students have unique support needs and the institution must be responsive to these needs. Beale puts it this way: “CSU is not known for having good service in its admissions office, financial aid office. I mean, students are real ticked about the kind of service they get.” Beale became visibly emotional as she spoke about her frustrations with the lack of timely service available to students in her department:

> I have trouble with my university being the same way it was when I went to school. I find it inexcusable that the lines I stood in when I was an undergraduate student are still the lines that students are standing in today. I find that unacceptable. I find it unacceptable not have the transcript evaluated before the students actually enters the university. I think the transcript should be evaluated right away and the student should have feedback. I don’t see us, I can’t see us, if we can’t go any further than that, we cannot expect people to want to embrace us in any kind of meaningful way.

Ralph, the director of Evening and Weekend programs explained that when he first assumed his position at Foothills State University, the departments did not provide the Evening and Weekend students with a projected schedule of course offerings. Most of the faculty and department chairs did not understand the need to provide a long-term schedule of classes to assist adults with advanced planning and preparation. By working with the faculty and departments, Ralph has been able to successfully overcome this problem, such that students now know exactly when classes are to be offered in their program of study and are better able to plan their lives accordingly.

However, the one issue that Ralph continues to struggle with as program director is convincing the student services units that adults need access to services on an extended timeframe:

> But as we move increasingly beyond that we're changing, but it's [lack of good student service] still there. First off, [there is a belief that] offices aren't suppose to be open after 5:00pm. And we're [evening and weekend college] the radical evil denizens of the night, when we're coming in and saying our offices will be open to 8:30pm, at least four nights a week, at least every other Saturday. The other offices are saying, don't do that! They had been told, you need some times to serve adults because we've got more and more of them. Then they would say, oh okay, we're going to be open Monday until 5:30pm. And then at 5:15pm, they would close down and say nobody came. And then in their reports they would say, this being open until 5:30pm is a waste of resources because nobody comes. We've got our log book right here and nobody ever comes. Well that's because nobody can get there at 5:30pm if they work until 5:00pm. They've got to park and everything. So it's a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Marcus, from Orange State University speaks of the programs in the student services areas of the campus for adult students:

> Well, very challenging. Establishing contact with the community. Obtaining buy-in on the concept of the course offerings. Ensuring that student services are available such as the bookstore, Office of Financial Aid, Business Office, cashier, etc. Those were problematic areas.

In addition to the issue of service quality, these informants have struggled with administrative indifference as they seek to bring about change in business practices and attitudes that would result in more adult-friendly services. Beale, the assistant vice president from Cosmopolitan State University relates the difficulties she once faced with trying to get her own manager to understand the need to provide better services for adult students. “Not even your boss understands what service to that population meant. As far he was concerned, you get it when we’re open or not at all, you know. That was the attitude. The old president did too, but his academic affairs person did not understand that. And that’s who I reported to.” When I asked Ramon, the provost and chief academic officer for Foothills State University, what impact internal stakeholders such as faculty and administrators have on the institutions ability to provide programs for undergraduate adult students he responded, “If we think about what are the needs of our students, then we become more intentional with our student services. We strive to see what is important in terms of providing good services to our students.” The message Ramon makes in this statement is that one of the major impacts that faculty and staff have on continuing higher education programs is through the quality of student services.

In addition to the quality of student enrollment services continuing higher education programs at the public HBCUs in this study struggle with traditional academic processes that work against programs designed to attract adult students. Hank suggests that a complex value system exists between traditional academia and continuing higher education at Coastal Hills State University:

> I think basically at the very heart of our university there are traditional academia. They don't think very highly …workforce development side of the house. It's more valued, but not fully accepted because it's still not in the full academia environment; like the military base, like we may offer a class in somebody's business.

James believes there is a fundamental gap in faculty understanding of the older, nontraditional students who are becoming a larger percentage of the student population. They are accustomed to teaching younger, residential students. This understanding gap is often why faculty question the legitimacy of alternative program delivery methods as well as nontraditional methods of earning college credit. They reject the notion that the institution should be more accommodating to those students who do not fit the typical model of a traditional undergraduate:

> There is a typically a real disconnect between instructors and nontraditional students. Most instructors are bound by tradition. I [faculty] teach Monday through Friday, 9-5. That's how I do it. They ask me to teach at night,.no!. That's not in my paradigm. Ask me to teach on Saturday? No, No…I teach Monday-Friday, 9-5. Online…We have a real problem with online. [Faculty believe that] You can't teach anybody anything online. There is a real sense that those kinds of programs they are not…an accelerated program… you're not getting the full extent of the academia…that's just not the way that you do it. You come in, say for four years and go to class. You got to see them. So it's just a battle trying to get people to see that the world is changing.

Monica describes the reaction she received from some members of faculty when she asked them to teach in the off-campus program:

> We are very traditional institution in terms of our academic thinking. And that's because for many years, CSU was a one location, one type of student. You come to main campus. You stayed on campus. Everything's on campus. You teach from 8 to 4:30. So when I'm talking about you driving 30 miles at night into a rural area to teach they go, oh, no, that's not in my contract. My faculty won't do that. And the first thing out of their mouth is, why can't they come to us?

Despite the potential for achieving enrollment growth with continuing higher education programs, seven of the twelve informants in this study expressed a sense of frustration by what they perceive as a lack of progress by the institution towards embracing policies and practices that would enhance continuing higher education programs. These policies and practices include the use of alternative program delivery mechanisms such as distance education, evening and weekend programs, accelerated learning and academic policies that would include prior learning assessments. In the absence of these strategies, the institution is placed at a competitive disadvantage with more progressive peer institutions. James at Coastal Hills State University points to other colleges within his institution's geographical area whose enrollments among adult and nontraditional students appear to be increasing due to continuing higher education. As he speaks about this comparison, he is noticeably agitated by what he perceives as a lack of understanding on behalf of administrators at his institution as to what is going on around them:

> And unfortunately for us…the problem is exacerbated because [institution A] has weekend and evening college, accelerated programs, experiential learning, their enrollment is booming. Same thing with [institution B]. Even [institution C] is increasing their enrollment. We're having a real problem with enrollment and we can't figure out why!

Janet talks about the resistance she has encountered in trying to develop a prior learning assessment policy. "We're strict, real strict. This is the curriculum. You can try to pass a CLEP test to exempt something, but that's not prevalent. That's not prevalent. And to run a real good program for adults, we need to be able to evaluate what they've done in that world of lifelong learning and equate it to educational credit. And we don't do that."

Although key institutional leaders such as presidents and chief academic officers might support continuing higher education as a mission extensionist strategy, the inability of these leaders to understand how the institution needs to change in order to operationalize this strategy contributes to the marginalization of continuing higher education and is a byproduct of a traditional culture of serving youth. Beale, Associate Vice President at Cosmopolitan State University:

> When we hire faculty, we are going to have to hire people with the skill base who are ready to take on that [distance education] as a part of the way they do business. Those are things that I hope that presidents at African American universities, when we start looking for presidents, that they are aware that we can't do things on the cheap.

Bob, the associate vice-president at Orange State University states, “I think the senior leadership is very steeped in the tradition of OSU and its charter to serve the underserved. And I think that's starting to change, but I think they are just conservatively saying, this is what we've been successful at and we're not going move aggressively until we start seeing the decreases [sic] in enrollment.” Susan, Interim Dean at Grove State University talks about how difficult it was to operationalize distance education practices because of a lack of administrative support:

> And we would occasionally ask, could you please put this [online course] on the master schedule or get this word out [availability of online courses] so that students will know what they need to know in order to be good online students. And it was just hard to get the attention, because a lot of the older administrators didn't even know anything about online instruction.

Ralph from Foothills State University offers a similar perspective. “I've worked with a lot of [presidents] and they generally don't do much materially for me in this structure that we have, because they don't understand it, nor do provosts. They don't understand this business. So pretty much, we've got to go up through here and get understood or somehow lay things on the table and they just don't get it, is really a big major problem.” Janet, program director from Highpoint State University adds to this assessment:

> If it’s not a top down mandate, a lot of that depends on whether the chairperson sees the same vision as we do; sees the same need as we do to offer that degree [in the Evening). If you have a chairperson that pro doing that [attending to the needs of evening programs], then you have no problem doing that. But if you have a [academic department] chair that…and some of them still are…those

> that are 8-5'ers and are young-people oriented. And until they start to listen to that adult/nontraditional student, and I say nontraditional because we've got some 19 and 20 students who are parents. So that makes them nontraditional and adults. But until the chairs start to listen to the needs of that population and articulate what needs to be done, some departments still may not get it right.

