A Case Study Examining the Recruitment of 'Other Race' Students to a Public, Historically Black University

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand how Jackson State University, a public historically Black university, recruits other race students in the wake of the 2002 Ayers settlement. This settlement included a requirement that historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) increase their non-African American enrollment to at least 10% of their total enrollment by the fall of 2018 and maintain this percentage for 3 years in order to share in the principal of public and private endowment funds. This portion of the settlement was most relevant to this study. Jackson State University was selected as the subject of this case study because it stands to receive the largest share of endowment incentives for increasing its White student enrollment. It also has the largest enrollment of the three public HBCUs in Mississippi.

Literature examining the impact of desegregation litigation on HBCUs, factors attracting White students to HBCUs, and the experiences of White students at HBCUs are explored to provide foundational knowledge. Institutional theory served as the theoretical framework undergirding this study. Interviews of university personnel were conducted. Document analysis also was conducted. Results from this study identified strategies for the successful recruitment of other race students and the impact of the Ayers settlement on the recruitment process.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my maternal grandparents, Talmadge Moore and Delores Haigler, who were educated at and spent their entire careers employed by HBCUs.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of Study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methods</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Foundation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delimitations</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of Study</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desegregation and Litigation Impacting HBCUs</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors or Characteristics That Draw White Students to HBCUs</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Recruitment Process at HBCUs</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experiences of White Students at HBCUs</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance and Organizational Structure at HBCUs</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of College Racial Composition on Students</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. RESEARCH PROCEDURES</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

Research Questions ................................................................. 53
Data Collection Procedures ...................................................... 55
Data Analysis Procedures .......................................................... 64
Strategies for Validating Findings .............................................. 78
Ethical Issues ........................................................................... 79
Theoretical Foundation ............................................................. 80
Summary .................................................................................. 90

IV. FINDINGS .............................................................................. 81

Research Question One: What are the experiences of recruitment staff and administrators while recruiting other race students? .......... 82
Research Question Two: How has the Ayers Settlement impacted the recruitment process at public HBCUs? ............................................. 86
Research Question Three: Which policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students to HBCUs .......... 90
Summary .................................................................................. 100

V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS .......... 102

Key Interpretations of Existing Literature ....................................... 102
Summary of Major Findings .......................................................... 103
Conclusions ............................................................................. 105
Limitations ................................................................................ 109
Recommendations for Practice .................................................... 110
Recommendations for Future Research ......................................... 111
Significance and Implications ....................................................... 112
Summary .................................................................................. 113

APPENDICES .............................................................................. 114

A: Interview Protocol .................................................................. 115
B: Informational Letter for Participants ......................................... 116
C: Letter Emailed and Sent via Postal Mail to Participants .......... 117
D: IRB Approval Letters ............................................................. 119

REFERENCES .............................................................................. 121
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pre-Brown Higher Education Desegregation Cases</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Post-Brown Cases Challenging Dual Systems of Higher Education</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Initial Categories Combined into Fewer Categories</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Research Questions and Corresponding Tree Nodes</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 2009-2010 Tuition Rates at Mississippi Public Universities</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Other Race Student Enrollment Percentages at Mississippi Public Universities</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scott’s Institutional Pillars</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Four Factors Traceable to a Segregated System</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ayers Case Timeline</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Organizational Chart of Potential Interviewees</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Free Nodes Developed from Raw Data</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conclusions Linked with Findings</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One

Introduction

The law plays a significant role in diversifying college and university campuses. Perhaps this significance is most evident in court cases regarding civil rights and affirmative action. The Brown v. Board (1954) U.S. Supreme Court decision, a landmark case, mandated the desegregation of public schools by declaring that racially segregated facilities are inherently unequal (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954).

Though segregated schools were declared unconstitutional, predominately White colleges and universities (PWI) were slow to enroll African-Americans. Therefore, dual (Black/White) higher education systems persisted. States were not pressured to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in higher education until after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Brown, 1999). Title VI of this act banned discrimination by any program receiving federal assistance. During the civil rights era, the law served as strong impetus to get predominately White colleges to enroll students of color.

The law also plays a significant role in diversifying public HBCUs. The Supreme Court argued against state-supported colleges exclusively serving African-Americans (Jones, 1993). This research study reflects the conundrum placed upon Mississippi’s public HBCUs by the United States v. Fordice (1992) decision and its subsequent settlement. The plaintiffs in this case alleged that the state of Mississippi maintained dual (black/white) systems of higher education. The U.S. Supreme Court decided that a publicly supported higher education system must eliminate all policies and practices traceable to a dichotomous, segregated system. Desegregation eliminated the obvious
role of the HBCU, which was to provide post-secondary education to African-Americans barred from traditionally White institutions. Evans and Evans (2002) stated the following:

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUS) were begun, in most instances, because of racism—that human frailty, which says that one race of people is superior to another because of the race of the supposedly superior group. Indeed, racism was the reason black people in the Western nations were not allowed to attend the same schools as white people, the result of which called for a separate school system for them. (Evans and Evans, 2002, p. 3)

Legally, traditionally White colleges cannot use race to restrict who they admit. Therefore, students of any race can enroll at any college that admits them. HBCUs must diversify to demonstrate that they do not exclusively serve African-American students, who can attend predominately White colleges if they so choose.

Landmark higher education desegregation cases brought unfortunate, unintended consequences to HBCUs (Richardson & Harris, 2004). The Ayers settlement exerts pressure on HBCUs to enroll more students who are not African-American, instead of the African-American students these institutions traditionally serve (United States v. Fordice, 2002). This study emerges from an interest in how students who do not self-identify as African-American are recruited to public HBCUs in the wake of the 2002 Ayers settlement. The 39 public HBCUs in the United States were established as a consequence of legal segregation (Kujovich, 1994; Taylor & Olswang, 1999). Today, this consequence is beneficial, yet detrimental to the survival of these institutions. The
consequence is beneficial because these institutions represented the only higher education options for former slaves and their descendants. However, the consequence is detrimental because the relevance and practicality of a mission focused on serving African-Americans is questioned in today’s integrated society (Moore, 2000; Seymore, 2006; Tobolowsky, Outcalt, & McDonough, 2005).

The relevance of HBCUs continues to be debated (Minor, 2008). Policy analysts argue that public funding of HBCUs competes with support of diversity initiatives at predominately White colleges (Seymore, 2006). The underlying perception is that HBCUs exist only for Black students (Sum, et al., 2004; Willie, 1994). Therefore, they are irrelevant in an integrated society.

The HBCU mission of educating African-Americans conflicts with the Brown argument that separate is inherently unequal (Samuels, 2005). This conflict forces HBCUs to defend their relevance in today’s integrated society. This conflict also exemplifies the political climate in which HBCUs exist. However, the freedom of choice allowed in today’s integrated society means that public HBCUs are for persons of all races. These institutions’ unique histories and founding missions add variety to the selection of colleges and universities in the United States. Thus, such institutions prove still to be a relevant choice for many prospective students.

Furthermore, public HBCUs are under scrutiny for not being integrated enough. However, these institutions have always have been desegregated. Any discussion of desegregation in higher education must include clarification of the difference between desegregation and integration. Minor (2008) argues that desegregation and integration
are two different concepts. Desegregation is the act of removing barriers in public education based on race. Integration “compels the incorporation of individuals and groups as equals in society (Richardson & Harris, 2004, p. 366). Moreover, integration is voluntary and is evidenced by the choice of individuals to attend institutions with others characteristically different from themselves. Students never have been barred from HBCUs on the basis of race or ethnicity.

**Statement of the Problem**

Arguably, the United States v. Fordice (1992) decision and its subsequent settlement were supposed to equalize resources between public PWIs and HBCUs in Mississippi. Perhaps equalizing resources throughout Mississippi’s higher education system is virtually impossible. Nevertheless, Jake Ayers filed a lawsuit alleging inequitable state appropriations to Mississippi’s public universities. Ayers, a Black Mississippi citizen and local civil rights activist filed the law suit on behalf of his son, who was then a student at Jackson State University. The settlement addresses decades of discriminatory funding practices by awarding monies to Jackson State, Alcorn State, and Mississippi Valley (United States v. Fordice, 2002) universities.

In order to receive the full financial benefits of the Ayers settlement, public HBCUs in Mississippi need to successfully recruit other race students. Of the three public HBCUs in Mississippi, only Alcorn State has increased its enrollment of other race students to 10% of its total enrollment (Hebel, 2005). Also, the perception of Jackson State as homogeneous and exclusively for African-Americans may persist if the university is unable to increase its other race enrollment to 10% of its total enrollment. In
order to promote an image of a diverse and multicultural institution, Jackson State University needs to develop strategies to recruit more other race students.

Freedom of choice complicates efforts to recruit other race students. Since prospective college students can choose to attend any institution granting them admission, many White and other race students may choose to attend institutions where their race represents the majority of students enrolled. The choice to attend an institution where the enrollment is racially/ethnically similar to oneself may retard integration efforts. Cultural vestiges of segregation, perceptions of academic inferiority, and African-American exclusiveness inhibit the ability of HBCUs to recruit other race students.

Court settlements reward HBCUs for increasing their enrollments of other race students (Brooks, 2004; Minor, 2008, Sum, Light, & King, 2004). HBCUs depend on tuition as their main revenue source (Hernandez, 2010). A drop in enrollment could have severe financial consequences since a smaller enrollment means less tuition revenue. Furthermore, HBCUs have smaller endowments to supplement tuition revenue. There are only three HBCUs—Hampton University, Howard University, and Spelman College—listed among the top 300 college endowments (Gasman, 2009). All three of these are private institutions, therefore they are not dependent on state funding. The average HBCU endowment is $244.7 million, compared to $521.9 million for predominately White institutions (Nealy, 2009).

Yet, some HBCUs have significantly increased their other race student enrollment. In fact, three institutions—Bluefield State University, West Virginia State
University, and Lincoln University in Missouri—are all HBCUs with majority other race enrollments. Bluefield State University and West Virginia State University were impacted by trans-demographic changes in their local communities (Brown, 2002). The decline of the coal mine industry prompted an exodus of African-Americans from the rural communities surrounding Bluefield State University and West Virginia State University. That type of demographic change is not plausible in Jackson State University’s urban community. Jackson, Mississippi is not dependent on one industry. As a group, the 39 public HBCUs have not significantly increased their enrollment of other race students.

According to the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (2005), other race enrollment at public HBCUs declined in recent years after a period of increase during the 1970s and 1980s. In Mississippi, Jackson State University and Mississippi Valley State University have been unsuccessful in meeting the other race student recruitment goals established by the Ayers settlement. According to Hebel (2005), Alcorn State met the Ayers settlement enrollment goals in 2005. However, its enrollment as reported by the Mississippi Institutes of Higher Learning (IHL) conflict with Hebel’s (2005) reports. In 2002, the year of the Ayers settlement, the percentage of other race enrollment at Alcorn State University, Jackson State University, and Mississippi Valley State University equaled 9 percent, 6 percent, and 4 percent, respectively (Mississippi Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning, 2008). In 2008, other race enrollment at Alcorn State, Jackson State, and Mississippi Valley State equaled 9 percent, 7 percent, and 6 percent,
respectively (see Figure 1). These statistics indicate that HBCUs need to identify and utilize strategies that are successful in recruiting other students.

**Figure 1.** Other Race Enrollment Percentages at Mississippi HBCUs

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Additional funding for public HBCUs is available through private foundations. Though it raises money for private Black colleges only, the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) is a foundation commonly believed to financially support all Black colleges. Founded in 1947, UNCF is recognized by the ubiquitous phrase “A mind is a terrible thing to waste.” The Thurgood Marshall Fund, founded in 1987, is a foundation that raises money for public HBCUs; however, it is not nearly as established or successful as UNCF. In the last decade, UNCF raised approximately $1.5 billion for its 40 member schools (UNCF, 2009). The Thurgood Marshall fund has raised $100 million throughout its entire 22-year history for its 47 member schools (Marshall Fund, 2009).
Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how Jackson State University recruits other race students in an effort to meet the enrollment goals established by the Ayers settlement. Jackson State University has yet to meet these enrollment goals. The researcher is interested in what policies and practices are instrumental in successfully recruiting other race students. The researcher also is interested in how the institution’s regulations, norms, and culture impact the other race student recruitment process. There are 39 four-year, public HBCUs across 19 southern U.S. states. For this research, HBCUs are any college or university established before 1964 with the principal mission of educating African-Americans.

This study will contribute to the growing body of literature on other race students at HBCUs. This study also provides suggestions for other HBCUs seeking to expand their recruiting pool by recruiting other race students. In addition, this study is significant because it not only examines what institutional characteristics attract other race students. This study also examines how recruitment personnel connect with and attract other race students. In essence, this study focuses on the actions of and procedures followed by recruitment personnel at Jackson State University.

Research Questions

This research sought to understand how a public HBCU recruits students who are not African-American, how the financial incentives offered in the Ayers settlement impact these recruitment efforts, and what challenges an HBCU experiences in recruiting other race students. The research questions are outlined specifically here:
1. How has the 2002 Ayers settlement impacted the recruitment process at public HBCUs?

2. What are the experiences of public HBCUs in recruiting other race students?

3. What policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students to public HBCUs?

**Research Methods**

The case study method is the chosen research method for this study because it provides a detailed understanding of a particular issue (Lichtman, 2006). Case studies are used in a variety of disciplines. In education research, a case study can provide a deeper understanding of a particular practice or procedure (Merriam, 1985). The case study method is useful when experimental or survey designs will not adequately address the research problem. This method is also compatible with the researcher’s skills. Bogden and Bliken (1998) implore beginner researchers to start with a case study before progressing to more complex qualitative research methods. “It is no accident that most researchers choose for their first project a case study” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 54).

**Case study research design.**

For this project, case study research provided a thorough understanding of the recruiting practices that are successful or unsuccessful in recruiting other race students to a public HBCU in Mississippi. The case study does not attempt to make cultural interpretations or discover a theory. This distinguishes it from an ethnography, which does make cultural interpretations, or a grounded theory study. Creswell (2007)
identifies three types of case studies: the single-case study, multiple-case study, and intrinsic-case study (p. 74). This project is a single-case study because it focuses on an issue within a bounded case. If this project examined other race student recruitment at two or more universities, it would exemplify a multiple-case study. If this study sought to evaluate an institution’s ability to recruit other race students, it would exemplify an intrinsic-case study. Case studies require a detailed examination of multiple sources of data. These data sources include interviews, documents, observations, photographs, and audio or video recordings.

**Participants.**

Two administrators and two recruitment staff members were interviewed. The Associate Vice President of Student Life and the Associate Vice President for Enrollment Management were the two administrators interviewed. The minority recruiter and another recruiter, referred to as recruiter A were the staff members interviewed. These participants were chosen because they were either directly responsible for undergraduate student recruitment, supervised personnel responsible for undergraduate student recruitment, or responsible for student life at Jackson State. Nineteen Jackson State University staff and administrators were asked to be interviewed for this study.

**Data collection.**

This research study utilizes data from interviews, document analysis, and researcher notes. Multiple data sources demonstrate the extensiveness of data collection with case study research. Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured. Documents analyzed included university financial reports, the university magazine, recruitment
videos, graduate student newsletters and scholarship applications. Interviews and documents are typical sources of data in case study research.

**Theoretical Foundation**

Institutional theory is the theoretical framework undergirding this study. According to this theory, social beliefs impact organizational behavior and structure (Marion, 2005). By operating according to societal beliefs, institutions maintain legitimacy. According to Scott (2001), knowledge of an institution’s history is vital information to an institutionalist. Therefore, an institutionalist’s perspective is particularly relevant when discussing public HBCUs. Knowledge of how they were chronically underfunded and historically segregated is important in determining how they should address the goals of the Fordice ruling.

Institutional theory is relevant throughout higher education. Much of the literature on institutional theory in higher education discusses some element of change occurring in an individual institution or system. These changes range from implementing new academic programs or policies to a concerted effort to recruit students of a certain ethnic group, as in this study. Morphew and Huisman (2002) use institutional theory to analyze academic drift in higher education, or the process of drifting toward the structure and norms of prestigious universities.

Specifically, the concept of isomorphism in institutional theory is particularly applicable. Isomorphism refers to the process of institutions looking more and more like each other. For example, banks look and act similarly, fast-food restaurants look and act similarly, and universities look and act similarly (Marion, 2005, p. 283). Also,
institutional theory is useful in explaining a shift or change in an institution’s mission. “This theoretical framework tries to explain why, how and to what extent populations, groups, or sets of institutions in each of these countries, [in Europe and the United States] their development and missions no longer corresponded to the original dimensions (Morphew & Huisman, 2002, p. 492-493). This is particularly applicable to HBCUs, whose missions have arguably shifted from exclusively educating African-American students.