Resource Constraints

The second aspect of 'pushed towards the margins' theme that emerged from the interview data is resource constraints. Resources include financial, human, and technological assets that are required to effectively implement the mission. Although I requested budget data to assess financial support for continuing higher education, none of the institutions in this study provided that information. However, based on interview data, seven of the twelve informants indicated that a lack of resources is a major factor affecting continuing higher education at their institutions. These informants represented a cross-section of institutional types including small, large, rural, and urban public HBCUs. Bob discusses the issue of funding in his statement:

> We just got a very big grant from [national bank]. But if you look at the big picture compared to other institutions, we don't get very many corporate grants and things like that. So they're having to struggle with the funding level and they are constantly moving priorities around and having do things like that.

James argues that a lack of resources is the most significant difference between public HBCUs and predominately White institutions in terms of the ability to provide continuing higher education. James suggests this difference is exceptional because although the predominately White institutions encounter similar problems as Black

institutions in terms of institutional practices that are aligned with a tradition of serving youth, they are able to overcome these challenges due to the availability of resources to develop parallel structures within the organization that is more adult friendly. These parallel structures include hiring faculty to teach exclusively online courses, developing a support unit specifically for distance education, evening and weekend, or other continuing higher education students; implementing a student information system (SIS) that allows students to apply for admissions online, to register for classes online, to pay fees and other financial obligations online and to access library resources and services online. These parallel structures ultimately benefit all students, but particularly those who have time and place barriers such as nontraditional and working students.

> We [HBCUs] have the same problems as majority institutions, but the problems may be more prevalent at an HBCU because we are generally at the short end dollar wise and that impacts your ability to hire faculty. For example, you can talk to somebody over at [predominately White institution] and they will tell you they have problems [getting] faculty who are willing to teach online courses. Well they've got the dollars to get around that. We don't have the dollars to get around that. We need more instructors to teach online courses. And you've reached saturation with those that want to teach them. So you have to make them teach them and nobody wants to make them teach them. So you've reached a point of stagnation. Whereas at another institution, if you say, I don't want to teach that online class, they can bring in ten instructors who want to teach the online classes. We can't solve that problem that way.

Janet amplifies the discussion of resource constraints when she describes how difficult it is to plan an advanced schedule of classes because of insufficient faculty and budget resources:

> If you don't block it off and lay out a legitimate schedule that you can hand to that student, at any given time, they may not know what is being offered. And we're not there yet with blocking off the way we should. And they tell me it's because of a shortage of budget and they tell me it's a shortage of faculty.

When I asked James why the university has not allocated more funding to hire additional staff for the highly successful continuing higher education program for returning students offered at his institution, he replies, "I don't know if we are that much of a priority in terms of university dollars. If I went to them and say we wanted to hire three more people for [special adult student program] they'd say go fly a kite."

Susan explained what happened to a program to train faculty to teach online at Grove State University when the state system eliminated funding. "After two years of training, we had no more training." She also describes how the institution has struggled to offer continuing higher education programs at an off-campus site:

> The [off -campus] Center use to be the center [for the nearby predominately White college] and we were allowed to teach [there] on nights and weekends. And they got a new one [center] and we got that one. They even added on a new section, which is very nice. But half of it was being leased to [large research institution]. Then under a previous president, when we were having budget troubles, he made the decision to close it.

There were five informants representing three institutions who did not identify inadequate resources as an issue affecting continuing higher education at their institutions. These institutions were Cosmopolitan State University, Foothills State University, and Metro State University. In the case of Cosmopolitan State University, the institution was awarded additional funding by the state specifically to develop continuing higher education in order to fulfill the requirements of a court ordered desegregation plan. The following statement appears in archival documents describing the desegregation stipulations. “Sufficient funding through the normal budgetary process will be projected in order to achieve success of the provisions of the plan.” Additionally, these institutions had dedicated continuing higher education organizational units, made extensive use of distance education technologies and other alternative delivery formats, and had larger Fall 2006 continuing higher education enrollment figures when compared with the other five institutions. Table 5.3 lists the Fall 2006 headcount enrollments for continuing higher education programs.

Table 5.3

Fall 2006 Continuing Higher Education Enrollments

Institution	Fall 2006 CHE Enrollments
Orange State University	117
Cosmopolitan State University	2365
Coastal Hills State University	102
Grove State University	0
Foothills State University	353
Highpoint State University	554
Metro State University	1788

In the absence of high level institutional support for continuing higher education as a means of achieving the mission extensionist vision, the lack of resources becomes a far greater issue for the continuing higher education unit. As demonstrated by Cosmopolitan State University, even when there appears to be sufficient financial, technical, and human resources available to support continuing higher education, traditional structures and attitudes can inhibit the effective use of these resources to further the political interests of continuing higher education.

Invisible from Within

A third aspect of the *Pushed to the Margins* theme is the concept of the continuing higher education unit being invisible from within the institution. 'Invisible from within' indicates that continuing higher education operates at the periphery of the organization and assumes a lower status when compared with other academic programs. Program directors interviewed in this study described situations in which they are routinely excluded from meetings that impact the operations of their programs. James states, "There will be meetings and stuff for developing policies and we don't even know about it because we aren't invited to the meetings." Other program directors are placed in the position of having to constantly remind admissions office staff and other units that provide information to prospective students of the existence of a continuing higher education program option. Jana relates this experience as a new program administrator:

> When I first arrived here three years ago, no one on campus knew we had an off campus site. When people would call the main campus and ask for the telephone number for the Maywood Campus they were told we don't have a Maywood

> Campus. I had to send memos throughout the campus to tell people we have a Maywood Campus. I've had people in the admissions office, registrar's office, financial aid office say, we ain't got no program down there. And since I've been here, I've [made] a strong presence to let people [on the main campus] know, yes, we have students. Yes, we have a program in Maywood.

James talks about his invisible status and the implications this has for furthering the political interests:

> Because we're off campus, we're out of site, out of mind. And that's literally how we are. We've been here for over seven years and I run into people, instructors, department heads on campus that don't know we're here. Instead of marketing ourselves to the community, we need to market ourselves to Coastal Hills State University because people don't know that we're here and they don't know what we do.

A second aspect of invisibility is the location of the continuing higher education unit within the parent organization. Orange State University and Grove State University were the only two institutions included in this study where the continuing higher education unit is located within the same organizational unit as Graduate Studies. Based on interview data, program directors who practice in organizational units that are combined with Graduate Studies focus more of their time on their graduate responsibilities than the continuing higher education aspects of their job duties. In this combined structure, continuing higher education assumes a lower priority when compared to graduate studies. When I asked Jana why more was not being done to promote the continuing higher education programs at OSU's off-campus center, she

indicated her graduate coordinator responsibilities took precedence over the continuing higher education program:

> I mean as the director here, I can't run but one program at a time. I help them and give them support if they want to go out and recruit. But I can't recruit for all three programs. I can't. That's all my time right there. Plus I have to teach my class. Plus I have 38 students who are my advisees. So I can't recruit for their program, my program, advise 38 students, teach and direct dissertations and take care of the administrative functions of this campus. So their recruiting is on their own and they do very little of that.
>
> Researcher: So the institution hasn't seen the need to put the kind of resources here in order to make these programs competitive and viable.
>
> Jana: No, they don't. We're out here on our own.

Susan describes the organization of her department at Grove State University. Based on the description, the lines of communication and authority are unclear:

> Researcher: You described a number of programs you are responsible for managing or providing leadership for such as graduate studies, distance education and extended education programs offered at various off-campus centers. Give me some sense of how this unit is organized from a structural standpoint.
>
> Susan: Now the confusing part about Extended Education is that, alright, one Title III grant for outreach programs, enrichment programs especially for high school students who are dually enrolled in college was under the Dean before last, not the last one before me, the before that, and he maintained leadership of

> that program, even though he wasn't the graduate dean. So I understand that next year, I will, that will come under my responsibility. And so, I've had to report on some things for which I've not had responsibility for. But I just had the, very few of the Extended Education things that have been going were actually under my supervision, but in order to publicize them properly or tell the public or administrators what we have, I've been trying to get an understanding of it. I've been having meetings with various stakeholders so that at least we can talk to each other and cooperate.

Summary of Pushed Towards the Margins

The theme of ‘pushed towards the margins’ represents the social interests that act to marginalize continuing higher education in the public HBCUs included in this study. This study found that the traditional culture of the institution that has historically served a younger, residential student body is the most prevalent social interest that contributes to the marginalization of continuing higher education in the institutions. The influences of tradition are apparent in the administrative processes, academic policies, faculty attitudes and organizational structures. The study also found that among the majority of the program directors there is a belief that inadequate resources is a major factor that limits the ability of predominately Black colleges and universities to overcome many of the social interests that operate to keep continuing higher education at the periphery of the institution.

Negotiating the Struggle

The final theme of this analysis, *Negotiating the Struggle* addresses the second question of this study. The analysis of interview data reveals that continuing higher education program directors participating in this study use three strategies to negotiate social and political interests: developing sustained networks, advocating for students, and finding common ground. Of these three tactics the most commonly used strategy is developing sustained networks.

Developing Networks

The data affirmed that developing networks is the primary tactic by which continuing higher education program directors negotiate the struggle. Program directors engage in a variety of networking activities to negotiate the social and political interests influencing continuing higher education, including partnerships, collaborations, public relations, and building relationships among influential groups. Ralph uses the term ‘semi-collaborators’ as he describes how he engendered the support of reluctant faculty to help develop an evening and weekend program for adults:

> I had to build relationships with at least enough trust, but with frankness too with the [School of] Business folks to say hey, we really don't have this [evening program] and do we want to have this [evening program] and how do we deal with this? And I guess you would say that I was making them semi-collaborators, but the way I generally do things is to show some of my cards. And I say, look, I have some of these cards that say you really don't have anything. And they kind of confessed and we all kinda’ realized together, and I'm in there with them. I'm not their accuser. Look, we really don't have an [evening] program, but we can

> have. And you guys, the School [of Business & Economics] can be the ones pushing this because I can't. You're the chairs, not me. And they did.

Janet networks by becoming involved in committee work at her institution in order to increase awareness and visibility for her program:

> We are a part of the Enrollment Management Committee and various other academic advisory committees. If we are there and they see us and hear about what we are trying to do, it stays in their minds. When they get the opportunity, for instance, one of the professors called me because he wanted me to praise him. “I want to let you know that I said a good word for you and I had them put this class at 6:00pm.” If I had not been in a meeting with him, he would not have realized there is a need.

Ralph also uses networking to increase the visibility of the evening and weekend program among other departments. “And then, as we have over four years now, made connections with offices so that increasingly, we're not as threatening.”

Mary from Metro State University seeks strategic partnerships with other institutions to offer more flexibility in the program. She uses the term ‘fight’ to illustrate the persistence that is required to overcome the lack of convenient class schedules that is available for working adult students:

> We fight through the evening classes. We actually have a consortium agreement, so that if you needed a night English class, I can have you cross-registered for it at [the local community college] and it would be as if you were taking the class at MSU. So we can get around that.

A major finding from Susan's interview data was her use of networking as a negotiation strategy particularly as she struggles to create more flexible learning opportunities for adult students. In the following dialogue, she describes how she worked collaboratively with a faculty group to lead the development of an academic policy governing distance education. The most striking aspects of this dialogue is the way that the committee, which Susan identifies with, ultimately ensured faculty would maintain control of the approval process:

> Finally one of the previous VPAAs asked me to ah...I forget how it went but I think she asked me to form a committee, so I just took the people who were already working In the online community and became the chairperson. She told us to establish policies which we did, but they never actually worked their way into the written policies of the institution. So it was a bit too informal. So once I became the coordinator, the new VPAA has accepted more of the policies from the committee. And we looked at the SACS criteria and one of the most important things is that there be an approval process so that you can see if the courses follows best practice so that they have everything that a face- to -face class has through the online median I guess you could say. So, we have developed an approval process [for online courses] that has passed the curriculum committee, and at the next faculty meeting we assume they will pass that. And so then in that approval process…the curriculum committee still remains responsible for content. So if it's a brand new [online] course, it would still have to go through the curriculum committee. But the GSU Online Committee, which is what we named ourselves, is responsible for the design of

> the course to see that it follows best practices. The department head has responsibility for selecting which courses and which faculty should do [teach] them, just like they are responsible for any other course.

Advocating for Students

Advocating for students is the second method continuing higher education program directors use to negotiate the struggle. James explains how his department becomes an advocate for students by streamlining the student service process:

> Because another thing we try to do as a one-stop shop is that if you got a problem such as a Change of Major form. Rather than have you take off from work to go to this department to get it signed, go to that department to get it signed, then take it to the Registrar's office, we do that. And things like that. Because we want this transition period for you, to be as problem free as possible.

In addition, because James is a member of the faculty and an administrator, he uses his position to cut through the red tape for students:

> Because things that I can do…sometimes the students get sick, and they might fall behind in their work…and they probably need to get an 'I' [Incomplete]. If they go to the instructor, he will probably say no. I can go to the instructor and say, look, this person has been sick and I can document that. I would really, really appreciate if you can get them an 'I' [Incomplete] and let them finish up next semester. Well their reaction to me is going to be a whole lot different from their reaction to a student. Same thing with some of that bureaucracy. Over in Marshall Hall, there are places where I don't have to stand in line. I can just go and knock on the door and say you need to sign this. Bingo! It's done.

Providing a one-stop student services office, Beale demonstrates how she engenders support from adult students by becoming their advocate:

> I knew if we were going to try to bring people in here we were going to have to have better service. So we organized a one-stop shop in this place. And that's a way for students to get their applications, financial aid and advisement here after the university closes in the day and into the evenings and on weekends. So we have a whole set up here where we offer students services during that [evening and weekends] timeframe.

Ralph shares why he believes it is critical for his program to promote student advocacy:

> In most of my experiences, we have taken care of our own [adult students]. We have taken care of our group. Not made you stay open and scattered all around the campus but we'll just do all the stuff for the group in one place and be generalist, renaissance people because we have to do it anyway. They don't come and say to us [student voice] I won't ask you anything about admissions processes, I just want to know something. [Ralph voice] No, they ask us the whole gamet and we have to know everything or where to find out the answers. We have to know the whole nine yards.

Finding Common Ground

A third method used by program directors to negotiate the struggle is finding common ground among colleagues. In this approach, continuing higher education program directors gain allies within the organization by connecting their needs with the implicit and explicit interests of others. By doing so, these program directors find common ground by which they are able to negotiate among the often conflicting social

and political interests that influence continuing higher education. In this example, Beale demonstrates how she negotiates the issue of academic quality by reassuring them that the standards for continuing higher education will be equivalent to traditional programs. And we've tried to bridge that gap by saying its not about us and them, it's about all of us. This is *our* campus. This is CSU. And the standards that I'm going to uphold are the same standards I would think people on the main campus would want to uphold."

James champions support for programs that target adult and nontraditional students by framing the discussion around enrollment growth. "Yes, and another way I pitch it to the university is that everybody is looking for students. You've got a ready made market. If you think about all of the students over the past 20 years who've entered this place but haven't finished. That's a market! That's an un-tapped market. So why would you turn away from that market if everybody is trying to get more students." Monica described how she appeals to the interest in increasing enrollments to convince a reluctant department head to offer an off-campus program:

> I have been begging this department head since I've been director of off -campus programs to let's go off campus. No, I don't have the faculty, they won't do it. Then she comes to me. I look at the low producing programs and I say, this persons going to call me, and this persons going to call me. And I hate for it to be that way because I want us to be more proactive and more strategic about what we're going to do. But I knew we would be fulfilling a need because most childhood agencies are having to upgrade their credentials. So if you leave main campus, there are a wealth of people that will come to you.

Summary of Negotiating the Struggle

In response to question number two in this study, continuing higher education program directors employ a variety of tactics to adjudicate the social and political interests that influence the continuing higher education unit within the organization. These strategies include developing sustained networks, advocating for students, using counteracting tactics, and appealing to individual and programmatic self-interests.

The interview data revealed that developing sustained networks is the most prevalent form of negotiation used by continuing higher education directors. These networks consist of partnerships, public relations activities, and collaborations.

Summary of Research Findings

In conclusion, this chapter addresses the two research questions guiding this study: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public historically Black colleges and universities; and (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit.

Based predominately on interview data, the theme of ‘struggling for a place’ and importance addressed research question number one and characterized the benefits that continuing higher education accrue to the public HBCUs in this study. These benefits are fostering institutional survival by recruiting adult and nontraditional students, embracing a pluralistic mission that expands the concept of the underserved to include those who have been denied access due to time and place barriers, and garnering public support for the new mission.

These interests reflect the institutions attempts to redefine their missions in a post-*Brown* society. The second theme of 'pushed towards the margins,' identifies factors that impede or interfere with the development of continuing higher education. The single most significant social factor which contributes to the marginalization of continuing higher education within the institution are administrative practices that are aligned with the traditional mission of serving young students. Other factors that influence the status of continuing higher education found during the study are the organization of the unit within the institution and the extent of support from high level leadership. Continuing higher education units that were subsumed within Graduate Studies were more likely to be assigned a secondary status than those institutions where continuing higher education is organized as a stand alone department. Additionally, institutions in which the president and chief academic officer show strong support for continuing higher education were less likely to identify insufficient resources as an issue in sustaining and developing the program than those in which high level support was lacking.