HBCUs recruiting other race students exemplify what DiMaggio and Powell (1991) call coercive isomorphism. Pressure from organizations on which an institution is dependent results in coercive isomorphism (Morphew & Huisman, 2002). Jackson State University is dependent on its state and federal governments. Therefore, it is pressured to comply with the Ayers settlement, which was filed in a U.S. District Court. This pressure coerces public Mississippi HBCUs look more like PWIs by enrolling more other race students.

In a study examining business education in Spain, Gonzalez, Montano, and Hassall (2009) applied institutional theory to their analysis of pressures to introduce new skills into the business education curriculum at Spanish universities. Using qualitative data, the researchers discovered that professors and administrators respond to institutional pressure to implement new skills into the curriculum by concealing their resistance to the pressures. Specifically, professors admit that the skills need to be added to the curriculum, but are reluctant to do so. This concealment is identified by Oliver (1991) as
one of three avoidance tactics. The other two avoidance tactics are buffering and escape. Avoidance represents one response to pressures to change.

Institutional theory also is used to examine online education. Alternative program delivery systems such as online courses attract other race students to HBCUs (Braxton, Brier, & Conrad, 1997). In a study on university administrators’ perceptions of online education, the impact of a university’s institutional context for online education, and the use of research-proven designs for online education, Gayton (2009) discovered that the organizational structure of the college in his study did not support or promote online education. Though this particular university experienced external pressure to implement online courses and administrators verbally supported this endeavor, the institution’s rules and norms impeded a successful online education program. Moreover, administrators interviewed indicated that they still preferred the traditional classroom to online courses.

Moreover, Scott (2001) asserts that institutions impose constraints on themselves by identifying legal, moral, and cultural boundaries of legitimate and illegitimate behaviors. These boundaries are exemplified in regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive pillars that are present in every institution (See Figure 4). These pillars provide stability and relevance to social behavior (Hanson, 2001).

The regulative pillar establishes rules and sanctions for behavior and activities. Colleges and universities must not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, or disability (Kaplin & Lee, 2007 p. 626). This is one example of a rule impacting higher education. Another example of a rule or mandate is that states must not operate dual, racially identifiable university systems. A sanction for operating separate systems for Blacks and
Whites may be the withholding of federal funding. In this pillar, institutions are subject to coercive pressure.

The regulative pillar at colleges and universities in the United States developed with a combination of public and private regulation. A board of trustees establishes regulations for each individual institution. Accrediting agencies also act as regulation entities. Colleges and universities are viewed increasingly as businesses and are regulated as such. Efforts to increase post-secondary access for underserved students also influence regulation.

The normative pillar establishes the values and norms that faculty and staff should emphasize. Moreover, norms manifest in social obligations for the institution and its stakeholders. One responsibility of a college administrator is to align an institution’s values with society’s values (Parsons, 1960). For example, an administrator will promote recycling and conservation at his or her institution in a society that values conservation and reuse. In this pillar, institutions are subject to normative pressures. Also, normative pressures are a result of the homogenizing influences of professional organizations or accreditation agencies. These associations develop goals and beliefs for their members to strive toward.

The values held by colleges and universities continue to change in accordance with what society values. For example, college faculty, staff and administrators should promote acceptance of diverse viewpoints and campus participation from diverse student groups. It is assumed that diversity and pluralism are valued in today’s society. This may be a social obligation of college personnel, but not a regulation.
The cognitive pillar shapes how people view and assign meaning to the world. In this pillar, institutions are subject to mimetic pressure. Alignment with the cultural-cognitive pillar is summarized as sticking to a routine. These routines are taken for granted as the way procedures always are done (Scott, 2002).

The cultural-cognitive pillar reflects societal and historical influences. For example, religion heavily influenced the development of higher education during the colonial period. Therefore, religious influences undergirded the cultural-cognitive pillars of colleges and universities during that period. Wars and political conflicts also impact the cultural-cognitive pillar in higher education. Specifically, this impact is seen in the traditions, culture, and mission of an institution. The Vietnam War spawned historic campus protests. College students also were active in the civil rights movement. The Civil War influenced the passage of the Morrill Acts. World War II influenced the passage of the G.I. Bill. The influence of the women’s movement also is evident in the cultural-cognitive pillar of a college or university.

Cultural values influence what HBCUs are and our expectations of them as institutions (Burch, 2007). According to Burch (2007), studies framed in institutional theory demonstrate how educational policies interact with institutional environments to influence policy outcomes. In this study, a policy to actively recruit White students combined with the institution’s environment may or may not result in an outcome of increased White student enrollment.
Figure 2. Scott’s Institutional Pillars

Institutional theory and HBCUs.

“Many structures persist and spread because they are regarded as appropriate by entrenched authorities, even though their legitimacy is challenged by other, less powerful constituencies” (Scott, 2002, p. 60). This quotation describes a reverse scenario regarding the legitimacy of HBCUs. In the case of HBCUs, their legitimacy is challenged by more powerful authorities (state and federal governments) and regarded as appropriate by weaker constituencies (supporters of HBCUs). Legitimacy, in this context, is the assumption that an institution is desirable and appropriate according to society’s norms and values. Critics of HBCUs believe they are homogenous vestiges of segregation. Therefore, HBCUs are arguably inappropriate according to society’s norms.
Scott (2002) explains that each institutional pillar has standards for legitimacy. Legitimacy under the regulative pillar is established by conformity to rules. Under the normative pillar, legitimacy is assessed from an internal moral foundation where rewards for normative legitimacy also can be intrinsic. The cultural-cognitive view of legitimacy is the existence of a common perspective or singular identity. For example, HBCUs as a group of institutions share a similar history and identity. Each pillar’s standards for legitimacy may conflict with each other (Scott, 2002). For example, an institution’s identity as an HBCU may conflict with its coercive pressure under the regulative pillar to recruit students who are not African-American.

The regulative pillar at an HBCU is similar to the regulative pillar of a PWI. HBCUs are subject to legislation, executive orders, constitutional amendments, legislative acts, and court decisions as are PWIs. For example, the Morrill Acts regulate how HBCU land-grant institutions utilize land grand funding. The outcome of some court cases, such as United States v. Fordice only impacts HBCUs. Also, federal designation as an HBCU is a part of the regulative pillar of an HBCU. There is coercive pressure to comply with state and federal laws and court settlements.

The normative pillar at an HBCU is best exemplified through the presence of in loco parentis. The respect for authority and value of conservative behavior exemplifies in loco parentis on HBCU campuses. Values at HBCUs also are exemplified through staff that caters to the needs of, maintains an environment that is attractive to, and promotes the social and intellectual development of African-American students. This norm can counteract efforts to attract White students to HBCUs.
HBCUs were founded to educate African-Americans who could not matriculate at other institutions. These segregated circumstances situation established a norm where students who could not attend other institutions because of cost, discrimination, or lack of academic preparation/achievement are welcomed and valued at HBCUs. An emphasis on teaching also is a part of the normative pillar among HBCUs. Even at research-intensive institutions such as Jackson State University, there is an emphasis on teaching not evident at PWIs of the same Carnegie-research designation (Minor, 2004).

The cultural-cognitive pillar at an HBCU is best exemplified through the perspective of student affairs workers. This pillar shapes people’s perceptions and gives meaning to the schools’ environments. Student affairs workers at HBCUs perceive their work as “other mothering” (Hirt, Amelik, McFeeters, Strayhorn, 2008). Therefore, student affairs workers at HBCUs expect an environment where they are encouraged to be nurturing.

The cultural-cognitive pillar also is exemplified in the moniker “HBCU,” first used to refer to the former Negro colleges in the Higher Education Act of 1965. This acronym for historically Black colleges and universities shapes how these colleges are viewed, despite efforts to market them as more than colleges for Black students. In other words, it inadvertently assigns the role of only educating African-Americans to these institutions. This role conflicts with the goals of the Ayers ruling and is arguably, detrimental to public and private HBCUs that are struggling to increase and maintain their enrollments.
The three institutional pillars combined encourage the process of institutionalization among HBCUs. During institutionalization, institutions develop a certain character and distinctive competence (Scott, 2003; Selznick, 1996). During their institutionalization, HBCUs developed a nurturing character and competence in educating African-American and/or low-income students. Institutionalization also distinguishes HBCUs from other institutional types. For example, laws and regulations historically restricted Black students from attending PWIs. The regulative pillar at HBCUs included the aforementioned laws allowing racial segregation and discrimination. Therefore, the regulative pillar encouraged the development of HBCUs as institutions exclusively for African-Americans, thus distinguishing them from PWIs. Scott further explains the process of institutionalization in the following quote:

Institutional commitments develop over time as the organization confronts external constraints and pressures from its environment as well as changes in the composition of its personnel, their interests, and their informal relations. No organization is completely immune from these internal and external pressures, although the extent of institutionalization varies from one organization to another. (Scott, 2003, p. 70)

This quote is particularly relevant to institutionalization at HBCUs. The Ayers settlement is just one example of external pressure to HBCUs as institutions. The national economy is an example of external constraints on HBCUs. These institutions are particularly vulnerable in tough economic times (Gasman, 2009). Also, strong leadership is crucial to the future success of HBCUs (Hawkins, 2004). An HBCU president’s values
and interests can ultimately impact the institutions character and competence through the process of institutionalization. The aforementioned factors are examples of how the extent of institutionalization is increased among HBCUs.

**Definition of Terms**

Defining terms helps frame the research questions in this study. The following terms are used throughout the study.

*Good faith recruitment effort* (United States v. Fordice, 2002) refers to plans, expenditures, and activities addressing other race recruitment and retention. Examples include hiring other race recruitment personnel and offering other race scholarships.

*HBCU (historically Black College or University)* is an acronym referring to a post-secondary institution founded before 1964 for the expressed purpose of educating African-Americans.

*Other race students* are students who do not self-identify as Black or African-American.

*United States v. Fordice (1992)* is a Supreme Court decision determining that Mississippi had not done enough to desegregate its eight public universities and that the state must act to integrate these institutions.

*The Ayers Settlement (2002)* is a court settlement from *United States v. Fordice* that awarded money for capital improvements, new academic programs, and outlined financial incentives for Mississippi public HBCUs that increase their enrollment of other race students to 10% of its total enrollment.
Scott's Institutional Pillars are the three pillars—regulative, normative, and cognitive-cultural—identified by Scott as present in all institutions.

**Delimitations**

This study is limited by purposeful sampling. This sampling technique was required in order to ensure that the researcher obtained information from an institution directly impacted by the Ayers settlement (Merriam, 2009). The sampling technique also enabled the researcher to reach staff and administrators at Jackson State University who were directly responsible for recruitment. The findings from this study are not applicable to all public HBCUs. The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of the Ayers settlement on other race student recruitment at Jackson State University, identify practices that were successful in recruiting other race students, and help provide an understanding the experiences of recruitment personnel. Some findings may be applicable to the two other public HBCUs in Mississippi—Alcorn State University and Mississippi Valley State University.

**Organization of Study**

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One includes an overview of the problem, theoretical framework, and study rationale. Chapter Two contains a review of literature on what attracts White students to HBCUs and how desegregation litigation such as the Ayers decision impact public HBCUs. Chapter Two also includes a review of institutional theory and its relevance to the organizational structure of HBCUs.
Chapter Three offers information on research procedures used to obtain information. This includes how interviews were conducted and how documents were secured. Relevant information about each participant also is included. Most importantly, data analysis procedures used to uncover emergent themes is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four includes the research findings. Chapter Five includes a summary, conclusion, recommendations, and implications for further research. Chapter Five also includes general recommendations for recruiting other race students to HBCUs.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review was to summarize and evaluate research on how desegregation litigation, such as the Ayers case, impacts HBCUs and what attracts other race students to HBCUs. In order to thoroughly understand and evaluate the research, background information on the Ayers case and its preceding circumstances is provided. Research on the experiences of White students at HBCUs also is included because reports of these students’ experiences can impact recruitment success. This review also evaluates literature on the impact of an institution’s racial composition and identifies areas for future research on desegregation and public HBCUs. In addition, it highlights strategies for HBCUs seeking to recruit more White students. The ancestry and descendency approaches were used to locate literature on this topic. According to Cooper (1982), the ancestry method locates articles by tracking citations from one article to another while the descendency method locates articles related to a particular topic.

There is a plethora of research regarding desegregation in higher education and HBCUs. However, the researcher chose studies that focused on the impact of litigation and/or White student recruitment to HBCUs. Also, an effort was made to select literature published after the Ayers decision because this study deals with its impact. Additionally,
literature on the impact of racial composition, institutional theory, and the organizational structure of HBCUs is included in this review.

Table 1
Pre-Brown Higher Education Desegregation Cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murray v. Maryland</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Maryland Court of Appeals ordered the integration of the University of Maryland Law School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>U.S. Supreme Court decided that Missouri must provide an in-state education to Blacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>U.S Supreme Court decided the petitioner was entitled by the 14th Amendment to the legal education offered by the University of Oklahoma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweatt v. Painter</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>U.S. Supreme Court decided that the separate law school for Blacks was inferior to the University of Texas’ law school and, therefore, did not qualify as the provision of an equal legal education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>U.S Supreme Court decided that a public university must not provide different treatment to a student based on race.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prior to the Brown decision, the desegregation battle was fought largely in higher education. Cases such as Murray v. Maryland (1936), Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada (1938), and Sweatt v. Painter (1950) (See Table 1) all challenged the separate-but-equal
doctrine in graduate and professional school admissions (Blake, 1991). However, legal advisors believed the battle for desegregation should be fought within public grade schools (Elwood, 1990). After the Brown decision declared separate schools unconstitutional, cases such as *Adams v. Richardson* (1973), *Knight v. Alabama* (1991), *United States v. Fordice* (1992), *Geier v. Sundquist* (2006), and *United States v. Louisiana* (1993) (See Table 2) challenged the existence of dual (black/white) systems of public higher education. Though these were not explicitly desegregation cases or cases that challenged dual higher education systems, the mention of *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003) and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) is important because these cases addressed affirmative action and the consideration of race in university admissions. Without affirmative action, scholars predict that minority enrollment at predominately White institutions will decrease and students of color will again turn to HBCUs in increasing numbers (Palmer, 2008).

Table 2

| Post-Brown Cases Challenging Dual Systems of Education |
|---|---|---|
| Case | Year | Synopsis |
| *Hawkins v. Board of Control* | 1956 | U.S. Supreme Court ruled an African-American is entitled to admission to a graduate professional school in Florida under regulations applicable to other candidates. |
| *Adams v. Richardson* | 1973 | U.S. Department of Education ordered to enforce Title IV of the Civil Rights Act in the higher education systems of 19 states deemed in violation. |
| *United States v. Fordice* | 1992 | U.S. Supreme Court opined that Mississippi must eliminate all policies and practices traceable to segregation. |
| *Knight v. Alabama* | 1991 | Federal district court determined that vestiges of segregation still existed in Alabama’s public universities and the state needed to further |
In 1975, a group of African-American Mississippi citizens led by Jake Ayers filed a lawsuit alleging that the state of Mississippi maintained a dual system of higher education that violated the fifth, ninth, 13th, and 14th amendments to the Constitution and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (Mitchell, 2002). Ayers filed suit on behalf of his son, who was a student at Jackson State University. Evidence of this dual system was indicated by the following four characteristics (See Figure 3):

a) Admissions standards almost exclusively based on standardized test scores when large disparities existed between the scores of Black and White students

b) Unnecessary duplication of non-core and specialty programs between HBCUs and PWIs in close geographic proximity

c) Mission classifications in which PWIs are comprehensive or flagship institutions and HBCUs are regional institutions with narrow academic missions

d) Difficulty in equitably funding eight public universities for Mississippi’s population size (Brown, 2001; Butler, 1994; Jones, 1993; Mitchell, 2002; Stefkovich & Leas, 1994).

**Figure 3.** Four Factors Traceable to a Segregated System
When *Ayers v. Mabus* went to trial in 1987, the district court found in favor of the state of Mississippi (See Figure 4). The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed this decision. (The case was renamed when Kirk Fordice succeeded Ray Mabus as governor of Mississippi. William Allain preceded Ray Mabus.)

In 1992, the U. S. Supreme Court remanded the case, setting a new legal standard for determining if a state had eliminated all indicators of a segregated system (Mitchell, 2002; Brown, 1999). The High Court opined that a state must eliminate all policies and practices traceable to segregation. However, the High Court provided clear indication that it disfavored publicly supported colleges exclusively for African-Americans (Jones, 1993). Brown (2001) outlined three principles for collegiate desegregation compliance:

First, the standard recognizes segregation as unconstitutional. Second, the standard acknowledges that even minimal collegiate desegregation efforts require a formal plan for compliance. Third, the standard requires that the collegiate desegregation process be geared toward achieving unitary status. (p. 53-54)
In 2002, U.S. District Court Judge Neal Biggers approved a settlement for the Fordice case. The settlement included $503 million paid to Jackson State University, Alcorn State University, and Mississippi Valley State University over 17 years. This funding is intended for academic programs, capital improvements, and endowments. The endowments are funded by public and private sources and managed by a committee consisting of the presidents of Mississippi’s public HBCUs, the Commissioner of Higher Education, the Mississippi Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning (IHL) president and his or her designee, and a seventh member agreed upon by the six members. This board committed to raising $35 million from the private sector over a 7-year period. The amount of the publicly funded portion is $70 million, created over 14 years through transfer of the Ayers Endowment Trust to the Mississippi IHL.
An additional $55 million is available through state bond revenues and legislative appropriations set aside for the Fordice settlement. These endowment funds support scholarships for other race students. These funds also are available to establish academic programs and enhance existing programs. The settlement stipulates that this funding does not take the place of regular appropriations for Mississippi’s public HBCUs.