An additional finding of this study is that the positionality of the informant influenced whether the mission conflict was recognized or ignored. White participants were more likely to articulate a mission extensionists viewpoint as opposed to their African American counterparts. However, some African American informants were more forthright in their discussion of race within the context of institutional mission and the implications for continuing higher education.

With respect to the second question addressed in this inquiry, continuing higher education directors use different strategies to negotiate the social and political interests influencing continuing higher education. These include developing networking, advocating for students, and finding common ground. The most common strategy used by the program directors was networking. The study found that as change agents, continuing higher education program directors often resort to building networks through partnership, collaboration, and public relations to negotiate power relationships among institutional actors. Advocating for students was frequently enacted to negotiate on behalf of better student services which often failed to take into account the unique needs of adult students. In this sense, program directors use adult students as surrogate champions of the continuing higher education program. In finding common ground, program directors seek allies among influential colleagues who share mutually beneficial interests.

Chapter VI

CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION: REDEFINING THE MISSION

"No race or color is entitled to monopolize the benefits of higher education. If any race is entitled to be specially favored in this respect I should say it is the one that has by the agency of others been longest deprived thereof." W.F. Warren, President of Boston University, The College-Bred Negro, 1900

The purpose of this study was to understand the strategic role of the continuing higher education initiative in advancing the traditional mission of public HBCUs. The study was guided by the following research questions: (1) What are the social and political interests that influence continuing higher education in public HBCUs? and (2) How are the social and political interests negotiated by the continuing higher education organizational unit?

The chapter presents the conclusions and discussions of the research study and is organized into four major sections. The first section presents a summary of the research methods and study findings. The second section identifies and discusses the conclusions based on the findings. The third section examines the implications of the findings for practice and future research. The chapter concludes with reflective remarks.

Summary of Research Methods and Findings

This qualitative study employed the use of data from three sources. The primary data source was the topical interview. Data were also collected using observations and the analysis of archival resources. The participant sample consisted of three senior academic officers and nine continuing higher education program directors representing

seven public HBCUs. The seven institutions represented a diversity of public HBCUs in terms of geographical location, enrollment size, and Carnegie classification. All institutions offered continuing higher education programs which varied in the number of students enrolled in the programs. The type of continuing higher education programs offered by the institution in this study included those delivered during extended hours, by distance education technologies and at off-campus facilities.

In response to the first research question, the study found six social and political interests influencing continuing higher education in public HBCUs. The need to increase enrollment was the first political interest influencing continuing higher education. The continuing higher education directors and academic administrators in this study viewed continuing higher education as one strategy to recruit the growing numbers of adult and nontraditional students.

A second finding related to the first research question was that continuing higher education affords public Black colleges the opportunity to attract a more racially and ethnically diverse student population. Several participants spoke of how continuing higher education programs such as programs delivered off-campus, via distance education or other nontraditional delivery methods are effective in enrolling a more racially diverse student population. A major finding related to social interests was that White and Hispanic participant's reflected an ahistorical perspective on the impact of racial diversity on the traditional HBCU mission. This is an important finding for it suggests that positionality plays a role in how administrators view the role of public HBCUs in educating African American youth.

The gain of political capital was a third political interest detected in the study that influenced continuing higher education in public HBCUs. The analysis of interviews and archival data revealed that continuing higher education programs such as distance education, programs for returning adult students, evening and weekend college, and off-campus centers are often a response to economic development needs. To fulfill their stewardship responsibilities as public institutions, public HBCUs are expected to support and promote workforce development initiatives that facilitate statewide economic development goals. An analysis of interview data reveals that even when public HBCUs find it difficult to sustain continuing higher education due to limited resources, it is politically detrimental to terminate these programs because of their political visibility.

Although the study found that the social and political interests influencing continuing higher education collectively operate to benefit the institution with regards to promoting a new post-*Brown* mission, there are social and political interests that conspire to impede the ability of the public HBCUs in this study to fully embrace the new mission. The analysis revealed that tradition was the most significant social interest that marginalized continuing higher education within the institution. The culture of HBCUs in this study are more supportive of students who are recent high school graduates, living on campus and attending classes full time, because these students have historically comprised the majority of students attending HBCUs. This tradition is embedded in the institution's administrative practices, academic policies, and faculty attitudes.

A second political interest that acts against continuing higher education is limited funding resources. Although financial reports were not provided for this study, an analysis of interview data reveals that continuing higher education leaders believed that

the lack of sufficient funding provided to the institution limited their ability to overcome many of the cultural and social barriers. In fact, a paucity of financial resources was identified as the major social barrier confronting public HBCUs in terms of their ability to achieve parity with predominately White institutions in offering continuing higher education.

An analysis of interview data showed that continuing higher education operates outside the mainstream circles of the institution. Not all of the continuing higher education leaders shared these beliefs, particularly those leaders associated with larger institutions located in urban areas. However, program directors affiliated with institutions that had smaller enrollments and were located in rural areas were more likely to express feelings of being isolated within the institution. Interview data further confirmed that continuing higher education was more likely to be assigned a secondary status when organized as a part of a graduate studies unit which was the case with the smaller, rural-based universities in this study. In these instances, the program director viewed their continuing higher education responsibilities as being secondary to their graduate studies duties, a prioritization that was often reinforced by the chief academic officer.

In response to the second research question, the study identified three major strategies by which continuing higher education program directors negotiate the tension between the social and political interests Black colleges derive from continuing higher education and the social and political interests that leads to the marginalization of educational programs for adult students in public HBCUs. The study found that continuing higher education program directors used networking to increase their status within the institution, serve as a voice for adult students, and seek allies among

influential colleagues. These negotiation strategies are intended to overcome the marginalization on continuing higher education and move its sphere of influence from the boundaries of the institution towards the center.

Conclusions and Discussion

In this section, I will review the major conclusions of the study and address the position of the literature on these conclusions. Based on the findings of the study, three major conclusions were reached regarding the strategic role of continuing higher education in public HBCUs. The first conclusion was that (1) continuing higher education facilitates the advancement of a new post-*Brown* mission for public HBCUs; (2) continuing higher education is at the nexus of social and political conflicts affecting public HBCUs; and (3) continuing higher education leaders use strategies to negotiate the conflicts between the historical and new mission that are consistent with their marginal status within the institution.

Advancing the New Mission

The first major conclusion of this study is that continuing higher education facilitates the advancement of a new post-*Brown* mission for public HBCUs. With the passage of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, public Black colleges and universities, and the state higher education system in which they are governed, have endeavored to reshape the public's perception away from the view of HBCUs as institutions exclusively for the higher education of African American youth to institutions that seek to prepare all students for an increasingly complex world. The three cornerstones of this new mission emphasizes diversity, globalization, and academic excellence (Mbajekewe, 2006) all premised on the philosophy that race, as determinant of access in higher education, no

longer matters. Thus the argument becomes the need no longer exists for state-supported, racially identifiable institutions, such as public HBCUs, from both a legal and social perspective. The time has move beyond education based on race.

One of the most striking observations of this study is that in a post-*Brown* public Black college lexicon, the term 'disadvantaged' assumes a completely different interpretation when compared to 'disadvantaged' from the historical perspective. Individuals who are employed full- time or have family responsibilities that make it difficult from them to attend classes or access campus services during traditional daytime hours (Fairchild, 2003) represent the new disadvantaged. From the perspective of the participants represented in this study, the traditional mission of public HBCUs as institutions to promote race uplift through the education of African American youth is re-conceptualized as part of the post-*Brown* mission that recognizes adults and nontraditional students as representing a new class of 'disadvantaged'. Rather than being disadvantaged by race, they are denied access based on lifestyle factors. Consequently, continuing higher education becomes an agent for the facilitation of the new mission by providing access to this new group of disadvantaged students with programs that provide increased access such as evening, weekend, online and off-campus locations.

Again, returning to the data reveals that race uplift, within the contemporary mission of public HBCUs, is no longer a valid mission given that legal segregation has ended. The post-Brown imperative for economic and global competitiveness compels higher education systems to attend not only to the needs of adolescents, but those of adult and nontraditional students regardless of racial group affiliation. But there is yet

another factor which describes the strategic role of continuing higher education in a post-Brown public HBCU mission, and that is one of promoting a more racially diverse student body. Continuing higher education in the public HBCUs included in this study promoted a redistribution of racial groups within the undergraduate student population. Brown (2002) refers to these enrollments shifts as Transdemographic enrollments. Analysis of the study findings reveal continuing higher education programs are effective in attracting students from diverse racial backgrounds including white adult students. Institutional leaders affirm the belief that White students who enroll in continuing higher education programs are undeterred by the racial history associated with public HBCUs as institutions. Instead the analysis indicated program directors believe White students favor the proximity of continuing higher education programs and the low cost associated with public HBCUs over the racial history.