The settlement includes a goal that HBCUs increase their other-race enrollment to at least 10% of their total enrollment by the fall of 2018 and maintain this percentage for 3 years in order to control their share in the principal of public and private endowment funds. This portion of the settlement is most relevant to this case study. Jackson State stands to receive 43.4% of endowment funds while Alcorn State and Mississippi Valley State would each receive 28.3%. Lead attorney for the plaintiffs, Alvin Chambliss, filed an appeal to the settlement. Plaintiffs claimed the settlement was unconstitutional and unfairly executed (Jackson, 2007). However, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the appeal.

If these institutions are unable to increase their other race enrollments to 10% by 2018, the income from the endowment will be allocated to each university each year the seven-member endowment committee determines good faith efforts were made to increase other race student enrollment. According to the settlement, good faith efforts consist of plans, expenditures, and activities addressing White student recruitment and retention (United States v. Fordice, 2002, p. 11). Once an HBCU achieves a 10% other race enrollment, that university will control their share of the endowment funds. If the committee determines that an institution has not put forth a good faith effort to increase
its enrollment of other race students, it will not allocate funds set aside by the Ayers settlement for other race enrollment goals.

When an institution fails to increase its other race enrollment to 10% of its total enrollment, it is essentially at the mercy of the endowment committee. If Jackson State does not increase its other race enrollment to 10% of its total enrollment by 2018, it will miss out on approximately $31 million in funding. According to the settlement, Jackson State also will lose the opportunity to invest the principal of the endowment funds (United States v. Fordice, 2002, p. 10). After the third consecutive year of maintaining a 10% other race enrollment, Jackson State will receive $5 million. Each year thereafter until 2018, it will receive $2.17 million (Jackson, 2007). This is money that Jackson State could use to improve its physical plant and enhance academic programs.

The term other race is used in the Ayers settlement to identify students who are not African American (Ayers Settlement, 2002, p. 10). Though other race means the same as non-African American in this context, other race is used to identify non-African American students throughout the literature related to the Ayers settlement. In the context of this study, White, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American students fall in the other race category. There is no distinction made between White students and non-African American students of color (Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, or Native American).

**Desegregation Litigation Impacting HBCUs**

The literature is full of policy critiques and suggestions on this topic. However, there are few published empirical studies examining the impact of desegregation
litigation on HBCUs. However, the impact of desegregation litigation on HBCUs can be described as tumultuous. The *United States v. Fordice* (1992) decision invalidated the unique mission of HBCUs and the benefits of culturally sensitive institutions (Richardson & Harris, 2004). The court decided that removing barriers to desegregation was not enough; Mississippi must remove all remnants of a segregated system. The Fordice court also opined that public HBCUs were funded for citizens of all races.

Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University and Alabama State University, Alabama’s public HBCUs, received funding for other race student recruitment as a result of the *Knight vs. Alabama* decision (Brooks, 2004). The two institutions received $1 million a year for 10 years, ending in 2005, intended for scholarships and marketing to White students. The Southern University system, Louisiana’s system of public HBCUs received capital improvements and new academic programs as a result of *United States v. Louisiana* (1993) (Taylor & Olswang, 1999). The United States filed suit against Louisiana for failure to desegregate its higher education system. In *Geier v. Alexander* (1984), Tennessee State University, Tennessee’s public HBCU was expected to attain a 50% White undergraduate enrollment and staff employment (Davis, 1993). The outcome of these four cases, *Geier v. Alexander* (1984), *United States v. Fordice* (1992), *Knight v Alabama* (1991), and *United States v. Louisiana* (1993), force HBCUs to defend their relevance.

HBCUs because these cases addressed admissions policies at public institutions. Though the *Gratz* court deemed an admissions system awarding points for race inappropriate, the *Grutter* court opined that race could be considered in the admissions process. As a result of *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), public HBCUs may examine how race is weighed in their admission processes (Brooks, 2004).

The *Ayers* plaintiffs did not intend for their case to be a desegregation case. It was a case for equal funding (Davis, 1992). There is conflict between the goals of the original plaintiffs and the U.S. Department of Justice, plaintiff-intervener. The Ayers plaintiffs sought equal education opportunity in the form of increased funding to Mississippi’s public HBCUs while the Department of Justice sought to eliminate policies and practices that sustained a separate and unequal system (Butler, 1994).

Samuels (2005) argued in his case study of *Ayers v. Barbour* that what the Ayers plaintiffs desired was beyond the power of litigation. Increased funding to public HBCUs needed support from all three branches of federal government. Moreover, he argued that progress toward desegregation at HBCUs cannot be measured the same way it is measured at a PWI because “few Whites believe the quality of education they might receive at a HBCU will be the equivalent of that offered by a White university” (Samuels, 2005, p. 108). An alternative standard for measuring desegregation progress at an HBCU was not discussed. In order to successfully attract White students, HBCUs would need to expand, not change, their missions (Harley, 2001).

Any discussion of desegregation in higher education must include clarification of the difference between desegregation and integration. Minor (2008) argued that
desegregation and integration are two different concepts. Desegregation is the act of removing barriers in public education based on race while integration “compels the incorporation of individuals and groups as equals in society (Richardson & Harris, 2004, p. 366). Moreover, integration is voluntary and is evidenced in the choice of individuals to attend institutions with others characteristically different from themselves. Across the United States, desegregated school systems have not produced integrated schools (Davis, 1993). It appears that public HBCUs are under scrutiny for not being integrated enough. They always have been desegregated, because they never barred students on the basis of race or ethnicity (Ware, 1994). State higher education systems are racially desegregated because there are no legal barriers to access. However, according to Minor’s (2008) and Richardson and Harris’s (2004) definitions, they are not integrated. In their respective states, public HBCUs enroll the majority of African-American college students in public education (Minor, 2008).

Litigation related to K-12 schools impacted subsequent litigation related to public HBCUs. Brown, Bazemore v. Friday (1986) and Green v. New Kent County (1968) are two examples. In Green v. New Kent County (1968), the Supreme Court determined that choice was not enough to integrate a segregated system. In Bazemore v. Friday (1986), the latter case by 18 years, the Supreme Court opined that a racial imbalance as a result of choice did not equal racial discrimination. The issue of choice influenced the lower courts’ decisions in favor of the state of Mississippi (Stefkovich & Leas, 1994). Ultimately the Supreme Court determined that although students had a choice, the state still engaged in segregative practices (United States v. Fordice, 1992).
Law reviews are an important source of literature on this topic. Moore (2000) questioned the justification for HBCUs in the title of his work: *Are State-Supported Historically Black Colleges Justifiable After Fordice? A Higher Education Dilemma.* He argued that the *United States v. Fordice* (1992) majority opinion was ambiguous in its determination of the fate of public HBCUs (Moore, 2000). One interpretation required HBCUs to close or merge with White institutions. The other stipulates that states may not place unfair burdens, like closing or merging HBCUs, on HBCU students and faculty. Maintaining that the Fordice opinion was not detailed enough to offer a specific solution, Moore (2000) offered the *Bazemore v. Friday* (1986) decision, a case regarding 4-H clubs in public schools, as an example of a satisfactory solution. The *Bazemore* opinion stipulated that freedom of choice qualifies as a method of desegregation. Today’s college-bound students are free to choose which college they would like to attend, whether it is an HBCU or a predominately White institution. However, the choice argument was unsuccessful in the Fordice court (United States v. Fordice, 1992).

**Factors or Characteristics That Draw White Students to HBCUs**

Though there has been an increase in the number of White students attending HBCUs since desegregation, HBCUs are generally unsuccessful in attracting Whites (Sum, Light, & King, 2004; Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2005). Studies have attempted to explain what attracts or deters White students from HBCUs. Using structured focus group interviews, Sum, et al. (2004) determined that Whites were unwilling to attend HBCUs because of parental disapproval, fear of social discomforts, and perceived poor academic quality. The participants were White, college-bound high school, community
college, and HBCU undergraduate students in Mississippi. No graduate or professional students were included in the focus groups for this study. White HBCU graduate students may have provided a different perspective on HBCUs than the participants in this study.

Public HBCUs such as Tennessee State University and Lincoln University in Missouri were able to maintain significant other race enrollments. Other public HBCUs such as South Carolina State University and Mississippi Valley State University in Mississippi remain more than 90% Black according to Willie, Reddick, and Brown, (2006). These authors suggested that other factors besides low tuition influence the size of the other race population at HBCUs. Moreover, they call for further analysis of administrative practices and school culture to understand why some HBCUs are able to attract more other race students (p. 37).

In light of the Ayers decision, these attitudes toward HBCUs present an obvious question to public HBCU administrators: How can we successfully recruit White and other race students to our institutions? Sum, et al. (2004) hypothesized that race is a significant factor in college choice for White Mississippians. This appears not to be the case in states such as North Carolina and Georgia. Public HBCUs in these states are successful in recruiting White students. There are successful recruitment strategies that can combat the aforementioned attitudes and perceptions about HBCUs.

Conrad, Brier, and Braxton (1997) highlighted these successful strategies in their analysis of factors contributing to the matriculation of White students to public HBCUs. Five public HBCUs were analyzed using a multi-case study research design. Students, faculty, and administrators were interviewed. Interviewees were not selected by the
researchers’ institutional liaison. An institutional liaison may choose interviewees who
give biased, inauthentic answers.

In order for a factor to be considered a major influence on the matriculation of White
students to HBCUs, at least 60% of students and 40% of administrators and faculty had to
give that factor a 7 or above on a scale of 10. These factors were divided into three
categories: academic program offerings, financial support, and institutional
characteristics. The important factors under academic program offerings were the
availability of programs in high-demand fields, unique program offerings, alternative
program delivery, and reputation for academic quality. Under financial support, minority
presence scholarships and other race grants were cited as particularly useful in attracting
White students. Under institutional characteristics, a multicultural image, inclusive
campus culture, White student recruitment efforts, articulation agreements with nearby
PWIs, positive external relationships, and campus attractiveness and safety were given as
important factors influencing the matriculation of White students to public HBCUs.
Moreover, Harley (2001) argues that institutional status and cultural identity as an HBCU
can act as a barrier to recruiting White students.

Institutional factors are most relevant to the Sum et al. (2004) findings. A
multicultural image, inclusive campus culture and positive external relationships can
combat the anticipated social discomfort and discrimination. HBCUs must promote
inclusion while remaining dedicated to the Black community (Closson & Henry, 2008a).
Neither of the two aforementioned studies included interviews of White students who
were enrolled at a predominately White institution (PWI) and, thus, chose not to attend an
HBCU. Input from these students would provide additional insight on what deters White students from attending an HBCU.

The literature suggested a number of methods for recruiting White students to HBCUs. White students must be recruited actively (Hazzard, 1989). However, Conrad et al. (1997) note that White students are not recruited actively by HBCUs: “…Active recruitment of White students is one of the most overlooked factors in attracting White students to HBCUs” (p. 53). They cannot be recruited to HBCUs using the same methods used to recruit Black students. For example, Conrad et al. (1997) noted that Winston-Salem State University (WSSU) previously recruited primarily in Black churches. Indeed, HBCUs maintain ties with Black churches for recruitment purposes, despite the churches racially homogenous membership (Tobolowsky, Outcalt, & McDonough, 2005).

White students can be recruited by having the schools visit predominately White high schools, send brochures with pictures of White HBCU students, and invite White students on campus visits. Also, White recruiters should be hired to recruit White students. These methods were successful in recruiting White students to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, a public HBCU (Conrad, et al. 1997).

Weaver, Davidson, and Torres (1992) identified three functions for public HBCUs. These three functions are to serve as

(a) a comprehensive institution serving a particular region;

(b) an institution specializing in specific academic programs; or
(c) an institution committed to serving African-American students and communities.

Function (a) is appropriate for Jackson State because it does not have a competing public institution near its campus. However, Jackson State’s location in an urban, deteriorating neighborhood impedes the institution’s ability to appeal to students of all backgrounds. Weaver, Davidson, and Torres (1992) do not discuss the possibility of combining functions (a) and (b), serving an entire region while staying committed to serving the African-American community. These functions were discussed as if they are mutually exclusive.

**The Recruitment Process at HBCUs**

Literature on the recruitment process at HBCUs largely focuses on the recruitment of African-American students only. Hendrix and Nelson (1986) declared that recruitment is an overlooked component of HBCU survival. Historically, the former “Negro” colleges could rely on segregation to maintain their enrollments. Prior to the civil rights movement, Black students had few college choices beyond HBCUs. Hendrix and Nelson discuss the evolution of the choice to attend an HBCU:

> As Black colleges move from a world in which their students *had* to enroll because no other school would take them to a world in which they are often the second choice of students who could not get into bigger schools, a third course arises…that of a situation in which the student makes the decision that the Black college is best for him or her, based on positive expectations. (Hendrix & Nelson, 1986, p. 58)
This third course that Hendrix and Nelson spoke of can apply to students of other racial backgrounds as well. That is, students of all backgrounds can decide that an HBCU is best for him or her. This article predated the Fordice decision by 7 years. Perhaps if it were published more recently, it would discuss broader, racially inclusive recruitment foci for HBCUs.

Freeman and McDonald (2004) discussed challenges experienced by HBCUs attempting to recruit top African-American students. The introduction to the study described competition between HBCUs and PWIs for the top African-American students. In order to reach the goals outlined in the Ayers settlement, HBCUs must compete for students of all races. Cultural affinity, or an opportunity to reconnect with African-American roots, was explained as one characteristic influencing top African-American students to attend HBCUs. Future research should investigate how HBCUs can maintain this cultural affinity, yet appeal to students of all races.

Freeman and McDonald (2004), Hendrix and Nelson (1986), Tobolowsky et al. (2005) mention an opportunity to reconnect with Black culture as an attraction for potential HBCU students. However this characteristic does not address claims that HBCUs are homogenous and exclusive to African-Americans. It also does not address court decisions such as *United States v. Fordice* (1992) and *Knight v. Alabama* (1991) that fund other race student recruitment. Future literature on HBCU recruitment should address the targeting of racially diverse groups.

Once administrators at an HBCU decide to implement a marketing campaign to attract White students, the following methods should be utilized to ensure success.
According to Bers, Beals, and Hossler (1990) successful marketing campaigns include identifying competitors, implementing “adopt a school” programs with targeted high schools, and earmarking merit scholarships. If an HBCU were to apply Bers, Beals, and Hossler’s successful marketing campaign characteristics, the institution would set reasonable goals for enrolling White students, implement “adopt a school” programs with predominately White high schools, and earmark merit scholarships for White students.

Institutions must provide thorough and complete information to provide students with the information they need to decide which college to attend. Marketing campaigns are particularly important during the search (when students research institutions) and choice (when students decide on an institution) stages of the Hossler and Gallagher’s (1987) college choice model. Second, existing White students and faculty at HBCUs should serve as ambassadors and recruit additional White students (Harley, 2001).

Comparing the recruitment of African-Americans to HBCUs with the recruitment of other race students to the same schools is like comparing the proverbial apples to oranges. An intermediate question, however, asks how African-American students who choose to attend an HBCU over a PWI are different from African-American students who historically attended HBCUs out of necessity. Freeman and Thomas (2002) answer this question in their analysis of characteristics exhibited by African-American students who choose HBCUs. Student subjects in Freeman and Thomas’s study are heavily influenced by the availability of financial aid.

Despite a focus on African-American students at HBCUs, the literature identifies a factor of the HBCU recruitment process that is relevant to other race students. African-
American students in the search stage of the recruitment process reported difficulty in receiving information from HBCUs (Tobolowsky, et al., 2005). This concurs with Harper’s (2001) findings that HBCUs need to critically examine admissions and recruitment material for information completeness and utility in answering prospective students’ questions. If research demonstrates that African-American prospective students experience difficulty in receiving complete information about HBCUs, it could be assumed that other race students experience difficulty as well.

According to Harper’s (2001) research, recruitment materials from public HBCUs are less complete, professional, and responsive than those from private HBCUs. This is problematic for recruitment efforts at public HBCUs. Recruitment materials sent from 13 (6 public, 7 private) HBCUs were evaluated on timeliness and inclusion of an application, view book, personalized letter, history, famous alumni, majors, tuition costs, available financial aid, housing, and student life. Perhaps public HBCUs rely more on local word-of-mouth marketing instead of complete brochures and view books. Additional research should evaluate HBCU websites for their utility in recruitment efforts. Further research should also examine budget allocations for recruitment at HBCUs.