The strategic role of continuing higher education as a change agent is one outcome of the social and political dynamics affecting public Black colleges in America. One of the most impressive achievements of Black colleges has been their ability to take students who were academically under prepared entering college and help nurture them into successful college graduates (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). However, as a result of collegiate desegregation, states have instituted a number of measures that are designed to mitigate any remaining vestiges of a dual higher education system based on race. State higher education policy makers have conducted mission reviews of higher education institutions, including public HBCUs, to clearly define institutional purpose. In some cases, these reviews have resulted in public HBCUs developing new institutional missions with higher admissions standards, special academic programs to

attract a larger percentage of White students, and in certain circumstances, special scholarship programs designed to serve as an incentive to attract non-African American students. Consequently, academically under prepared African American high school graduates who may have qualified under the old admission standards increasingly are directed towards two-year associate degree institutions as their higher education point of entry**.** Presidents of HBCUs have argued that they must redefine their mission in order to remain competitive in a global market (Payne,1995). Minor (2004) defines this circumstance as paradox of mission.

Analysis of the study findings reveals that continuing higher education leaders are cognizant of how these social and political changes have impacted public HBCUs, in terms of decreasing enrollment among traditional age African American students. They share the belief that the continued viability of public HBCUs as institutions of higher education is predicated on its ability to attract students that have not traditionally viewed public Black colleges as a viable education option. Analysis of the study findings also indicate that program leaders consider it to be an institutional imperative that a larger number of undergraduate programs are delivered using nontraditional methods such as distance education, off-campus and evening and weekend schedules in order to attract this new population of students. In fact, the analysis revealed that there is a strong sentiment among program directors and academic leaders that public HBCUs run the risk of being left behind by peer institutions if they fail to take advantage of the growing number of adult and nontraditional students by offering continuing higher education programs.

However, the treatment of continuing higher education as one strategy to promote a post-*Brown* mission associated with racial integration ignores the reality that Black colleges and universities have historically embraced a race-neutral stance. The stigma of racial segregation which led to the establishment of HBCUs was actually the direct result of a white supremacist ideology that perpetuated Black inferiority and subjugation (Myrdal, 1945/1996). Indeed, HBCUs were ostracized for refusing to capitulate to state mandates to deny admissions to White students and to refrain from hiring White faculty members (Du Bois, 1942). Further, public HBCUs are perhaps the most racially diverse higher education institutions as noted by the diverse representation of racial groups in this study. Thus the irony of the new post-*Brown* mission which promotes racial diversity, and continuing higher education as a facilitator, seems entirely misplaced within the context of historically Black colleges and universities.

From a broader perspective, the argument that race no longer matters in higher education actually serves to recreate the same power inequities that the post-*Brown* mission suggests no longer exists. As Gushue and Constantine (2007) posts, “The color-blind perspective does not necessarily make explicit claims about White superiority. Rather color-blind attitudes reflect the seemingly benign position that race should not and does not matter” (p. 323). It is a denial that race continue to benefit those who are in power (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Brown, 2000) as evidenced by the continuing underfunding of public HBCUs (Brady, 2000). Derrick Bell in his criticism of a remark made by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. that “the way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race” (Roberts as cited in

Bell, 2007) states that this philosophy ignores the nation's racial history. Based on the interview data in this study, the proclivity of White students to enroll in continuing higher education programs offered away from the main campus of public HBCUs versus continuing higher education programs that are offered on the main campus strongly suggests that diversification strategies such as continuing higher education programs may actually results in the re-segregation of HBCUs rather than racial integration espoused by the post-*Brown* mission.

The literature reviewed in the study supported the conclusion that continuing higher education facilitates the advancement of a new post-*Brown* mission for public HBCUs. Studies on the impact of federal desegregation mandates for higher education illustrate that policies have been developed to enhance the diversification of the student body, faculty, and administration of HBCUs (Brady, 2000; Brown, 2002; Brown, Richard & Donahoo, 2004). In a qualitative study of the contemporary mission of HBCUs, Mbajekwe (2006) reveals that Black college presidents articulate a new education mission that extends beyond the racial legacy to embrace diversity and the preparation of all students for a global economy. These leaders go on to suggest that while the legacy of racial uplift among HBCUs must be honored, Black colleges and universities cannot remain wedded to the past, but must develop strategies that permit HBCUs to remain competitive in an integrated environment. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) pointed to the financial incentive provided to colleges and universities that offer educational programs that attract nontraditional and working professional student market:

> More institutional and faculty attention is directed towards those student markets (nontraditional, working professionals) that can afford to pay more, and fewer opportunities are available to low-income and historically underserved students of color, who are less able to pay and less likely to be flowing into new economy fields of employment. (p. 308)

In their study of HBCUs and economic development, Richmond and Maramark (1990) suggested that historically Black colleges and universities should consider continuing, developing, or enhancing their involvement in this area because "increasing enrollment and financial pressures can be countered by developing programs that reach new clienteles" (p. 11). But the larger issue revealed by this study is that the use of continuing higher education as one strategy by public HBCUs to promote a more racially diverse student body ignores the history of the failures of school desegregation in America. Those who laud the virtues of racial integration in the guise of diversity programs such as continuing higher education minimize the accomplishments of public HBCUs and romanticize the expected results from the matriculation of majority students. Derrick Bell (2004), points to the growing disparity between the academic achievements of minority and white school children as evidence that the hopes of *Brown* has not yielded the utopian advancement that were envisioned by its architects. In fact, school desegregation has done more to displace African American teachers, principals, and other Black educators as a public education policy. Therefore the issue becomes what guarantees are there that public Black colleges will not suffer a similar fate in lieu of the calls for increased diversity.

Internal and External Conflict

The second conclusion of the study is that continuing higher education is at the nexus of social and political conflicts affecting public HBCUs. The study found that although public HBCUs benefit from academic programs such as continuing higher education that promote the new mission, there are actors within the HBCU community that view such programs as an erosion of the institutions historical legacy. This opposition is actualized in the form of individual and collective resistance in order to safeguard the traditional culture. An analysis of interview data revealed that a significant challenge to continuing higher education was the lack of convenient access to student services such as enrollment services, financial aid, and student accounts. Ralph described how Foothills State University enrollment services offices initially resisted requests to provide extended hour access to accommodate students who were enrolled in evening and weekend classes. Students who are employed full time may find it difficult, if not impossible, to take work time in order to come to a campus bursar, financial aid, or admissions office to conduct business during 8:00am to 5:00pm office hours. These hours may be convenient for students who live on campus, but working professionals and nontraditional students need extended office hours to accommodate their schedules. Other examples of service convenience might include online access to various business forms such as admissions applications, financial aid applications, class withdrawal forms, and the ability to conduct business transactions online. Hadfield (2003) posits that, “colleges and universities continue to deliver a ‘one-size-fits-all’ products and services” which ignore the unique service and programmatic needs of adult learners (p.18). Hadfield (2003) argues that with the exception of the quality of

academic offerings, “quality services has been singled out as the most important factor in determining the success or failure of our programs for adult learners, now and for the foreseeable future” (p. 19).

In addition to the lack of convenient access to student services, the study found that student services staff and their administrative leaders, did not understand the unique needs of adult students, which were reflected in institutional policies and practices. The analysis of interview data indicated that continuing higher education students are sometimes subjected to discourteous service by office staff members or simply expected to comply with procedures that were inappropriate for adult students. Ralph shared an example of a student who was enrolled in a continuing higher education program who submitted an admissions application after the deadline. According to Ralph, the student was told by the admissions staff her mother should have reminded her of the application deadline. The student informed the admissions staff member she was 40 years old and her mother was deceased.

The study also found that that there is resistance among some members of faculty with regards to the use of nontraditional program delivery methods such as distance education and off-campus instruction. Analysis of interview data indicates that program directors encountered faculty who questioned the quality of nontraditional teaching formats such as online instruction and considered traditional face-to-face instruction to be superior to distance education. Clarke and Gabert (2004) write that, “Despite the growing responsibility of postsecondary institutions to accommodate adult learners, the needs of adult learners require an educator profile that conflicts with the traditional values of the academy” (p. 16). Further analysis indicated that program

directors believed there was a perception among certain faculty members as well as administrative staff that distance education and off-campus programs robbed students of the cultural benefits derived from being in the milieu of the on-campus experience. Continuing higher education programs create a semipermeable barrier between the campus life and student life. In this respect, continuing higher education ostensibly perpetuates the inequality that it was designed to eliminate.