Harper (2001) acknowledged the need for HBCUs to increase their enrollments. However, some of the recruitment materials sent from HBCUs in Harper’s study may not appeal to students of all races. For example, a list of famous HBCU alumni in recruitment materials may portray the institution as monoracial, or for Blacks only. White students are attracted to HBCUs that portray an image of a multicultural institution
(Conrad et al. 1997). Also, information about student life may not be as important to prospective other race HBCU students, who are more likely to be nontraditional (Hazard, 1989).

Nixon and Henry’s (1991) study on factors influencing the enrollment of Black and White students at institutions where they are in the minority did not define or operationalize institutional characteristics in detail. The brief description given contrasts with Conrad’s et al. (1997) detailed description of institutional characteristics. Nixon and Henry included location, academics, student services, financial aid, student recruitment efforts, and college personnel efforts all under the institutional characteristics umbrella. The institutional characteristics category, as defined by Nixon and Henry, is too broad to determine exactly which factors influence enrollment decisions. Conrad’s et al. (1997) characteristics are more useful to HBCU administrators and future researchers. The survey population for this study consisted of White and Black students enrolled at an HBCU and a PWI. Whether these institutions were public or private is not disclosed. Therefore, the impact of an institution’s public or private status cannot be determined from the results of this study. For example, the lower costs of a public institution may influence college choice. This study concluded that institutional characteristics influenced Black students’ decision to attend an HBCU more than White students.

The Experiences of White Students at HBCUs

Once White students enrolled at public HBCUs, their experiences as White students on predominately African-American campuses could be documented. The experiences of White students are less relevant to the current study than the recruitment of White
students. However, the experiences of White students at HBCUs can impact future recruitment efforts. Positive experiences will support efforts to recruit more White students. Negative experiences will be detrimental to White student recruitment efforts. There is much to learn from examining the experiences of White students at HBCUs (Closson & Henry, 2008a).

Overall, White students at HBCUs experience less social discomfort than Black students at PWIs (Closson & Henry, 2008b). Peterson and Hamrick (2009) explored White racial consciousness (WRC) among White male HBCU students. Closson & Henry examined the experiences of White students (women and men) at an HBCU. They also analyzed the perceptions African-American HBCU students have of White students at an HBCU. The White participants in Closson & Henry’s focus group noted that a predominately Black environment is different, but not anxiety inducing. These results concurred with Paterson and Hamrick’s (2009) findings. However, participants in both studies expressed a sense of hyper visibility and a desire to self-censor during racially controversial discussions. In other words, the participants stood out among their Black classmates. This sense of hyper visibility differs from the feelings of comfort and privilege described by the Black participants attending an HBCU. In order to make a comparison to Black HBCU students both Black and White students were asked about their experiences. Ironically, Black students held more negative assumptions about the experiences of White students than White students themselves. This could negatively impact recruitment if Black students share with prospective White students that they may not feel welcome at an HBCU.
Using participants from 10 HBCUs (5 public, 5 private) in the southeastern United States, Roebuck and Murty (1993) investigated the experiences of White students on Black campuses. Thirty-five of the 50 White participants preferred to attend a PWI. However, geographical proximity and financial issues made an HBCU a more feasible choice. Also, most respondents (p. 39) indicated that they did not maintain contact with other students outside of the classroom. As commuters, they took little interest in campus activities, labeling the campus “black turf” (p. 172). This indicates a lack of involvement in student life and extracurricular activities. Future research should examine student affairs efforts to engage White, commuter HBCU students.

Paterson and Hamrick acknowledged the limitations of cross-racial interviewing. In their study, the interviewer was Black and the interviewees were White. Sum, et al. (2004) and Closson and Henry (2008b) avoided this limitation by using moderators whose race matched that of the participants. It cannot be determined if cross-racial interviewing is a limitation of the other studies in this review because the interviewers’ race is not disclosed. Whether cross-racial interviewing is a limitation of the other studies in this review cannot be determined because the race of the interviewers is not disclosed. Further research on White students at HBCUs should focus on the experiences of women. Women comprise the majority of White students enrolled in HBCUs (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001). Also, women may share different perspectives in an all-female focus group setting.
Governance and Organizational Structure at HBCUs

Literature on governance and organizational structure at HBCUs is included in this review because governance and organizational characteristics can impact how and who an HBCU recruits. Also, literature on the organizational structure of HBCUs provides insight into how Scott’s institutional pillars are exemplified at those types of institutions.

In Minor’s 2004 case study on governance at a public HBCU, three contextual aspects are identified: faculty traditions, mission paradox, and racialized climate. These aspects correlate with Scott’s (2001) institutional pillars. At Urban State University, faculty members are committed to teaching. It is normal for faculty to teach four courses per semester. Therefore, emphasis on teaching is a norm for Urban State University. Another norm is the mission paradox. This mission paradox has been a norm for HBCUs since the civil rights movement. The paradox lies within a mission to educate African-Americans while being expected to recruit non-African-American students. A racialized climate is a part of the culture in which HBCUs exist. According to Minor, race influences Urban State’s identity and culture, both internally (among administrators) and externally (in the local community). In particular, the mission paradox and racialized climate aspects can impact the recruitment of other race students.

Effects of College Racial Composition on Students

Scholars examine the effects of racial composition on a variety of characteristics including academic and social gains, academic self-concept, and even mother-daughter communication about sex. Indeed, the effects of college racial composition on a broader
selection of outcomes is worthy of examination. The literature included here only examines the impact of college racial composition on African-American students. This is consistent with the broader body of literature: the impact of racial composition is most often examined when studying what influences the development of African-American college students (Cokley, 2002).

Additional research should examine the impact of college racial composition on students of other races and ethnicities. Cokley (2002) and Flowers (2002) research are both extensions of their previous research on the impact of college racial composition. This could indicate that the impact of college racial composition is a topic that constantly needs updated research, especially as college campuses grow increasingly diverse. Particularly, researchers will want to understand how HBCUs impact the development of students who are not African-American.

Ideally, Bynum’s (2007), Flowers’ (2002) and Cokely’s (2002) research could extend to compare White students at HBCUs to White students at PWIs. The impact of racial composition and the impact of attending an HBCU is discussed synonymously when they could mean two different things. Cokely (2002) and Flowers (2002) found that a predominately Black environment, i.e. attending an HBCU, positively impacted academic outcomes. In the former study, HBCU students reported a significantly higher academic self-concept than PWI students. Moreover, the HBCU students in Cokely’s (2002) study reported more positive student-faculty interactions than PWI students. Flowers (2002) reports that attending an HBCU positively impacted self-reported gains in understanding the humanities, personal development, science and technology and
improvement in writing skills. Bynum’s (2007) research compared mother-daughter communication about sex and daughters’ sexual behavior between freshman women at an HBCU and a PWI. The HBCU students held more conservative beliefs about premarital sex than PWI students.

Summary

This chapter contains literature of relevance to this study. Literature investigating desegregation litigation related to HBCUs, factors attracting other race students to HBCUs, the recruitment process at HBCUs, the experiences of White students at HBCUs, organizational structure at HBCUs, and the impact of racial composition on various outcomes. Desegregation litigation requires that HBCUs should expand, not change their missions, in order to meet the goals outlined in court decisions and settlements. Lower costs, high-demand academic offerings, and positive external relationships attract White students to HBCUs. However, fear of social discomfort and parental disapproval may deter White students from HBCUs. Other race students must be recruited actively to HBCUs. Recruitment literature on HBCUs focuses mainly on recruiting top African-American students to HBCUs. The experiences of White students at HBCUs can be described as different but not anxiety-inducing. Three aspects of organizational structure at a public HBCU are defined: faculty traditions, mission paradox, and a racialized climate. These aspects fit into Scott’s (2001) institutional pillars and can impact recruitment efforts. Attending an HBCU can positively impact academic outcomes.
Chapter Three

Research Procedures

This chapter presents data collection and analysis procedures utilized during case study research. A case study is an empirical inquiry investigating a contemporary
phenomenon within its real-life context. This study investigates the recruitment of other race students to HBCUs by examining how other race students are recruited to a particular public, HBCU. A plethora of issues surround the dismantlement of dual (black/white) higher education systems. However, this case study only deals with the issue of other race student recruitment.

Like other forms of qualitative research, case studies look for meaning and understanding, with the researcher as the primary data collector and analyzer (Merriam, 2009). Also, a case study is more a choice of what is studied and less of an actual methodology (Stake, 1994). The case study is also representative of the emic and etic perspectives. Therefore, the participant’s view of the phenomenon and the researcher’s interpretation of the phenomenon are included in the findings. The goal of case study research is to understand the salient features of a case. Case study research also lacks routine procedures. In addition, the case study method is popular in education. One reason for this popularity is that traditional methods of research fail to impact educational practice (Freebody, 2003).

Merriam (2009) stipulates that case study research must be bounded. In other words, case study research is limited to an example of a phenomenon, not the entire phenomenon. Moreover, the number of interviewees, observations, documents, etcetera, must be restricted. For example, potential interviewees for this study had to be responsible for recruitment or student affairs at Jackson State. The researcher was not interested in interviewing staff or professors in unrelated departments.
Creswell (2007) states that case studies involve multiple sources of information, such as document analysis, interviews, and audiovisual sources. All of these types of sources are useful for researching this topic. Moreover, multiple sources allow the researcher to compare and contrast interpretations and explore unexpected findings (Freebody, 2003). In addition, case studies draw from the fields of law and political science. Legal precedents are an important source of background information for this case study. Most importantly, the case study will enable the researcher to obtain a deeper understanding of how other race students are recruited to Mississippi’s public HBCUs in the wake of the Ayers settlement.

Mississippi’s public HBCUs are impacted directly by the United States v. Fordice (1992) decision and Ayers settlement. Jackson State University was selected as the subject of this case study because it stands to receive the largest share of endowment incentives for increasing its White student enrollment. Jackson State University also has the largest enrollment of the three public HBCUs in Mississippi. Moreover, the Ayers settlement is predicted to make the largest impact on Jackson State University because it is located in Mississippi’s largest city, unlike Alcorn State University and Mississippi Valley State University (“Mississippi desegregation settlement,” 2002). The latter two institutions are located in rural, economically depressed areas. In addition, Jackson State is the subject of previous empirical research on desegregation at public HBCUs (Rogers, 2003). This purposeful selection process presents some limitations to the research results. Random selection of an institution would increase external validity.
Jackson State University was founded as the Natchez Seminary in 1877 by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. It originally was located in Natchez, Mississippi. In 1882, the institution moved to Jackson, Mississippi’s capital and largest city. In 1889, its name changed to Jackson College. Mississippi assumed control of Jackson College in 1940. In 1979, Jackson State University was designated the urban university in Mississippi. The campus spans 125 acres near downtown Jackson. It is classified as a doctoral/research-intensive institution by the Carnegie Foundation.

The interview protocol was developed using the research questions as a guide. The researcher asked herself what she needed to ask participants in order to get answers to the research questions. The protocol is semi-structured, which provides flexibility in the direction of the interview and in the responses from participants. Yes or no questions were avoided because open-ended questions provide the most descriptive data, according to Merriam (2009).

Interviews followed the same general set of questions and format for each participant. However, some questions were irrelevant for some participants and most relevant for others. Therefore, interviews were altered accordingly. Also, opportunities arose for casual, unplanned interviews of some participants. Spontaneous opportunities such as the aforementioned may occur during case study research (Lichtman, 2006).

Interviews were tape-recorded, with each participant’s permission. Data was analyzed as it was collected. Recruitment paraphernalia, such as brochures, view books, and information from the institution’s website, also was analyzed. Documents contained
data related to the recruitment of other race students and the impact of the Ayers settlement.

One concern of case study researchers is reliability. A case study replicated at another public HBCU could result in different findings as a result of different perspectives and the political climate at that particular institution. Triangulation of data can increase reliability. Therefore, data from interviews and document analyses was triangulated.

In case study data analysis, the researcher connects themes and patterns to describe and explain the phenomenon. Raw data were deciphered using what Lichtman (2006) refers to as the “three Cs of analysis”: coding to categorizing to concepts. The researcher used the software program NVIVO to make the data analysis process more efficient. Specifically, interviews were transcribed within NVIVO. Documents were analyzed for agreement or conflict with interviews. Unlike quantitative analysis, the researcher determines when qualitative analysis should end. There is no defined end to qualitative analysis like there is with statistical analysis (Lichtman, 2006, p. 165). Once the researcher reaches saturation and no new information is discovered, analysis should end.

Case study analysis includes a detailed examination of the case and its setting. By using rich, thick language to describe the findings, the researcher enables readers to apply the findings to similar settings (Creswell, 2007). Though results from a case study are not widely generalized, individual readers may find results applicable to their particular institutions.
This study is only examining 1 public HBCU out of the 3 in Mississippi, the 37 public HBCUs in all other states, and the 113 public and private HBCUs nationwide. Mississippi is just one state out of the 19 that are home to state-supported HBCUs. Results are not applicable to other public HBCUs in other states. The researcher is uninterested in the perspectives of students because they are not directly related to the objectives of the study.

**Research Questions**

The main question guiding this study is how does a public HBCU impacted by the Ayers settlement recruit other race students. The following three research questions also framed the problem and guided the study.

1. What are the experiences of public HBCU recruitment staff while recruiting other race students?

2. How has the 2002 Ayers settlement impacted the recruitment process at public HBCUs?

3. What policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students to public HBCUs?

The researcher used reflective analysis. Reflective analysis is particularly sensitive to researcher bias, since it incorporates the researcher’s own judgment and intuition. The researcher remained flexible during interviews, since participants did not always stick to the intended line of questioning. As previously stated, asking open-ended questions allows for richer answers from participants. The competent interviewer is a
good listener instead of a frequent speaker during an interview (Creswell, 2007).

Therefore, the researcher resisted the urge to ask excessive questions and interrupt during the interview. Moreover, the researcher was comfortable with uncertainty and flexibility. The researcher also interpreted information as it was collected.

The importance of establishing rapport with participants cannot be underestimated. Researchers should establish rapport with study participants. The researcher attempted to establish rapport with participants by “friending” them on the popular social networking site Facebook. Since the researcher had never visited the Jackson State University campus, a campus tour was scheduled in an effort to build rapport with staff and develop familiarity with the campus. The researcher also sent her curriculum vita and photo with initial attempts to contact participants in an effort to provide prospective participants more information about her.

The researcher’s interest in this study comes from a long-term interest in school desegregation. The researcher is also interested in how desegregation impacts HBCUs and how diversity is exemplified on an HBCU campus. As a graduate of an HBCU and an African-American born and raised in the South, the researcher brings certain biases to the study. Though every effort was made to ensure objectivity, some biases may be evident in the researcher’s interpretations. The researcher believes that societal ideas of race impede HBCU efforts at recruiting other race students. Desegregation legislation and diversity initiatives make challenging times for HBCUs, particularly state-supported HBCUs. In this study, the researcher hopes to understand how an HBCU attracts students who are not African-American amidst these challenges.
**Institutional review board approval.**

Once the research proposal received approval from the dissertation committee, the researcher applied for exempt status from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Clemson University. Per instructions from a representative from the Clemson University IRB, the researcher simultaneously applied for permission to use Jackson State University as a research subject from the IRB at Jackson State University. Once the study received approval from both IRBs (Clemson University and Jackson State University), the researcher initially contacted potential participants via e-mail (see Appendix). By responding and indicating a willingness to be interviewed, participants provided consent to participate in the study. Participants were given the option to withdraw from the study at any time or to refuse to answer any particular question.

**Data Collection Procedures**

Data from guided, semi-structured interviews and document analysis were collected. Semi-structured interviews are neither exactly worded, nor is the order of questions predetermined (Merriam, 2009, p. 90). According to Merriam (2009), the semi-structured interview format allows the researcher the flexibility to respond to emerging ideas from respondents. Purposeful sampling was used to select Jackson State University staff and administrators to interview. According to Creswell (2003), purposefully chosen participants help the researcher understand the research problem and research questions (p. 185). Specifically, participants were uniquely sampled based on their responsibility for student recruitment and student life. “A unique sample is based on unique, atypical,
perhaps rare attributes or occurrences of the phenomenon of interest.” (Merriam, 2009, p. 78).

The researcher contacted Jackson State University staff and administrators and requested they participate in a telephone interview. Beginning with admissions and recruitment, the researcher worked her way up the organizational chart choosing persons to contact (See Figure 5). Specifically, the president, director of University Communications, provost, vice president of Academic Affairs, executive vice president of Information Management, associate vice president of Student life, associate vice president of enrollment management, director of Communications and Outreach, director of Diversity Programming, director of Undergraduate Admissions, senior admissions advisor, and admissions advisors A and B were all contacted via e-mail twice. In addition to the informed consent letter, potential participants were sent the researcher’s vita, photo, and Jackson State IRB approval letter. A Doodle invitation also was sent in an effort to schedule interview times.