The analysis of interview data revealed that program directors and academic leaders both felt that faculty, staff, and alumni shared a concern that members of the campus community perceived continuing higher education as a potential threat to the institution's value system. These cultural values are explicit in the history of Black colleges as creating the social and intellectual environments where African American youth are successful (Fleming, 1984). As Brown (2002) suggests, there is "recognition that the campus culture has been the primary factor in the success of this cohort of institutions" (p. 274). Thus continuing higher education programs that separate the nucleus of the campus from the student reduces that intimacy and "puts at risk, those things that made Black colleges successful" (Brown, 2002).

The study also found that the racialized climate (Minor, 2004) of public HBCUs was a factor in how continuing higher education leaders contextualized the redefinition of the mission and the subsequent role of continuing higher education in fostering this mission. The majority of the African American continuing higher education leaders were expressive in acknowledging continuing higher education's role in contributing to the mission paradox. Continuing higher education leaders who affirmed a racialized status other than African American did not acknowledge the conflicts that emerged from a shift

in an emphasis from serving young students to adults and non-African American students. In fact, there was an overwhelming sentiment among non-African American program directors and academic directors that outreach to new clientele would enhance the credibility of public HBCUs. Subsequently, the intangible benefits endemic to Black college culture are less valuable to non-African American continuing higher education leaders than those of African descent.

The study found that the paucity of external funding for public HBCUs exacerbates resistance and conspires with tradition to further marginalize the continuing higher education unit within the organization. The analysis of interview data revealed that campuses that offer evening and weekend courses for adult students often depend on the same faculty who teach daytime classes. Even when department heads support the development of additional weekend and evening programs, they are reluctant to commit to these initiatives without additional funding to hire new faculty. Analysis of interview data indicate that resources are needed to provide training and development for faculty to acquire skills to teach online and to hire experienced technology support staff. Moreover, continuing higher education programs lack sufficient resources to engage in aggressive marketing and advertising campaigns in order to reach new student markets.

Despite the perceived benefits that accrue to public HBCUs from continuing higher education among the participants in this study, the analysis revealed that continuing higher education units are assigned a secondary status when they are organized as part of Graduate Studies. It is not uncommon for the unit to be staffed by a single individual who has multiple responsibilities within the organization. Interview

data indicate that continuing higher education units compete with other mainstream academic programs for recognition and resources. These findings suggest that if continuing higher education in public HBCUs are to be able to achieve the political goal of preparing a well-educated workforce, these initiatives must be fully funded by state legislatures, otherwise they become an unfunded mandate.

The literature reviewed in the study supported the conclusion that continuing higher education is at the nexus of social and political conflicts affecting public HBCUs. Studies have been conducted examining collegiate desegregation policies aimed at increasing White enrollments at public HBCUs (Brady, 2000; Brown, 2002). Although these studies do not specifically name continuing higher education programs as a desegregation strategy, the analysis confirms that continuing higher education programs such as distance education and off-campus offerings attract a widely diverse group of matriculates. The literature reviewed in this study also supported the finding that resistance to continuing higher education is a byproduct of a paradox of mission (Brown, 2002; Minor, 2004). Minor (2004) posits that, “The push to increase graduate and professional programs will attract an increasing number of White, international, and adult students” (p. 48). Consequently, decision making on issues which compromise the mission of the institution are strained and frequently contested (Minor, 2004).

The literature reviewed in this study also supported the finding that the racialized climate of public HBCUs is a factor in how continuing higher education leaders contextualized the redefinition of the mission and the subsequent role of continuing higher education in fostering this mission. In his examination of decision making in historically Black colleges and universities, Minor (2004) argues that HBCUs as

institutions are “likely to experience similar prejudices and discrimination that an African American individual might experience in the larger society” (p. 48). The lack of awareness by administrators as to how the recruitment of White and adult students would impact the HBCU community suggests a level of insensitivity.

Finally, the findings support literature in that continuing higher education organizations have operated within a marginal status within colleges and universities (Cervero, 1988; Marcy, 2004; Merriam & Brockett, 1997; Watkins & Tisdell, 2006). As Marcy (2004) posits, the growth in continuing higher education programs have been used as a strategy to reverse negative revenue trends. However, “most of these curricular and programmatic initiatives have been layered on top of existing campus operation” (p. 208). The lack of integration into the institutional mainstream services leaves these programs vulnerable to budget reductions. Watkins and Tisdell (2006) draw a more precise correlation to institutional mission and continuing higher education marginality when there is “tension between an institution’s historical mission and espoused values and the reality of dealing with market concerns and fiscal realities” (p. 153). Although the political motivation for fostering the development of continuing higher education might be driven by fiscal need, the realization of this benefit is jeopardized when there is a conflict between the institutions mission and the ideological premise of continuing higher education.

Strategies for Negotiating the New Mission

The third major conclusion of the study is that that continuing higher education program directors use strategies to negotiate internal and external conflicts that are consistent with their marginal status within the institution. As change agents, program

directors are placed at the center of conflict between the supporters of the traditional mission paradigm premised on a social justice agenda and the new mission which promotes cultural assimilation. The study found that the state's historical legacy of under funding public Black colleges and universities combined with the institutions traditional values of race uplift for African American youth, reinforces the marginalization of continuing higher education within the institution. Although continuing higher education has historically led the push towards institutional change and innovation, the public HBCUs long history of financial neglect has made it difficult for this cohort of institutions to implement new systems for supporting institutional change. Thus the strategies they use to negotiate the interest of sustaining a new mission are bounded by these social and political interests.

The study found that directors of continuing higher education programs established parallel structures to mitigate barriers imposed by traditional administrative structures that are designed to serve residential students but ignore the special needs of adult students. The analysis of interview data revealed that program directors created sub-structures within the continuing higher education unit that functioned as intermediaries between the parent organization student service offices and the continuing higher education unit. The range in the complexity of these sub-structures was quite striking. One institution in this study created a highly organized, multi-functional unit conceptualized as one-stop student service center that provided after hour access to admissions counselors, application forms, and other service -related areas. At the other extreme is a school with a staff member who functioned as a document courier for adult students who were unable to travel to campus.

The dissonance between continuing higher education programs and student services is one of the major challenges of higher education institutions (Dare, Zapata & Thomas, 2005; Floyd & Casey-Powell, 2004; Kiger & Johnson, 1997). Kiger and Johnson (1997) showed that adults who disengaged from the admissions process perceived a lack of interest on behalf of the institution in helping them to attain their educational goals. The study found that continuing higher education program directors negotiate the political interest of the state, which is reflected in the paucity of funding for public HBCUs, by seeking allies with those whose goals were mutually beneficial to continuing higher education. The same faculty who teach in traditional programs must also teach in the continuing higher education programs offered online, in the evenings or at off-campus sites. This dual role overtaxes an already overburdened faculty corp and contributes to the resistance to continuing higher education expressed by faculty and department chairs. In describing the key elements for sustaining a quality adult accelerated degree program, Husson and Kennedy (2003) point out that these programs "make extensive use of adjunct faculty" (p. 57). Therefore, sufficient resources must be available to sustain the quality of continuing higher education programs.

The analysis revealed that program directors negotiate this resistance from their marginal status by promoting the advantages of teaching off-campus versus on-campus. These benefits include access to better facilities and the opportunity to teach adult students who are generally highly motivated learners. They develop relationships with academic and administrative departments to help create strategies to accommodate continuing higher education programs through a deliberative process. Continuing higher education program directors who hold faculty appointments use this

status to increase their credibility among fellow faculty members (Gutierrez, 2005; Watkins & Tisdell, 2006). Program directors seek out those whose interests are mutually beneficial to continuing higher education in order to promote the new mission as a part of the needs assessment. The interview data indicate that continuing higher education program directors dangle the carrot of increased enrollments as an incentive to encourage department chairs, whose on-campus programs are experiencing enrollment declines, to offer courses at off-campus sites. Cervero and Wilson (2006) argue that adult education program directors "assume that their assessments should focus only on the educational needs of learners…Although political assessments are rarely openly discussed or evidenced using formal research methods, they are always essential for planning programs" (p. 114). They participate on institutional committees in order to increase their visibility among key stakeholders. The selection of these committees are strategic in that continuing higher education program directors seek out committee work that will allow them to network among campus power brokers such as deans, department chairs, and executive officers.