Figure 5. Organizational Chart of Prospective Interviewees
Figure 5. Partial organizational chart of potential interviewees adapted from information on Jackson State University’s website.  www.jsums.edu
The president declined, via email, to be interviewed. Next, postal mail letters were sent to all who had not responded via e-mail. The postal mail letters included a copy of the Jackson State University IRB approval letter. This effort yielded one response from the senior admissions advisor. In a message sent via e-mail, she stated that she did not know much about the Ayers case and referred the researcher to her supervisor, the director of Undergraduate Admissions.

While perusing Jackson State University’s website, the researcher discovered that a recruitment staff existed separate from the admissions staff. The minority recruiter, senior recruiter, and recruiters A and B were contacted via e-mail and postal mail. The lack of responses from contacted participants prompted the researcher to focus on contacting only the recruitment and admission staff, their immediate supervisors, and the director of Diversity Programming because they would be able to provide the richest responses. Next, the researcher called the executive vice president of Information Management, associate vice president of enrollment management, director of Diversity Programming, director of Undergraduate Admissions, admissions advisors A and B, the minority recruiter, recruiters A and B, and the senior recruiter and left messages when prompted. The minority recruiter responded via e-mail. He replied that he needed to speak with his director of recruitment, who had been out of the office. The researcher replied that she wanted to interview the director of Recruitment as well, and if they had any questions, they should let her know.

In an effort to establish rapport and increase familiarity with Jackson State University, the researcher contacted Recruiter A to schedule a campus tour. Jackson State
University’s recruitment website indicated that Recruiter A should be contacted to schedule all tours. The tour was conducted on March 22 at 10 a.m. with Recruiter A. After the tour was scheduled, the researcher contacted the minority recruiter and informed him of when she would be in Jackson. At this point, the minority recruiter agreed to be interviewed even though he had not had a chance to speak to his director. All contact information was obtained from the Jackson State University online directory.

The Associate Vice President of Student Life, who was the first to respond, was interviewed by telephone on March 11 at 11 a.m. Eastern Standard Time. Dr. Brown seemed very eager to answer questions. This interview initially was scheduled for a morning in February. However, there was no answer or a prompt to leave a voicemail when the researcher tried to reach Dr. Brown at the appointed time. Days later, Dr. Brown contacted her via e-mail, inquiring about the interview. It was rescheduled for March 11.

The researcher visited Jackson State University on March 22 and 23, 2010. While in Jackson, the researcher contacted the director of Undergraduate Recruitment, associate vice president of enrollment management, and the executive vice president of Information Management via e-mail to inform them that she was in Jackson and was available to meet with them if they consented to being interviewed. The executive vice president for Information Management declined to be interviewed. The director of Undergraduate Recruitment did not respond. An opportunity presented itself to approach her in person. However, since she did not respond to letters, e-mails, and phone calls, the researcher did not want to “put her on the spot” and assume that she would consent to
being interviewed. The associate vice president of enrollment management responded via e-mail while the researcher was in Jackson and consented to being interviewed. The minority recruiter was interviewed on March 22, and the vice president of enrollment management was interviewed on March 23. Recruiter A also was interviewed on March 22 after she took the researcher on a tour of the campus.

Dr. Brown (pseudonym) is the Associate Vice President of Student Life and the chief student affairs officer at Jackson State University. He has worked at Jackson State University in various positions for 9 years. His responsibilities include diversity programming and residence life.

Tim (pseudonym) has served as the minority recruiter at Jackson State University for two years. Prior to that position, he worked as a retail manager for a national chain. His responsibilities include recruiting other race students and recruiting from community colleges and private high schools.

Dr. Green (pseudonym) is the associate vice president for enrollment management. She oversees admissions and recruitment. When asked how long she had worked for Jackson State University, she replied “many, many years.” Her previous experience includes serving as a minority recruiter at Syracuse University. The Jackson State University degree displayed prominently above her desk indicates that she is an alumna of the institution.

Maria (pseudonym), recruiter A, is also a Jackson State University alumna. She also has a master’s of business administration degree from Belhaven University. Recruiter A is responsible for spring tours at Jackson State.
March 22, 2010 was a cloudy, 50-degree day in Jackson, which was unseasonably cool for spring. The researcher initially requested a tour as a way to meet the recruitment staff and develop a rapport with them. Later, the researcher realized that she did not feel comfortable conducting a case study on an institution that she had never visited, in a state that she had only driven through. Therefore, the tour also served to familiarize the researcher with Jackson State University’s campus and its surroundings.

After introducing herself to the administrative assistant in the recruitment office and announcing the purpose of her visit, the administrative assistant called the minority recruiter, Tim, and requested that he come meet the researcher. There were signs directing visitors to check in with the administrative assistant. Tim welcomed the researcher and walked her back to his office. In his office, he sat behind his desk with his back to the window. A Jackson State University banner was above the window, behind him.

Tim answered the interview questions in a friendly and relaxed manner. There was construction outside, across the street from the recruitment office. The noise from the construction, which can be overheard on the audio recording, prompted the researcher and interviewee to speak up. Tim expressed concern that his very deep voice would not be picked by the recording equipment. The recruitment office was in a standalone building in what appeared to be a renovated house. The admissions office was in another building across campus. At the conclusion of the interview, Tim took the researcher to meet Maria, recruiter A, who then took her on a tour of the campus.
Recruiter A also was friendly and welcoming. However, if the researcher mentioned the recruitment of other race students, she gruffly referred her questions to Tim. The campus tour was completed in a university-owned vehicle because of the chilly weather. The highlights of the tour were the engineering building, business building, student center, and Walter Payton recreation center. Maria also pointed out the construction of apartments for graduate students. The campus was nicely manicured, featured a mix of old and modern buildings. At the end of the day, Maria offered to answer any additional questions via e-mail and promised to send recruitment videos.

During the visit to Jackson, the comments by participants in Sum, Light, and King’s (2004) study were validated. A stark difference existed between the landscape outside the fence and the campus within the fence. The neighborhood surrounding the campus appeared to be in a state of decline. There were blocks of homes and other structures in disrepair. Large churches, meeting halls, and the like were boarded up and appeared to be abandoned. Perhaps the researcher’s perceptions of the surrounding neighborhood would improve if she spent more than a few days in the area and became more of a resident and less of a visitor.

The interview with Dr. Green took place at 3 p.m. on March 23. Her office was in the same building as the admissions office, which she oversees. Dr. Green’s office was decorated with various photographs, knickknacks, and accolades. There was also a Jackson State University degree on the wall behind her. However, it cannot be determined if it is a bachelor’s, master’s, or doctoral degree. She appeared to be timid and shy, which surprised the researcher because she assumed that an administrator at her
level would be outgoing and gregarious. She also had a low speaking voice. Initially, the researcher had to strain to hear her. Nevertheless, the researcher did not want to appear to be pushy by repeatedly asking her to speak up. However, the recording device picked up her voice. At the end of the interview, Dr. Green remarked that she remembers what it was like to be working on a dissertation, suggesting that her empathy for a dissertating doctoral student influenced her willingness to be interviewed. The interview was interrupted by a brief phone call and a brief conversation with her administrative assistant.

Three of the interviews were audio-recorded. One interview, Dr. Brown’s, was not recorded as a result of a technical error. As a result, the researcher does not have detailed quotes from that interview. An interview protocol was developed prior to each interview. The protocol (See Appendix) consisted of exploratory questions designed to get a sense of how a public HBCU recruits other race students, how the Ayers settlement impacts this recruitment, and what challenges this HBCU experiences in recruiting other race students. During the interview, the researcher deviated from the protocol when appropriate. Also, during the interview, interview questions deemed irrelevant to the participant were omitted. At the conclusion of each interview, participants were reminded that the researcher would be contacting them with notes from the interview to perform member checks on the data.

Documents were collected mainly through Internet searches. Of the three types of documents discussed by Bogden and Biklen (1998), official document and popular culture documents were analyzed in this study. Recruiter A provided recruitment videos.
The Five Year Report, the *Jacksonian*, application for graduate diversity scholarship, undergraduate scholarship announcement, graduate school newsletter, and Finance and Operations report were all obtained from Jackson State University’s website. These are official documents produced by Jackson State University. Documents of relevance to other race recruitment and scholarships were chosen. The *Jacksonian* is a magazine published twice a year by the office of university communications. The Five Year Report includes chronological achievements and key facts about Jackson State University from 2000 to 2005. The graduate school newsletter, *The Graduate*, is a newsletter published by the graduate school. The Finance and Operations Report contains a summary of the 2007-2008 fiscal year. The undergraduate scholarship announcement and graduate diversity scholarship announcements detail the scholarship requirements, application procedures and deadlines for undergraduate scholarships and graduate diversity scholarships. The graduate diversity scholarships are earmarked for other race students. The recruitment videos are approximately 5 minutes long and are available on YouTube and YOUniversity TV. These videos are examples of popular culture documents.

The data analysis technique used is content analysis. Content analysis involves the coding of raw data into categories that capture the characteristics of the document’s content (Merriam, 2009). Raw data from the aforementioned documents were coded for relevant themes regarding the recruitment of other race students.

**Data Analysis Procedures**

For the qualitative researcher, analysis begins as data is collected. The qualitative software package NVIVO was used to organize the data and assist with data analysis.
During each interview, the researcher jotted down notes of musings, hunches, and additional questions. When the interviews were transcribed using NVIVO, these notes were attached to the transcription using the memo function. NVIVO uses the term nodes to label ideas. Tree nodes were used to identify data that responded specifically to the research questions. Free nodes are the result of open coding. Open coding is defined as making notations next to all data that may be potentially relevant to the research questions (Merriam, 2007). The researcher is open to anything during open coding. Therefore, free nodes could be coded in anyway while tree nodes were restricted to data that specifically related to the research questions. Prior to beginning data collection, the researcher entered the research questions into NVIVO as tree nodes. Free nodes would emerge during and after data analysis.

Once the interviews were collected, the interviewer transcribed the audio recordings with the assistance of NVIVO. Then, the interview read over the transcript and coded emerging ideas into free nodes. During document analysis, the researcher read over relevant documents and made notations next to data that was potentially relevant to the research questions. Documents were uploaded or linked to NVIVO. Using NVIVO, the researcher could click on a free node or tree node and see the interview quote or document memo (from document analysis) that corresponded to that node. Once redundant information emerged and the saturation point was reached, the researcher ended the initial coding stage.
Data was further analyzed using Lichtman's (2006) Three C’s process. The phrase *Three C’s* stands for coding, categorizing and concepts. The process includes six steps (Lichtman, 2006, p. 168-169)

The first step is initial coding. It is never too early to begin the initial coding step. During and after each interview, the researcher wrote comments on interviewee responses. The comments consisted of the researcher’s thoughts and observations of the interview. The first step produced the largest number of codes, or nodes. Forty free nodes emerged during the initial step (See Figure 6).

The second step is revisiting initial coding. During this step, redundant codes are combined and other codes are renamed. Some researchers may code every phrase in the raw data, while other researchers are less detailed. In this study, the researcher was less detailed and did not attempt to code every sentence during the initial coding stage. After a review of the forty free nodes, the researcher determined that none of the nodes were redundant.

Step 3 combines the list of codes into categories. Categories are also referred to as themes, patterns, or an answer to a research question (Merriam, 2007, p. 178). Some codes may become a category on their own while other codes are grouped together to form a category. To accomplish this, the researcher used the “set” function in NVIVO to combine the 40 nodes into categories (See Figure 6).
Figure 6. Free Nodes Developed from Raw Data

appeal to urban students outside MS
attracting White students at fairs
avoidance of settlement
but blacks don’t think they can go for free to PWI
but they are not minorities in this nation
capital city location
coverage of white schools
distance learning
do HBCUs need to cater to Whites
effort put forth
external perceptions of Fordice settlement
focus on attracting commuter students
focus on diversity
getting students from Jackson to stay
high demand programs
improved perceptions of academics by Whites
lack of money from settlement
Latino recruits
low cost
minority recruiter recruits everyone
mission paradox
more traditional White students interested
no pressure to reach goal
no specific marketing plan
not just for Black students
opinion of settlement
other race students are recruiting
other race students play sports
perceptions of HBCUs
previous negative perceptions
priority is to recruit all students
public doesn’t realize what’s going on
recruiting tool
rural Black and White fear Jackson
satellite campuses in suburban areas
selling the schools programs
transfer community college students as other race recruits
understands role as supervisor
unsafe neighborhood
Whites think they can go for free

Figure 6. Free nodes developed from raw data entered into NVIVO.

The nodes were combined into sets, or categories, based on how similar the nodes were to each other. For example, the nodes in the Beyond Black Students category are “not just for Black students” and “mission paradox.” The aforementioned nodes represent data indicating that respondents believe Jackson State University is not just an opportunity for Black students and that there is a paradox between Jackson State
University’s traditional mission of educating former slaves and their descendents and its current efforts to offer a quality postsecondary education to students of all backgrounds. Therefore, the category was labeled beyond Black students.

The following statement from the raw data support the Beyond Black Students category: “We are still pushing to recruit students of all races, no matter what. This [Jackson State University] is an opportunity for all students.” Also, the researcher noted that the President Ronald Mason mentions in his five year report that Jackson State University is remaining true to its mission of educating African-American teachers and ministers while increasing diversity in the global market place.

The Lack of Financial Reward category has one node, which is lack of money from the settlement. This node is supported by 3 references from the raw data. In the first, the minority recruiter mentions that money for the private endowment was not raised the way funds were supposed to be raised. The second reference includes a quote from the vice president of enrollment management discussing the lack of Ayers funding for other race scholarships and how funding is scheduled to decrease in the future. In the third reference, the vice president of enrollment management reiterated that the national economic recession and subsequent budget cuts decreased the expected amount of Ayers funding for other race scholarships. The aforementioned references and the “lack of money from settlement” node comprise the Lack of Financial Award category.

The Location category includes all nodes that reference location, whether the nodes positively or negatively impact the recruitment of other race students. The three nodes in this category are “capital city location,” “unsafe neighborhood,” and “rural
black and white fear Jackson.” The capital city location node has two references from the raw data. In the first reference, the minority recruiter mentions that the city of Jackson is stereotyped as an unsafe city. In the second reference, the vice president of enrollment management highlights Jackson State University’s capital city location as attractive to other race students. The unsafe neighborhood node had one reference from the raw data. The Vice President of Enrollment Management mentioned that Jackson State University’s campus is perceived as unsafe when it is not any less or more safe than other public colleges in Mississippi. The rural black and white node includes one reference from the raw data. The minority recruiter stated that both Black and White students from rural areas of Mississippi are apprehensive about enrolling at Jackson State University because of the city’s reputation as a high crime area.

The No Special Marketing Plan or Emphasis category includes nodes that reference raw data indicating no special marketing plan or emphasis on meeting the settlement goal. This category has three nodes, which are “no specific marketing plan,” “no pressure to reach goal,” and “avoidance of the settlement.” The “no specific marketing plan” node has two references from the raw data. The minority recruiter and vice president of enrollment management both deny the use of a specific marketing plan to recruit other race student. The minority recruiter emphasized that he prefers to sell Jackson State University on the institution’s own merits. The “no pressure to reach goal” node has one reference from the raw data. The vice president of enrollment management, who supervises the minority recruiter, stated that no pressure is placed on the recruiter to meet the Ayers settlement other race enrollment goals. The avoidance of settlement node
has two references from the raw data, one each from the associate vice president of enrollment management and the associate vice president of student life each stated that the Ayers settlement other race enrollment goals are not discussed in administrative meetings or actively included in strategic planning.

The Other Race Recruitment Tactics category has four nodes. The “nodes are coverage of White schools,” “attracting White students at fairs,” “getting students from Jackson to stay,” and “selling the schools programs.” The “coverage of White schools” node refers to coverage of predominately White high schools by the minority recruiter. The minority recruiter described how he completes recruitment visits to the private and parochial schools in Jackson. Jackson’s private and parochial schools are predominately White. However, the parochial schools are much more racially diverse than the private schools.

The “attracting White students at fairs” node has two references from the raw data, one each from the minority recruiter and recruiter A. The minority recruiter emphasized that he is not aggressive about attracting other race students to his table during recruitment fairs. Recruiter A is more aggressive. If a fair is not particularly crowded, she calls other race students to her table at recruitment fairs and tries to spark the students’ interest by asking about what majors and extracurricular activities they are interested in.

The Perceptions of Other Race Recruits category includes nodes of raw data about the interviewees perceptions other race recruits. The five nodes in this category are “Whites think they can go for free,” “previous negative perceptions,” “improved
perceptions of academics,” “external perceptions of the Ayers settlement,” and “perceptions of HBCUs.” The “Whites think they can go for free” node has two references from the raw data, both of which are from the minority recruiter. He stated that it was difficult to persuade White students that they could not attend Jackson State University tuition-free just because they were White. The minority recruiter uses discussions on other race scholarships to bring up general academic scholarships and persuade other race students to apply for academic scholarships first.

The “previous negative perceptions” node references improvement in Jackson State University’s academic reputation. The minority recruiter discussed how programs such as engineering, business, social work, and criminal justice have improved the university’s academic reputation. The “external perceptions of the Ayers settlement” node includes raw data on the external community’s perceptions of the details in the Ayers settlement. The associate vice President of student life stated that the external community believes Jackson State University received more money than the institution actually did. He emphasized that the money Jackson State University received through the Ayers settlement was enough to begin new academic programs, not maintain them.

The “improved perceptions of academics” node specifically includes raw data relevant to improvement in the perceptions other race students held about Jackson State University. The minority recruiter stated that specialty, high-demand programs and newly accredited programs improved the perceptions held by other race students. The “perceptions of HBCUs” node includes raw data referencing perceptions of HBCUs as an institutional type. The minority recruiter explained that the perception of HBCUs as
exclusively for Black students feeds the myth that White students can attend for free. The associate vice president for enrollment management said that the stigma of being an exclusively Black institution impairs Jackson State University’s ability to recruit other race students. She goes on to explain that the stigma is a preconceived notion about HBCUs in general.

The next category is the Perceptions of the Public category. The general public holds many of the same perceptions that potential other race students hold. One node in this category is the “public doesn’t know what’s going on” node. This node contains raw data from the associate vice president of enrollment management. She explains that Jackson State University attracts more attention from other race student recruits than the general public realizes. In other words, more other race students express interest in attending Jackson State University than the external community realizes.

The eighth category is Role of Minority Recruiter. This category includes six nodes referencing the duties and responsibilities of the minority recruiter. In the “minority recruiter recruits everyone” node, the associate vice president of enrollment management stated that the minority recruiter probably talks to more Black students than other race students. Though the minority recruiter’s role is to recruit other race students, he is available to recruit all students. The minority recruiter supports the vice president of enrollment management’s statement by emphasizing that minority or other race student recruitment is not all that he does. The “other race students are recruiting” node references raw data about current other race students recruiting new other race students. The minority recruiter stated that at least 2 other race students were active student
recruiters. Some other race students recruited by the Minority Recruiter began recruiting more other race students once enrolled at Jackson State University.

In the next node, “priority is to recruit all students”, the minority recruiter emphasized that his job is to recruit students to the school. He does not overlook Black students on a quest to recruit other race students or refer Black students to another recruiter. The “selling the school” node includes raw data about how the minority recruiter sells the school. He asserted that his own love for Jackson State University helps him sell it to potential other race students. Moreover, the minority recruiter emphasized that he wanted students to come to Jackson State University because they also loved the school for what it has to offer, not because of the available of scholarships for other race students.

In the “transfer cc students as other race recruits” node, the minority recruiter discusses his additional responsibilities of recruiting community college and transfer students. The “understands role as supervisor” node includes a reference from the associate vice president of enrollment management. Before assuming her current position at Jackson State University, she worked as a minority recruiter at Syracuse University. Though she was the minority recruiter, recruiting students of color to a predominately White institution, she contacted more White students than students of color. Therefore, she reasoned, she can understand how the minority recruiter at Jackson State University talks to more Black students than other race students.

The Ways to Attract Other Race Students category contains nodes with raw data related to how other race students are attracted to Jackson State University. The first
node is “satellite campuses in suburban areas.” In this node, the associate vice president of enrollment management discusses distance learning opportunities that attract other race students. Establishing satellite campuses in suburban areas is cited as one way to attract other race students. The College of Public Service and College of Lifelong Learning are located at satellite sites. Satellite campuses also attract commuter students, which is the second node in this category. The minority recruiter asserted that recruiting commuter students would increase other race student recruitment.

The third node is “a focus on diversity.” The raw data contains several instances of an emphasis on diversity at Jackson State University. The President’s Five Year Report highlights diversity initiatives. A Youtube recruitment video shared by Recruiter A describes Jackson State University as a multicultural beacon. The Jacksonian magazine describes HBCUs as avenues of diversity. The publication also quotes President Ronald Mason setting an enrollment goal of 20% other race, double the goal set by the Ayers settlement. President Mason also stated that he wanted to build the best Jackson State University for any student who wanted to come. The associate vice president for student life described plans for a Center for Institutional Diversity. A diversity planning committee is in charge of developing this center.

The fourth node is “transfer and community college students as other race recruits.” The minority recruiter believes community colleges to be good sources of other race students. Recruitment from community colleges is a part of the minority recruiter’s responsibility. The fifth node is “other race students play sports.” According to the minority recruiter, the baseball, softball, soccer, and golf teams are extremely attractive to
other race students. Moreover, the baseball coach is Latino and has been successfully recruiting Latino baseball players.

“More traditional other race students interested” is the sixth node. According to the minority recruiter, new academic programs attract college-aged other race students. Historically, other race students at Jackson State University were largely older students going back to school. “Recruiting tool” is the seventh node. Here, the Associate Vice President of Enrollment Management states that she believes the Center for Institutional Diversity will be an effective tool for recruiting other race students.

The eighth node is “distance learning opportunities.” The minority recruiter and associate vice president for enrollment management both tout online courses as a way to attract other race students. Moreover, the minority recruiter attests that he’s met potential students who are interested in Jackson State University but are unable to physically attend classes. He goes on to say that some professors at Jackson State University are resistant to teaching online courses.

The last category is What has Attracted Other Race Students. This category contains nodes of raw data on what has already been successful in attracting other race students. There are two nodes in this category. Those nodes are “high demand programs” and “low cost.” As cited in the literature and in the raw data, high demand programs such as engineering attract other race students to Jackson State University. The associate vice president of enrollment management explained that Jackson State University’s tuition is the fourth most expensive in the state. There are 3 public
institutions that are more expensive and 3 that are less expensive than Jackson State University. Financially, the institution is an attractive option for other race students.

Table 3

*Initial Categories Combined into Fewer Categories*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Categories</th>
<th>Combined Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Beyond Black students</td>
<td>• What has or will attract other race students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ways to attract future other race students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What attracts other race students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Other race recruitment strategies</td>
<td>• Duties and actions of a minority recruiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Duties of a minority recruiter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No special marketing plan or emphasis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Location</td>
<td>• Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceptions of the public</td>
<td>• External perceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceptions of other race recruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of financial reward</td>
<td>• Eliminated Category</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the fourth and fifth steps, the initial list of categories is revised based on an additional review. Specifically, the list of categories is prioritized and combined. Categories 1, 9 and 10 were combined into a new first category, what has attracted or will attract other race students. Categories 5 and 8 were combined to form a new second category, duties and actions of a minority recruiter. Category 3 was not combined and remained the third category. Categories 3 and 4 are combined to make a new fourth category, external perceptions. Category 4 was eliminated (See Table 3). The fifth step is an opportunity to eliminate redundant categories and identify any critical elements.
During the fifth step, the researcher determined that there were no redundant categories among the 4 categories from step 4.

The sixth step identifies key concepts that reflect what the data ultimately represents. This final step involved identifying critical concepts from the categories. A limited number of well-supported concepts is better than numerous concepts with little support from the data. Merriam (2007) describes the consequences of allowing a large number of categories. “A large number of categories is likely to reflect an analysis lodged in concrete description” (Merriam, 2007, p. 187). Lichtman (2006) maintains that the number of concepts should be limited to three to five. In consideration of this, the researcher determined that the four categories emerging from step 4 would serve as the critical concepts.

Data also was coded and arranged into predetermined tree nodes. As previously stated, the tree nodes each represented research questions (See Table 4). This was an effort to clearly determine how the data addressed the research questions. A constant comparative method of data analysis was utilized because it is widely used in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). The constant comparative method involves comparing each unit of data with other units, combining these other units into free nodes, comparing free node with other free nodes, and reducing free nodes into thematic categories while checking for regularities throughout the process.
Table 4

Research Questions and Corresponding Tree Nodes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Tree Node</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the experiences of a public HBCU recruiting other race students?</td>
<td>Experiences recruiting other race students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How has the 2002 Ayers settlement impacted other race student recruitment?</td>
<td>Impact of Ayers settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What practices are successful in recruiting other race students?</td>
<td>Successful practices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the audio interviews were transcribed, memorandums were entered into NVIVO on the underlying themes and tone of the interview. Then, the actual transcription was coded. Documents were uploaded into NVIVO. Notes were taken on the documents. Then, those notes were coded. Some free nodes and tree nodes overlapped. In other words, some data were coded as a free node and entered as a tree node if it specifically addressed a research question. In Chapter Four, findings are presented as they correspond to each research question.

Strategies for Validating Findings

According to Creswell (2007), writing thick descriptions, member checking, and external audits are methods that can increase the validity of qualitative data. They also are relatively easy to execute. Specifically, member checks and external audits are appropriate for ensuring internal validity. "Internal validity deals with the question of how research findings match reality (Merriam, 2009, p. 213).
Recordings and notes were verified by participants during member checks. If there is a conflict between interview transcripts and documents, member checks will provide clarification. Member checks are also useful in capturing participants’ views of the credibility of results. The researcher asked participants to review the preliminary notes developed from the data. This request was an effort to receive participant validation of the researcher’s interpretation of the raw data. Participants also received digital copies of their recorded interviews. Lincoln & Guba (1985) consider member checks to be the most valuable method for establishing credibility. Therefore, the researcher considers it a priority in ensuring validity.

The researcher also conducted external audits by individuals unaffiliated with the study. This external auditor does not possess subjectivities similar to the researcher. This role is similar to that of a financial auditor (Creswell, 2003). This external audit will help diminish researcher bias and provide a general assessment of the study. The external audit sessions will be documented in writing.

Ethical Issues

The following actions were taken to maintain the privacy and trust of participants: Permission to audio-record was received prior to interviewing. Participants are referred to using pseudonyms. Participants were allowed to not answer a particular question if they so desired. The researcher tried to eliminate situations where prospective interviewees felt pressured to be interviewed by co-workers or supervisors. Participants were informed of who was conducting the study, why they were singled out for participation in the study, potential benefits of the study, and any potential discomfort.
they may experience. The researcher anticipated some discomfort experienced by participants while discussing race. This study did not require written consent.

**Theoretical Foundation**

This study employs institutionalism as the theoretical lens for this study. Specifically, Scott’s (2001) institutional pillars were used to guide the research. These pillars are the regulative, normative, and cultural/cognitive. According to Scott, all institutions possess these pillars. When applied to Jackson State University, regulations such as admissions guidelines comprise the regulative pillar. The approval of the 2002 Ayers settlement introduced new guidelines to the regulative pillar. Public HBCUs are expected to show good-faith efforts in recruiting other race students. There are rules to how these efforts should be documented. An emphasis on teaching, despite a high research activity Carnegie designation, is an example of norms comprising the normative pillar. In the cultural/cognitive pillar are cultural definitions of the acronym “HBCU” and racial patterns in Mississippi’s culture.

**Summary**

This chapter included a description of the case study methods utilized in this study. Data collection procedures and the researcher’s role were discussed. The researcher analyzed semi-structured interview data collected from participants. Documents also were analyzed. This chapter also included brief information on each participant and data analysis procedures. Last, the theoretical framework, significance and implications are discussed.
Chapter Four

Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed summary of the findings resulting from interviews and document analysis. The data collected from interviews and document analysis support themes relevant to how an HBCU recruits other race students. Also, this chapter documents the impact of Jackson State University’s main campus location, commuter environment, and alternative program delivery options on its ability to recruit other race students. Specifically, Chapter 4 includes an in-depth summary of interviews of the associate vice president of student life, associate vice president of enrollment management, minority recruiter, and recruiter A at Jackson State University. A summary of the findings, along with a discussion of the four critical concepts from chapter 3, is enclosed at the end of the chapter. The findings are presented based on the research questions.

Research Question One: What are the experiences of recruitment staff and administrators while recruiting other race students?

Research Question Two: How has the 2002 Ayers settlement impacted the recruitment process at public HBCUs?

Research Question Three: What policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students to public HBCUs?

Secondarily, prominent, emerging themes are presented as well. Case study methods were utilized to collect interview data and analyze documents. The Associate vice
The president of student life was interviewed over the phone. The Associate vice president of enrollment management, minority recruiter, and recruiter A were interviewed in person, in their respective offices. Additionally, researcher observations were completed and included in these findings.

**Research Question One: What are the Experiences of Recruitment Staff and Administrators while Recruiting Other Race Students?**

Recruiting other race students to Jackson State University is described as challenging. Dr. Green elaborated: “We try to do what we can to recruit the…we call them minorities because they are minorities here. But it is still a challenge, of course.”

Dr. Brown, associate vice president of student life agreed with Dr. Green: “It is a struggle for us to reach that 10%. We have 8 public colleges in Mississippi. Most persons of the other persuasion are going to either a community college or Ole Miss or Mississippi State.”

Mississippi’s historic racial tensions and segregated tradition are reasons why this recruitment process is challenging. Dr. Brown elaborated on these tensions and traditions: “Other persuasions don’t go to Jackson State, traditionally. This is the state of Mississippi and real is real. This is the situation, and it is what it is.” Dr. Brown acknowledged the fact that historically Whites did not attend Jackson State. He also described a racialized environment. By using the phrase “other persuasion,” he distinguished between prospective students who are African-American (like he is) and students who are White and represent his “other.” Boesch (2007) defines the other as not like oneself.
Dr. Brown describes some prospective other race students’ preference for a community college over the historically Black Jackson State: “If their [prospective other race students] parents can’t afford Ole Miss or Mississippi State, they will go to a community college instead and then transfer to Ole Miss. Or they may go to Delta State or USM [the University of Southern Mississippi].”

Jackson State is cheaper per credit hour than the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss), Mississippi State University, and the University of Southern Mississippi. It is more expensive than Delta State University. Therefore, it would be a less expensive baccalaureate alternative to Ole Miss, Mississippi State, and USM, but not Delta State.

Another factor impacting Jackson State’s ability to recruit other race students is location. Jackson State is located in what the university’s promotional materials describe as an urban neighborhood. Prospective other race students perceive the area as unsafe. According to Tim (pseudonym), the minority recruiter, the Jackson area in its entirety is perceived as more dangerous than the rest of the state. Mississippi is a largely rural state with Jackson serving as its capital and urban center. Tim perceives the area to be a victim of negative media attention.

He described the negative perceptions of Jackson: “Okay out of the Jackson area, Jackson as a whole has a stereotype of being a bad city. Mostly because all the news stations are here [which is] mainly because we're the capital city. So they cover all the bad things that happen in the Jackson area.”

It is important to mention here that Tim was born and raised in Jackson. He has spent all of his adult life there, except when he left to attend Mississippi State University.
for one year. Therefore, it is more likely that he will feel comfortable and familiar in the area and perceive it as safe. Tim, naturally, is biased toward his hometown. Tim elaborates on his personal history in Jackson: “Living here, I lived here in Jackson all my life except for the 1 year I went to MSU, and I never had a problem with my car on campus. I leave it on campus all the time.” Tim takes a university-owned vehicle on his recruiting trips, leaving his personal vehicle on the campus.

These negative perceptions do not affect many prospective Latino students. Tim described a conversation with prospective Latino students: “So I had a few Latino students come from Miami, and I was telling them about Jackson, and they said, ‘Oh, please. We live in the ghetto of Miami. We know what bad is. This is not bad here.”

Dr. Green emphasized that Jackson State is just as unsafe as other college campuses: “It’s the location where we are. People have the idea that we’re not safe, but we’re no less safe than any other school and no safer than any other school. I think its just a preconceived notion.”

Prospective students from Mississippi’s rural areas are generally apprehensive to attend school in the capital city, according to Tim. He described the challenges of recruiting rural students to Jackson State University’s urban campus: “As far as the rural areas of Mississippi and trying to get those students to come to the big city, they hear all the bad things about Jackson, and that’s from Black and White students, all races.”

There are some differences between prospective Black and White students. White students may assume prematurely that they can attend Jackson State for free because of the Ayers settlement and Jackson State’s status as an HBCU.
For Whites in Jackson, it’s hard because Jackson State has the stereotype of being the African-American school, an HBCU, so they think they can come here for free. But not necessarily. If they apply and have the grades, you could go for free. But they always have that mentality that they can go here for free because they are White. Trying to teach them otherwise has been difficult.

As far as recruiting students from the Jackson area, many prospective students want to leave the city and attend college on a more traditional campus and/or move farther from parental constraints and familiar surroundings. Tim pushes financial factors to attract Jackson-area high school students to Jackson State.