The study found that continuing higher education program directors did not always perceive their marginal status to be a disadvantage. Among the directors of off-campus continuing higher education programs, the physical separation from the main campus afforded them with a measure of autonomy, power, and authority they would not experienced on-campus. Analysis of the interview data revealed off-campus continuing higher education directors experienced a level of decision-making authority that enjoined their marginal status. Analysis of interview data indicated their isolation permitted program directors to escape the political struggles that often characterized the

hierarchal power structure of the on-campus environment. Continuing higher education directors found within the space of distance the opportunity to negotiate the interests of adult students. Thus distance, both virtual and real, provided a conduit for actualizing the new mission within the constraints of marginalization.

The literature reviewed in the study supported the conclusion that continuing higher education program directors use strategies to negotiate internal and external conflicts that are consistent with their marginal status. These meta-negotiation strategies did not represent the negotiation of the technical aspects of the continuing higher education program, but they were used to change the nature of power relationships in order to actualize the new mission (Umble, Cervero, & Langone, 2001). Several studies emphasized the correlation between the extent of conflict within the program development environment and the selection of negotiation strategy by adult educators (Cervero & Wilson, 2006; Hendrix, 2001; McDonald, 1996; Mosely, 2005; Scott & Schmitt-Boshnick, 1996; Watkins & Tisdell, 2006). Watkins and Tisdell (2006) demonstrated that adult educators in small liberal arts higher education institutions negotiated power and interest by “drawing on multiple forms of capital, including social, cultural, and economic capital” (p. 154). Watkins and Tisdell (2006) supported the findings of this study that continuing higher educators in public HBCUs engaged in relationship building and networking as forms of negotiation. As Watkins and Tidell (2006) argued, “These program planners drew on their social capital in that networking and relationship building was a significant way that they negotiated power and interest” (p. 154).

The literature reviewed in the study also supported the finding that continuing higher education directors allied themselves with institutional actors whose interests coincided with continuing higher education in order to promote the new mission. Cervero and Wilson (2006) propose that a bargaining negotiation strategy is most appropriate in situations where there are common and conflicting interests. The literature supported the finding that continuing higher education program directors did not always perceive their marginal status to be a disadvantage. Eitel (1993) identified positive and negative aspects of continuing education marginality that included autonomy, innovation, and entrepreneurialism. Eitel (1993) indicated that administrators frequently cited the positive aspects of marginalization.

The literature on continuing higher education did not directly support the finding that continuing higher education program directors established parallel service structures to mitigate barriers imposed by traditional administrative structures. However, the literature did address the importance of the institution being committed to excellence in customer service as part of a successful continuing higher education program. Husson and Kennedy (2003) argue that, “many colleges have ignored the need for quality services for their students, focusing instead on high-quality instruction” (p. 54).

Implications of the Study and Future Research

This study clarifies the central role of continuing higher education in the public HBCU as being ‘mission critical.’ It reflects one attempt by public HBCUs to transform the institution to cope with the changing social and political environment created by school desegregation which began with the passage of *Brown* in 1954. This transformation includes the development of a new mission that espouses racial

diversity, academic excellence, and global competitiveness and views the education of adults, working professionals, or re-entry students as examples of the newly disadvantaged. However, the policy implications of continuing higher education as an institutional diversification strategy for public HBCUs are extremely important and are embedded with social risks that must be carefully considered within the context of an American society which is based on racial domination.

The most compelling implication of this study is that the utilization of continuing higher education as one strategy to actualize a new institutional mission requires substantially more effort than the development of a new written mission statement. If it is the intent of higher education agencies to redefine the mission of public HBCUs as a policy effort to promote collegiate desegregation, then this policy must be accompanied by the necessary resources to actualize the new mission. Large public state universities have multiple revenue streams to advance innovation, including large endowments, sophisticated athletic programs, robust research programs, and access to the deep pockets of wealthy donors. Even smaller majority state institutions, by virtue of their non-racialized history, enjoy a more favorable status in terms of funding. Public HBCUs do not have access to wealthy donors nor are the majority of these institutions recipients of substantial research dollars because they are primarily teaching institutions by virtue of their history. The wisdom and political savvy of visionary and proactive leaders cannot overcome the paucity of financial resources. The assimilation of public HBCUs into the public higher education mainstream requires funding parity.

To argue that public HBCUs must realign existing resources to support academic programs like continuing higher education that facilitates the new mission simply

ignores the contributions that this cohort of institutions has made and continues to make in developing African American leaders. Indeed, the new mission should extend, not replace the traditional purpose of public HBCUs in providing educational opportunities for the disadvantaged, including those who have been marginalized due to race, economic and social status. Continuing higher education becomes an enabler for the institution to build upon its success by reaching out to students who are disadvantaged because of time, place or lifestyle barriers. Adequate funding ensures that continuing higher education does not become a competitor for resources as public HBCUs are transformed by school desegregation.

A second implication of the study is that if continuing higher education is to advance the new post-Brown mission of public HBCUs, senior leaders must demonstrate a commitment to the new mission by fostering a climate of change. Husson and Kennedy (2003) rightfully declare that “the long-term viability of accelerated degree programs requires a sustained commitment on behalf of the senior leaders” (p. 54). High level administrative support is a key factor in moving continuing higher education from the margin to the center. As this study has illustrated, even when funding is not an issue in terms of mobilization of resources to support continuing higher education, the lack of senior leadership in understanding the unique needs of adult students can adversely affect the development of continuing higher education. Implementing continuing higher education without understanding how these changes will impact the culture of the institution has proven to be ineffective. The full realization of continuing higher education involves an understanding on behalf of the institutional community as to the nature of the changes that are to be expected. Presidents and

other senior executives must understand the existing institutional culture and how that needs to change in order to effectively reach out to nontraditional and adult students.

A third implication of this study is that as public HBCUs strive to fulfill the post-*Brown* educational mission, the values embodied by public Black colleges that have contributed to their success should not be sacrificed or misplaced. This is a fine line to walk for leaders of public HBCUs as well as state higher education officials. It is a matter of preserving what is best while simultaneously transforming into what is better. Certainly, the public HBCU, like all traditional higher education institutions, could and must do more to employ continuous quality improvements strategies. As this study has illustrated, improvements in the quality of student services is needed for adult and nontraditional students. However, public HBCUs, as higher education institutions, are also important contributors to the development of the American social structure and are highly regarded within the African American community. If one outcome of continuing higher education and similar academic programs at public HBCUs is the loss of the HBCU cultural identity, then continuing higher education will have failed in its promise to serve as an extension of the traditional mission. Rather, it becomes another example of a racial-sacrifice covenant that abandons Black interests for the benefit of Whites (Bell, 2004).

Finally, the conclusions of this study suggest further inquiry is warranted in understanding how public HBCUs can successfully navigate the educational change process to embrace a mission-critical program such as continuing higher education without a loss of institutional identity. The enduring values of the public HBCUs are worthy of preservation, even as these institutions are transformed by the social and

political context. I believe without this understanding of the process, public HBCUs are at risk of suffering the same fate that the black public high schools experienced following school desegregation in the South.

Concluding Remarks

As I close this study, I reflect upon my interest in the topic as an emerging scholar in the field of adult education. Why this topic? What interests does it hold for me personally and for the field of practice? Hasn't scholarship on historically black colleges and universities been exhausted? What more could we possibly learn from these historical relics of a time that we as a nation would prefer to forget? It is from this lens that I now look towards the answers.

I am deeply committed to the preservation, and more importantly, the further development of the Black college in America. The history of Black education in America is a story of the struggle for freedom and democracy against what would appear to be insurmountable odds. As James Anderson (1988) writes, "a central theme in the history of the education of black Americans is the persistent struggle to fashion a system of formal education that prefigured their liberation from peasantry." (p.2). Education historian Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) illustrated that even with a poverty of resources, the segregated Black schools in the South created environments that motivated students to excel in learning. Thus, there is value in the Black educational experience.

As social organizations with political influence, public Black colleges must adapt to changing expectations in order to fulfill their public responsibility and to ensure their survival. But I reject the argument that survival of the public Black college should

connote death of Black higher education as it is well known, and the birth of a totally different institution devoid of its past. I firmly believe that the two are not mutually exclusive. I believe that public HBCUs can fulfill their new mission of providing educational opportunities for all students by building on the strengths of their past.

It is time that we in higher education put aside the fallacy of a race-neutral mission and acknowledge the color line is still very much a part of American society.