He described how he tries to persuade local students to stay in Jackson and attend Jackson State University:

In the Jackson area, it's hard to get any student to stay because a lot of students when they graduate high school, they want to leave. But we try to push the money factor and tell them that they can go here and live at home, or even if they live on campus, it’s still cheaper. Like I was saying about trying to get students to stay in this area, some students, when they graduate from high school, want to go away. That's what my wife did, my wife's father was teaching here at JSU at the time when she graduated from high school. So, she wanted to get away from her parents. So, I see that a lot from all races. But we try to push the money factor, with the economy. You know it’s cheaper to stay here than try to go away.

Jackson State University’s campus environment is less traditional then Mississippi’s other public 4-year colleges. According to Dr. Brown, who oversees housing at Jackson
State, only approximately 2,200 undergraduates out of approximately 7,000 live in on-campus housing. The researcher clarified that the majority of students living off campus were permanent Jackson area residents, not out-of-town students who lived on campus as freshmen. This means that Jackson State University has a largely commuter campus.

Dr. Brown also believes prospective students tend to prefer a more traditional campus. He explained this preference:

Jackson State is already inclusive. It’s just that most students in Mississippi want a traditional college environment, and Jackson State is largely a commuter campus. From an undergraduate stand point, we don’t provide that traditional college environment. We are the only state school in the capital city. We have more of a commuter environment. Jackson state is in the city.

**Research Question Two: How Has the Ayers Settlement Impacted the Recruitment Process at Public HBCUs?**

The impact of the Ayers settlement on the other race recruitment effort varies. In some ways, it has little impact. For example, the two administrators interviewed rarely discuss it while planning and strategizing in their respective divisions. However, they do acknowledge it.

Dr. Green explained how administrators deal with the Ayers settlement: “We don't talk about it. It’s always on our mind, but we don't necessarily talk about it.” When Dr. Brown was asked how the settlement the 10% goal is discussed or considered, he also replied, “We don’t talk about it.”
There does not appear to be a sense of pressure or urgency from the settlement to meet this goal. Regarding Tim’s performance, Dr. Green states that he was not overtly pressured by her office to meet the 10% goal. She explained this in detail: “We try not to put pressure on him, but he does a very good job given what he has to work with.”

Moreover, the financial incentives do not induce a sense of urgency to meet the goal and, thus, receive more institutional funding. Dr. Green was not confident that Jackson State University will receive the money offered by the settlement even if the goal is met. When this portion of the settlement was mentioned, she chuckled and responded, “supposedly.” She elaborated on that remark: “Of course in the crisis situation and the way the economy is now, we're not sure if that is going to pan out. Uh, I don't think we got the allocation we were supposed to have gotten from the state up to this point. …because of budget cuts.” The current recession in the United States is impacting the funding available to fulfill the terms of the settlement.

Furthermore, the private portion of the endowment funds were not raised as intended, according to Tim. He explained:

We look forward (to the future) and try to work towards (the goal). but with the funding, the private endowment wasn't raised like it was supposed to. In 2012, the money is supposed to decrease. They had big meetings about this a year or so ago. Ms. Rush (the director of undergraduate recruitment) could tell you more about that. For some reason the private sector was never raised like it was supposed to be.
According to Crisp (2009), only $1 million of the intended $35 million was raised by the Board of Trustees for State Institutions of Higher Learning in Mississippi for the private portion of the endowment. Per the settlement, an endowment of public and private funds was created for Alcorn State, Jackson State, and Mississippi Valley. Universities would receive control of these endowment funds when their other race enrollment reached 10%. The 2008 Finance and Operations report for Jackson State mentions a 2012-drop in Ayers funding from the state. In 2010, Ayers funding will drop from approximately $20 million to approximately $13 million (Crisp). This means there will be less money available for diversity scholarships.

Significant impact of the settlement is seen in scholarship offerings for other race students. These scholarships are funded by the Ayers settlement. Scholarships are one way to attract more other race students. In fact, Dr. Graves believes recruiting other race students would be virtually impossible without Ayers funding. She expounded on the difficulty in recruiting other race students: “It's difficult even with those things [scholarships]. It would probably be almost impossible if we didn't have some incentives.” However, scholarships alone will not help the school recruit the number of students Jackson State needs to reach its 10% goal. Scholarship funding is limited and subjected to decrease with the previously mentioned cuts to Ayers funding.

There is not enough scholarship money for every other race student. Tim encourages other race students who meet the requirements to apply for academic scholarships that are open to everyone. He described his preference for other race students to apply for academic scholarships before other race scholarships:
I have some (other race students) who want to apply for both (other race scholarships and academic scholarships), but I tell them to apply for the academic scholarship first because we need that money to give to other (other race) students. It'd be nice to have more money, but economically it's not possible.

In the *Jacksonian* university publication, Dr. Green stated that approximately $100,000 was available for diversity scholarships in 2006. That amount is enough to fund approximately 25 scholarships to students who are not African-American. Dr. Brown explained the scarcity of scholarships: “There is only so much money that’s been allocated for scholarships.”

As associate vice president of enrollment management, Dr. Green is responsible for undergraduate recruitment. Other race graduate students at Jackson State comprise 20% of the total graduate student population. Therefore, the graduate student population is more diverse than the undergraduate student population. Scholarships are used to increase enrollment of undergraduate other race students. Dr. Green explained in detail: “We try to pattern it so we give more scholarships to transfer students or freshmen students coming out of high school.”

Without the settlement goals, Tim believes the university would continue increased focus on recruiting transfer students, community college graduates, and private and parochial school students. Many of these prospective students are also other race students. Tim elaborated on how his recruitment goals would be different without the Ayers settlement:
One thing they've been pushing is transfer students; so that will still be a priority. I'll still hit up private schools and other schools that invite us. I don't think it would change that much but you know … we are still pushing to recruit students of all races no matter what. This is an opportunity for all students.

Jackson State is a great opportunity for students of all racial/ethnic backgrounds, regardless of the 10% goal. Every fall, the university hosts a High School and Community College Day. The title of this event signifies how important community college students are to Jackson State’s recruitment pool.

If the settlement did not exist, the minority recruiter position would likely still be in place. This position predates the Ayers settlement and is not funded by it. Tim explained that he is not the first minority recruiter at Jackson State University: “I'm like the 3rd or 4th one [minority recruiter]. I think they started [hiring minority recruiters] in the late 90s.”

**Research Question Three: What Policies and Practices are Attributed to Success in Recruiting Other Race Students to Public HBCUs?**

In this section, what is attributed to current success and what can increase future success in recruiting other race students is discussed. Location plays a role in attracting more other race students. By operating satellite campuses, other race students do not have to visit the main Jackson State University campus. Dr. Green described how Jackson State University’s satellite campus attracts other race students:

The other thing we thought about doing is locating satellite campuses in suburban areas like over in Rankin County (and) maybe over at Holmes Community
College in Ridgeland—those types of things. We already have classes at the medical mall (the Jackson Medical Mall complex). The college of public service is located there. The college of lifelong learning is located at the university center, R&D center. So where it is helps along those lines (attracting other race students)—if we can increase some of that traffic flow, it will help.

Originally a retail mall, the Jackson Medical Mall offers health care and educational opportunities through partnerships with the University of Mississippi Medical School, Tougaloo College, and Jackson State University. Rankin County neighbors Hinds County, where Jackson State University is located. It is also one of the three counties in the Jackson metropolitan area. Ridgeland, Miss., is the site of one of the three Holmes Community College campuses. The community college serves students in central Mississippi. The College of Lifelong Learning at Jackson State University meets the needs of older, nontraditional students. The university’s capital city location is also an attractive point for other race students. Dr. Green described Jackson State University’s location advantage over other institutions:

We do have one advantage over the some of the other HBCUs because of where we are in the capital city. So, that makes us a little bit more accessible to people. Students don’t have to be residents (live on campus) to attend. They can commute back and forth, which is what most of them do anyway.

All participants mentioned increasing distance learning and online course opportunities as ways to attract other race students. Dr. Green described the benefits of online courses in recruiting other race students: “I think what we can also look at is more
technology so students don't necessarily physically have to come to campus. So if we can move in that direction so that we can offer degrees online, that's probably something that would be worthwhile."

Tim believes that the nontraditional student is now the traditional student since more working adults are returning to school. Therefore, more other race students could access Jackson State’s programs if courses were offered online. However, some professors do not favor online coursework. Tim explained prospective student preference for and professor resistance to online courses:

Another thing I wish they would do is focus on more on online programs. Technically, the traditional student is now the nontraditional student. Because there are a lot of adults who couldn't finish college at the right time and want to go back, but they work full time. I've had numerous people from the Memphis area and here in Mississippi who really want to go to Jackson State, but they work full time and can't get that degree by coming here. But then you have the professors. A lot of people just don't like the online side.

Dr. Brown concurred with Tim and described Jackson State University’s efforts to offer more online courses: “We offer classes online and will begin offering degrees online. Catering to commuter students can help Jackson State reach that 10 percent.”

An increased emphasis on diversity initiatives also may attract more other race students. At Jackson State University, there is a recent institutional focus on civic engagement, leadership, and diversity. Dr. Brown described the diversity initiative in more detail:
The diversity component did not come directly from the Ayers settlement. We saw an enrollment increase of non-African-Americans from Ayers. We also have more international students on campus. With this, we felt the need for our students to be more engaged in diversity issues.

This university is developing a Center for Institutional Diversity. This center is under Dr. Brown’s oversight. He described the center in more detail: “Jackson State is establishing a center for institutional diversity. This center will not just focus on racial diversity. It will also focus on women’s studies and LGBT [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender] issues as well.” Dr. Green expects that this center will help attract more other race students.

Tim knew little about the burgeoning Center for Institutional Diversity. Although he is on a diversity committee, his off-campus recruitment commitments prevent him from participating in meetings and keeping abreast of updates. Tim explained his lack of knowledge of the new Center for Institutional Diversity: “I know they’ve tried to start diversity planning committees, but I’ve been so busy on the road. I haven’t been able to participate.”

A main goal of the center is to make the university inclusive to students of all backgrounds. Dr. Green provided her perspective on the center: “What they are trying to do is cater to the White people by having programs that are specifically interesting to them, and have the students that are here to help along those lines.”

A focus on diversity is evident in Jackson State University’s publications. As stated in the President’s Five Year Report 2000-2005, the university strives to balance its
historic mission with the modern demands of the world. The following quote is from the Enrollment and Recruitment section of the President’s Five Year Report, 2000-2005:

While remaining true to Jackson State’s formative mission of educating ministers and training African-American teachers during the post-World War II era, the university’s present-day vision is to develop sustained initiatives that will enhance JSU’s diversity and meet the demands of the global marketplace. (President’s Five Year Report 2000-2005 [2006], p. 14)

The report also acknowledges an increase in Asian and Hispanic students and the first Native American graduate.

Dr. Ronald Mason, president of Jackson State University from 2000 to 2010, had diversity goals for the institution that were more ambitious than the Ayers settlement 10% goal. He elaborated on these goals in this quote from the Jacksonian, Jackson State University’s bi-annual magazine:

We would like to reach a goal of 20 percent non-African-American students because our students need to see non-African Americans. It’s that kind of world. Our method is to build the best Jackson State we can build, and whoever wants to come can come. (Jackson, 2007, p. 17)

The spring 2007 issue of the Jacksonian features a section on diversity. One of the first White students to enroll at the university is interviewed about their historic experiences. Current students representing Indian, Hispanic, and European-American backgrounds also are interviewed. One White student mentioned that she was recruited to Jackson State by two of her high school teachers who were Jackson State alumni. Alumni play a
significant role in recruiting students to Jackson State. According to Tim and Maria
(Recruiter A), alumni are particularly helpful when available travel funds limit the ability
of recruitment staff to attend out of state events.

High demand academic programs also attract other race students. Particularly,
these programs improve the perceptions other race students have of Jackson State. Tim
notes here how high-demand programs positively impact other race students’ perceptions
of Jackson State University:

Well, its picked up a whole lot especially with the engineering program getting
accredited a year or so ago and introducing programs through the engineering
department, programs like our social work program, college of business, criminal
justice is also really taking off. I had a student contact me from another HBCU
here in the state this morning about wanting to transfer because she was looking
to get a U.S. Marshall job and JSU has that criminal justice degree. But overall,
academically we have a great reputation.

Competitive tuition also attracts other race students to Jackson State. Its tuition is
cheaper than the flagship universities in Mississippi. Dr. Graves elaborated on Jackson
State University’s tuition compared to other public universities in Mississippi:

We are right in the middle of the state. There are 8 state institutions and our
tuition is dead center. Ole Miss (University of Mississippi), USM (University of
Southern Mississippi), and Miss State are more expensive. Alcorn (State), Valley
(Mississippi Valley State University), W (Mississippi University for Women),
and Delta State (University) are less expensive.
Table 5 shows 2009-2010 tuition rates for Mississippi.

Table 5

2009-2010 Tuition Rates for Mississippi Residents at Mississippi Public Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Tuition Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcorn State University</td>
<td>$4,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta State University</td>
<td>$4,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson State University</td>
<td>$4,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi State University</td>
<td>$5,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi University for Women</td>
<td>$4,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi Valley State University</td>
<td>$4,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Mississippi</td>
<td>$5,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Southern Mississippi</td>
<td>$5,096</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The recruitment methods utilized by Tim, the minority recruiter, also impact how well Jackson State can recruit other race students. Prior to serving as a minority recruiter, Tim worked in retail. Here he described how college recruitment is similar to selling retail:

It’s kind of the same thing (college recruitment)…customer service…selling a product. I'm trying to sell the school, too. What I do, I try to sell the school, sell the programs, and tell them how good we are compared to other schools programs.

There are also other race students who participate in Tiger P.R.I.D.E as recruitment volunteers. The Jackson State University mascot is a tiger and the acronym P.R.I.D.E stands for positive recruiting individuals demonstrating excellence. In addition, Tim adequately covers private and parochial schools in the Jackson area and throughout the state. He described the racial constitution of his Jackson recruitment
In the Jackson area, I do all the private high schools, which are predominately White. I hit up my high school that I graduated from, St. Joe's (St. Joseph’s Catholic School) because it’s well mixed, and St. Andrews (Episcopal School) is probably the second most mixed. They all have their big fairs in the fall, and I try to hit them up at least once in the spring. Now Jackson Prep(oratory School) and Jackson Academy are the predominately White schools. I think prep maybe has like 5 to 10 African-Americans. I actually saw more this year than I have seen in the past.

At college fairs, he is able to attract the attention of other race students by not being too aggressive. He elaborated on his methods to attract other race students visiting college fairs:

I will say that I’m not a used-car salesmen, I’m not going to pull someone over, and try to sell them something they don't want. If they walk by my table and look at me, I’ll greet them and try to get them to talk to me. If they don't, I don't want to push it because I don't want to be a pushy.

The Ayers settlement also authorized and funded the development of new academic programs. These high demand programs increase Jackson State’s ability to recruit other race students, as indicated by the literature. These degree programs are listed as follows: bachelor’s degrees in civil, computer, and telecommunications engineering and health care administration; master’s degrees in urban planning, public health, and communicative disorders, and doctoral programs in business, urban planning,
social work, higher education, and public health. Since 20% of the graduate student body is not African-American, it is assumed that these new graduate programs attracted more other race students.

The Ayers settlement states that a showing of good faith effort shall include among other factors, the plans, expenditures, and activities addressing other race recruitment and retention (United States v. Fordice, 2002, p. 16). The university employs a minority recruiter. In addition to recruiting transfer students and community college graduates, his main responsibility is to recruit students who are not African-American. This is one example of a good faith effort. However, this position is not directly a result of the Ayers settlement.

A second example of a good faith effort is minority scholarships or diversity scholarships. These scholarships are for students who are not African-American. Though they are limited in availability, they help attract other race students. The Jacksonian article on diversity notes that scholarships are vital to attracting other race students. Particularly, scholarships are used to recruit students graduating from high school and undergraduate transfers. This will help in recruiting more undergraduate other race students.

Though there is no specific marketing plan directed at other race students, efforts to portray the university as diverse and multicultural are evident in promotional materials. Links to promotional videos were sent to the researcher by Recruiter A. Jackson State has a YOUuniversity TV video. YOUniversity TV features recruitment videos of various colleges and universities. The site is available to universities free of charge. It assists in
the college selection process by providing prospective students with information about colleges.

The video features admissions requirements and tuition costs. Information on famous alumni, clubs and organizations, residence life, and available majors also is included. Interviews from students and faculty of diverse racial backgrounds also are featured. These are efforts to portray the university as diverse and multicultural. Also, recruitment staff members are featured in the video. Jackson State also has a YouTube channel featuring videos related to the school. The channel features a university produced recruitment video. The video declares that Jackson State is a “multicultural beacon” and features students of diverse racial backgrounds.