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Appendix A

Historically Black Colleges and Universities-Closed or Merged

Institution
Atlanta University (merged with Clark College to form Clark Atlanta University)
Avery College
Bishop College
Brick Junior College
Butler Junior College
C.A. Fredd Community College (merged with Shelton State Community College)
Coleman College
Daniel Payne College
Durham College
Friendship College
Harbison Junior College
Highland Park Community College
J.P. Campbell College
Kittrell College
Lincoln Institute
Lomax-Hannon Junior College
Mary Allen Junior College
Mississippi Industrial College
Natchez Junior College
Okolona College
Pitney Woods County Life School
Prentiss Institute Junior College
Roger Williams University
Shaw College at Detroit
Simmons College
Southern Christian Institute
Storer College
T.J. Harris Junior College
Utica Junior College (merged with Hinds Community College)
Virginia College
Walden College

Note. Compiled in part based on information provided by Marybeth Gasman (personal communications, March, 2006)

Appendix B

Historically Black Colleges and Universities -Including Land-Grant Institutions

Institution	Control	State
[a]Alabama A&M University	Public	Alabama
Alabama State University	Public	Alabama
Albany State University	Public	Georgia
[a]Alcorn State University	Public	Mississippi
Allen University	Private	South Carolina
Arkansas Baptist College	Private	Arkansas
Barber-Scotia College	Private	North Carolina
Benedict College	Private	South Carolina
Bennett College	Private	North Carolina
Bethune-Cookman College	Private	Florida
Bishop State Community College	Public	Alabama
Bluefield State College	Public	West Virginia
Bowie State University	Public	Maryland
Central State University	Public	Ohio
Cheyney University of Pennsylvania	Public	Pennsylvania
Claflin University	Private	South Carolina
Clark Atlanta University	Private	Georgia
Clinton Junior College	Private	South Carolina
Coahoma Community College	Public	Mississippi
Concordia College Selma	Public	Alabama
Coppin State University	Public	Maryland
[a]Delaware State University	Public	Delaware
Denmark Technical College	Public	South Carolina
Dillard University	Private	Louisiana
Edward Waters College	Public	Florida
Elizabeth City State University	Public	North Carolina
Fayetteville State University	Public	North Carolina
Fisk University	Private	Tennessee
[a]Florida A&M University	Public	Florida
Florida Memorial University	Public	Florida
[a]Fort Valley State University	Public	Georgia
Gadsden State Community College	Public	Alabama
Grambling State University	Public	Louisiana
Hampton University	Private	Virginia
Harris-Stowe State University	Public	Missouri
Howard University	Private	District of Columbia
Huston-Tillotson University	Public	Texas
Interdenominational Theological Center	Private	Georgia
J.F. Drake State Technical College	Public	Alabama
Jackson State University	Public	Mississippi
Jarvis Christian College	Private	Texas

Institution	Control	State
Johnson C. Smith University	Private	North Carolina
[a]Kentucky State University	Public	Kentucky
Knoxville College	Private	Tennessee
Lane College	Private	Tennessee
[a]Langston University	Public	Oklahoma
Lawson State Community College	Public	Alabama
Le Moyne-Owens College	Private	Tennessee
Lewis College of Business	Private	Michigan
[a]Lincoln University	Public	Missouri
Lincoln University	Public	Pennsylvania
Livingstone College	Private	North Carolina
Meharry Medical College	Private	Tennessee
Miles College	Private	Alabama
Mississippi Valley State University	Private	Mississippi
Morehouse College	Private	Georgia
Morehouse School of Medicine	Private	Georgia
Morgan State University	Public	Maryland
Morris Brown College	Private	Georgia
Morris College	Private	South Carolina
Norfolk State University	Public	Virginia
[a]North Carolina A&T State University	Public	North Carolina
North Carolina Central University	Public	North Carolina
Oakwood University	Private	Alabama
Paine College	Private	Georgia
Paul Quinn College	Private	Texas
Philander Smith College	Private	Arkansas
[a]Prairie View A&M University	Public	Texas
Rust College	Private	Mississippi
Saint Augustine's College	Private	North Carolina
Saint Paul College	Private	Virginia
Savannah State University	Public	Georgia
Selma University	Private	Alabama
Shaw University	Public	North Carolina
Shorter College	Private	Arkansas
[a]South Carolina State University	Public	South Carolina
[a]Southern University and A&M University	Public	Louisiana
Southern University at New Orleans	Public	Louisiana
Southern University at Shreveport	Public	Louisiana
Southwestern Christian College	Private	Texas
Spelman College	Private	Georgia
Saint Phillips College	Private	Texas
Stillman College	Private	Alabama
Talladega College	Private	Alabama
[a]Tennessee State University	Public	Tennessee
Texas College	Private	Texas

Institution	Control	State
Texas Southern University	Public	Texas
Tougaloo College	Private	Mississippi
Trenholm State Technical College	Public	Alabama
[a]Tuskegee University	Private	Alabama
[a]University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	Public	Arkansas
[a]University of Maryland-Eastern Shore	Public	Maryland
University of the District of Columbia	Public	District of Columbia
University of the Virgin Islands	Public	U.S. Virgin Islands
[a]Virginia State University	Public	Virginia
Virginia Union University	Private	Virginia
Voorhees College	Private	South Carolina
[a]West Virginia State University	Public	West Virginia
Wilberforce University	Private	Ohio
Wiley College	Private	Texas
Winston-Salem State University	Public	North Carolina
Xavier University of Louisiana	Private	Louisiana

[a]Land-Grant Institutions

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "***The Strategic Role of Continuing Higher Education in the Public Historically Black College and University***" conducted by Diane M. Chubb, Investigator from the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, Program in Adult Education at the University of Georgia (706) 542-3343 under the direction of Dr. Ronald M. Cervero, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia (706) 542-2221. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to understand the central purpose of continuing higher education in advancing the traditional mission of public historically black colleges and universities. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

1) Answer questions about the purpose and benefits of continuing higher education at my institution and factors influencing the development of continuing higher education programs. Additionally, continuing higher education directors will be asked questions pertaining to issues they confront in developing educational programs and the strategies they use to overcome these challenges. The senior academic official and continuing education director will be interviewed. Interviews will be conducted individually with each taking approximately 2 hours.
2) Provide the Investigator with a copy of the institutions strategic plan (if one exists), most recent annual report, organizational chart for the continuing education unit, continuing education catalogues and continuing education program activity reports.
3) Review excerpts from the study findings where the Investigator has included my direct quotes so that I may see how my statements have been contextualized.

The benefit for me is that this study identifies the social and political factors which might impede or enhance the ability of public HBCUs to develop continuing education programs and thus play an effective role in supporting state economic development initiatives. Such awareness can be informative to state higher education policy makers. Also, given the increasing number of nontraditional students in all sectors of higher education, the researcher hopes to learn more about the strategic position of continuing education in the public HBCU. Finally, the study will demonstrate how continuing education program directors within public HBCUs use their own personal agency in negotiating power to develop educational programs.

My interview will be audio-taped for transcription purposes. The audio-tapes will be erased upon completion of the final research report.

No risk is expected from my participation in this study however, the following procedures will be taken to ensure confidentiality; (1) The final report for the study will use pseudonyms for my name and that of my institution; (2) Generic descriptions will be used to identify the city location of my institution (e.g. State University located in a rural southeastern state); (3) The audiotape will be stored in a locked filing cabinet accessible only to the researcher. Upon acceptance of the final report by the research committee, the audiotape will be destroyed.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	*Signature*	*Date*

Telephone: _____ **Email: _____**

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	**Signature**	**Date**

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

Appendix D

Continuing Higher Education Program Director- Interview Guide

1. Please state your name and title.

2. How many years have you been in your current position?

3. What are your primary responsibilities?

4. Briefly describe your education and professional background.

5. Describe the type of education programs that are offered by the department?

6. What is the relationship between the continuing higher education unit and other academic departments within the institution?

7. Take a few moments and reflect on your experience developing a continuing higher education program and describe what that was like for you.

8. What internal and external constituents are affected by the continuing higher education unit?

9. What is the purpose of continuing higher education at this institution?

10. What would you say are some of the most pressing challenges confronting the continuing higher education unit?

11. Are there any additional issues that I have omitted that you would like to address?

Appendix E

Senior Academic Official-Interview Guide

1. Please state your name and title.

2. How many years have you been in your current position?

3. What are your primary responsibilities?

4. Briefly describe your education and professional background.

5. What would you say is the purpose of this institution?

6. How has the mission of the institution evolved over time?

7. Describe, in general terms, the types of students that attend the institution?

8. How do programs for adult learners such as those that are offered by continuing higher education, address the mission of the school?

9. What are the most urgent academic priorities for this institution?

10. What educational programs are most closely aligned with meeting these critical priorities?

11. What challenges does this institution face in terms of aligning its academic and nonacademic programs with its critical priorities?

12. How does continuing higher education address these challenges?

13. Have I omitted anything that you would like to add?