Four Critical Concepts

As discussed in Chapter 3, the data collected in this study can be categorized into 4 concepts. These concepts are

1. What has or will attract other race students;

2. Duties and actions of a minority recruiter;

3. Location; and

4. External Perceptions.

The first concept includes elements that have or will attract other race students. This concept correlates with research question three, which asks “What policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students to public HBCUs. The second concept, duties and actions of a minority recruiter, also correlates with research
question 3. Particularly, the practices attributed to success in other race student recruitment correlate with the duties and actions of a minority recruiter. The third concept, location, correlates with research questions 1 and 3. The location concept includes themes related to location whether it is the location of Jackson State University’s main campus or the location of course offerings away from the main campus at satellite locations. Jackson State University’s main campus location often presents a challenge to recruitment staff while attempting to recruit other race students. Location is also a part of the practices attributed to success in recruiting other race students. By offering classes at satellite locations and online, Jackson State University successfully attracts other race students. This is how the concept of location relates to research question 3. Finally, the fourth concept, external perceptions, correlates to research question 1. External perceptions refer to ideas and opinions those unaffiliated with Jackson State University may hold about the institution. Negative external perceptions challenge Jackson State University recruitment staff while they recruit other race students.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings from this study. The data collected from interviews and document analysis support themes relevant to how an HBCU recruits other race students. Recruiting other race students to a public HBCU is described as challenging. A racialized environment in Mississippi makes it difficult to recruit students who are not African-American to an HBCU. Jackson State University’s location is another factor impeding the recruitment of other race students. The neighborhood where the college is located is perceived as unsafe. Also, the high
percentage of commuter students does not appeal to students seeking a more traditional
campus environment.

The impact of the Ayers settlement varies. Jackson State would still make strides
toward recruiting students who are not African-American if the settlement did not exist.
However, the impact of the Ayers settlement is evident in funding for scholarships
available to other race students. Moreover, financial incentives do not induce a sense of
urgency to meet the goal.

Location also plays a role in attracting other race students. Particularly, operating
satellite campuses in suburban areas will attract other race students. The university’s
capital city location gives it an advantage over other public universities in the state.
Increased online course offerings will also attract more other race students. An increased
emphasis on diversity, evident in the new Center for Institutional Diversity, also will
attract other race students.

There are several instances of Jackson State University’s good faith efforts at
recruiting other race students. The university employs a minority recruiter. Also,
scholarships are offered for other race students. There is not a specific marketing
campaign to recruit other race students. However, efforts to market the university as
diverse and multi-cultural are evident in promotional materials.
Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and summarize the literature, methods, and results related to the recruitment of other race students to public HBCUs. This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section describes key interpretations of existing literature. The second section consists of themes derived from the data analysis. These themes describe the experiences of staff while recruiting other race students, the impact of the Ayers settlement on the recruitment process, what attracts other race students to a public HBCU, and good faith efforts expended to recruit other race students. The third section contains conclusions that were drawn from the themes. This section includes a discussion on how the themes are relevant to existing literature. Also included in this section are connections between the themes and the theoretical framework. The fourth section contains limitations of the study. The fifth section includes recommendations for further research.

Key Interpretations of Existing Literature

A plethora of literature exists regarding students who are not African-American enrolled at HBCUs (Closson & Henry, 2008a; Closson & Henry, 2008b; Conrad, Brier, & Braxton, 1997; Harley, 2001; Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2005; Nixon & Henry, 1991; Paterson & Hamrick, 2009; Roebuck & Murty, 1993; Sum, Light & King, 2004). However, the literature does not specifically address the recruitment process of attracting these students.
Previous research examined desegregation litigation and its impact on HBCUs (Brooks, 2004; Harley, 2001; Richardson & Harris, 2004). However, the existing literature did not discuss how the impact of desegregation litigation might trickle down into the recruitment process at HBCUs. Researchers have examined what attracts other race students to HBCUs (Conrad, Brier, and Braxton, 1997; Nixon and Henry, 1991). However, this research covers what characteristics or features of HBCUs other race students find attractive. It does not examine the particular actions or efforts put forth by HBCU recruitment staff. This research is limited to one public HBCU bound by the 2002 Ayers settlement.

The current study explains how other race students are recruited to HBCUs. It seeks to extend the literature by examining the experiences of HBCU recruitment staff and administrators while recruiting other race students and the impact of the Ayers settlement on the recruitment process. This project employed case study research methods. The researcher analyzed data from interviews and documents.

**Summary of Major Findings**

This section summarizes the findings from the data analysis. The analysis addressed the primary purpose of this study: to understand how a public HBCU recruits other race students and how the Ayers settlement impacts the recruitment process. The research questions addressed what recruitment practices are successful in recruiting other race students and what “good faith” efforts are expended to recruit other race students. The pervasive themes are summarized below.
Research Question 1: What are the experiences of recruitment staff and administrators while recruiting other race students?

The pervasive theme that emerged is that recruiting other race students is a challenge. Jackson State University’s location (concept 3) and external perceptions of the institution (concept 4) make recruiting other race students challenging. Jackson State University competes with seven other public, baccalaureate institutions in Mississippi. Also, a racialized environment makes recruiting other race students a struggle. Neighborhood perceptions also impede Jackson State University’s ability to recruit other race students. The neighborhood surrounding the campus is largely perceived as unsafe. Rural students in Mississippi, a largely rural state, are also apprehensive to attend school in an urban area such as Jackson. Also, prospective other race students may assume they can attend Jackson State University tuition free. The recruitment of other race students is difficult if other race students believe they can attend Jackson State for free because they are not African-American.

Research Question 2: How has the Ayers settlement impacted the process of recruiting other race students?

Overall, the Ayers settlement minimally impacts the recruitment process. Staff and administrators are working towards the goal. However, there is not a sense of urgency or pressure to meet the goal. Recruitment staff and administrators rarely discuss the settlement and 10% goal during strategizing and planning. Impact of the Ayers settlement is evident in the allocation of scholarship funding. However, the minority recruiter position is not funded by the settlement and predates the settlement. The researcher assumes this position would still exist without the Ayers settlement. But
without the Ayers settlement funds, it is unlikely there would be funding of scholarships for other race students.

Research Question 3: What policies and practices can be attributed to success in recruiting other race students?

Distance learning plays an important role in recruiting other race students. These students are attracted to opportunities to complete course work away from the main campus or online. The capital city location is also attractive to other race students. Jackson State is the only university in the Jackson metropolitan area. High demand programs such as engineering, urban planning, and business also attract other race students and improve their perceptions of the university. Distance learning opportunities, a capital city location, and high demand programs all attract other race students (concept 1 that emerged from the data).

The duties and actions of a minority recruiter is concept 2 that emerged from the data. Recruiting staff cover private and parochial schools that enroll large percentages of other race students. The university employs a minority recruiter and offers scholarships to students who are not African-American. Also, the university is portrayed as diverse and multicultural in recruitment materials. However, there is no particular marketing plan aimed at other race students.

Conclusions

Four previously mentioned themes emerged from the data. From the themes and the answers to the research questions, three overriding conclusions emerged regarding the recruitment of other race students to a public HBCU. The three conclusions are
a) Location, particularly opportunities away from the main campus;

b) A staff emphasis on diversity even without the Ayers settlement; and

c) Combating negative external perceptions.

Figure 7 shows conclusions linked with findings.

**Figure 7.** Conclusions Linked with Findings

![Diagram showing conclusions linked with findings](image)

**Figure 7.** Conclusions linked to findings developed from raw data put into NVIVO.

**Combating negative or incorrect perceptions.**

Conclusion 1: Jackson State University staff and administrators are challenged by negative and erroneous perceptions while recruiting other race students. They must combat these perceptions in order to successfully recruit other race students.

Participants believe that it is a common misconception that Mississippi’s HBCUs received much more money than they actually did from the Ayers settlement. This misconception leads prospective other race students to believe that there is enough money
to fund scholarships for all other race students. Recruitment staff struggle to combat this misconception and recruit students who are attracted to the qualities of the school, not the potential of attending for free. Since Jackson State is an HBCU, there is also the perception that it is exclusively for African-Americans and that other race students will not be welcomed. This perception is one example of a racialized environment.

Moreover, this third conclusion demonstrates the impact of Jackson State University’s cultural-cognitive institutional pillar on the institution’s ability to recruit other race students. Perceptions of Jackson State University as an HBCU and a racialized environment on and off campus comprise its cultural-cognitive pillar.

**Diversity without Ayers.**

Conclusion 2: The Ayers settlement minimally impacted the process of recruiting other race students. Jackson State would aim to increase the diversity of its student body without the Ayers settlement.

The proposed Center for Institutional Diversity is not a direct result of the Ayers settlement. The idea for the center came about after an increased enrollment of international students. The center also will address LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) issues and women’s studies, both of which are not addressed by the Ayers settlement. A center such as this also will increase the diversity of students’ experiences by encouraging them to engage with others of different backgrounds and perspectives.

This endeavor extends beyond increasing enrollment of other race students to meet a set percentage or numerical goal. Also, the university employed a minority recruiter before the Ayers settlement. This position is not funded through Ayers appropriations. Therefore, the researcher concludes that Jackson State would employ a minority recruiter
to recruit other race students and increase the student diversity without the Ayers settlement.

The hiring of a minority recruiter is evidence of good-faith efforts to recruit other race students as stated in the Ayers settlement (United States v. Fordice, 2002). Therefore, the minority recruiter position is evidence of the regulative pillar. The Ayers settlement is a legal document filed in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi, the jurisdiction in which Jackson State is located. Institutional values are a part of the normative pillar. Jackson State University’s value of diversity is evident in the creation of the Center for Institutional Diversity. If the center is successful, perhaps Jackson State University’s value for diversity will trickle down into its traditions, which are a part of the cultural-cognitive pillar. Moreover, an increased value for diversity may impact the university’s diversity reports in the form of increased numbers of other race students. Diversity reporting is a part of the regulative pillar. This increased value on diversity, as evidenced by the creation of a Center for Institutional Diversity, could impact all three institutional pillars (regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive).

**Opportunities away from the main campus.**

Conclusion 3: In order to recruit other race students, Jackson State University should maximize course offerings away from the main campus.

Participants emphasized that distance learning opportunities attracted other race students. These opportunities include online courses and classes at satellite campuses. Participants expressed that other race students are attracted to Jackson State when they do not need to come to the main campus. Considering the negative perceptions of the
neighborhood surrounding the campus and the impact of a racialized environment on the
recruitment process, distance learning opportunities are ideal for combating these
challenges to recruiting other race students. The Ayers settlement should make online
instruction even more attractive since online instruction can attract other race students.
This conclusion is relevant to the normative pillar. In order to successfully implement
online degree programs, Jackson State University should increase its value of online
instruction. Values are a part of the normative institutional pillar. Participant response
indicates that there is some resistance among faculty to online courses. Perhaps the
increased emphasis on teaching that is prevalent at HBCUs is an indication that
classroom interaction is preferred over online instruction.

Limitations

The study is limited by the number of staff and administrators who responded and
participated. While 19 staff and administrators originally were contacted, only four were
interviewed. The remaining 15 staff and administrators either declined to be interviewed
or did not respond to multiple interview requests. Furthermore, one of the four
interviews took place via telephone and was not audio-recorded. The lack of an audio
file for the unrecorded interview limits data collection. Also, the study groups all other
race students together. There is no distinction made between White students and other
students of color (Hispanic or Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American).
Recommendations for Practice

Staff and administrators at HBCUs can learn from the results of this study. First, staff and administrators should assess what may deter other race students from, or attract them to their particular institution. Some characteristics may be relevant to all HBCUs. Other characteristics may only be relevant to a particular institution. For example, staff and administrators at Jackson State are aware of the negative perceptions of its campus location. However, this issue may not be relevant to an HBCU located in a more desirable neighborhood.

The following are general recommendations to administrators at HBCUs based on the findings of this study. Online and/or distance learning course offerings and degree programs should be expanded in order to attract more other race students. Also, consider ways to combat negative perceptions of your campus location if they exist for your institution. Other race students are deterred from campuses in areas perceived as undesirable and unsafe. Hire a diversity recruiter or minority recruiter or designate one from your current staff pool. Considering the positive impact of diversity on academic outcomes (Gottfredson, Panter, Daye, Allen, Wightman, and Deo, 2008), staff and administrators at HBCUs should use goals to increase other race student recruitment as a chance to increase opportunities for students to engage with diverse peers. While increasing online and distance learning opportunities may increase other race student enrollment, it also may result in a segregated campus where opportunities to interact with diverse peers are limited.
Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations are offered for further research regarding HBCUs, public HBCUs, the recruitment of other race students to HBCUs, and defining diversity at HBCUs. The findings of the study identified increased distance learning opportunities as a method of attracting more other race students. The relationship between online programs at HBCUs and the recruitment of other race students should be explored. Specifically, the impact of expanded distance learning opportunities on other race enrollment should be examined. Also, this study grouped non-African-American students together and did not distinguish among White, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native American students.

Further research should explore how HBCUs in states that have large or growing Latino populations can maintain and increase their enrollments by attracting more Latino students. An institution’s location impacts its success in recruiting Latino/a students (“Latino students choosing,” 2005). This research topic is especially relevant to HBCUs because they traditionally serve disadvantaged populations. Also, research on other race students at HBCUs focuses mainly on White students. There is a dearth of research on other students of color at HBCUs (Dwyer, 2006).

This research was limited to one public HBCU in Mississippi. Similar research regarding the impact of the Ayers settlement on the recruitment process should incorporate the other two public HBCUs, Alcorn State University and Mississippi Valley State University. Specifically, this research should examine what actions and policies contributed to Alcorn State increasing its other race enrollment to 10% of its total
enrollment. A comparative case study could compare efforts to recruit other race students to Mississippi’s three public HBCUs. To compare and contrast with a second case study, a second site should be selected based on the absence or presence of some particular characteristic (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). A case study featuring Alcorn State should focus on how this institution was able to increase its other race enrollment to 10% of its total enrollment.

Future research also should examine how public and private HBCUs in other states recruit students who are not African-American. In addition, future research also should explore the development of diversity initiatives at HBCUs. Nahal (2008) emphasizes that diversity at HBCUs requires more attention if these institutions are to thrive in a multicultural society.

Significance and Implications

The themes discovered from this research should provide insight into how a publicly supported HBCU in Mississippi recruits other race students in the wake of the 2002 Ayers settlement. From this study, administrators at other HBCUs may identify ways they can recruit more students who are not African-American. Scholars indicate that HBCUs struggle to recruit other race students (Sum, Light, & King, 2004). Scholars also indicate that HBCUs must enroll more other race students in order to demonstrate relevance and diversity (Moore, 2000; Seymour, 2006). Themes discovered from this research should also provide insight into how the burgeoning online education field can impact an HBCU’s ability to recruit other race students and opportunities for diverse experiences on campus. This study focuses specifically on what can be done at the
institutional level to recruit more other race students and what deters other race students from HBCUs. It does not address external factors that influence college choice.

**Summary**

This chapter presents key interpretations of reviewed literature relevant to this study. Summaries of the major themes that emerged also are included. Conclusions relevant to the major themes and limitations of the study are discussed. Last, recommendations for practice and research are presented. Practitioners at HBCUs should increase the availability of online courses, identify ways to improve external perceptions of their campuses and surrounding community, recruit more transfer students from community colleges, hire or designate a diversity recruiter, and consider ways increasing the availability of online courses may impact diversity outcomes. The relationship between the availability of online courses and the recruitment of other race students at HBCUs should be explored. HBCUs in states with large Hispanic populations (i.e. Texas, Florida, and Maryland) should explore how to recruit more Hispanic students. Future research also should explore other race recruitment efforts at the other public HBCUs in Mississippi and other public and private HBCUs throughout the country. Lastly, any increasing prevalence of diversity initiatives at HBCUs should be explored.
Appendices
Appendix A

Interview Protocol

1. What strategies has your institution implemented to recruit White students? How successful are these strategies?

2. How have the terms of the Fordice settlement influenced the recruitment of White students?

3. From communicating with prospective White students, how would you describe their initial perceptions of this institution?

4. What is it like recruiting White students to this institution?

5. How long have you worked for Jackson State University? In any other capacity? Have you worked at any other HBCUs? PWIs?

6. How is recruiting White students different from recruiting African-American students?

7. How are high schools and geographical territories categorized during the recruitment process (enrollment by race, income, urban or rural, etc.)?

8. During college fairs and events of that nature, how are other race students encouraged to learn more about your institution?

9. How does the division of student life work with the recruitment and admissions offices?

10. What attracts White students to your institution?

11. What advice or instructions have you given or received from your superiors or subordinates regarding the recruitment of White students?

12. How would efforts to recruit White student be different without the Fordice settlement?
Appendix B

Informational Letter for Participants

Information Concerning Participation in a Research Study
Clemson University
A Case Study Examining How a Public, Black College Recruits White Students

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Dr. Lamont Flowers (advisor) and Yoruba Mutakabbir (doctoral candidate). The purpose of this research is to understand how a public, HBCU recruits White students in the wake of the 2002 Fordice settlement. Your participation will involve in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted via telephone. Interviews will be recorded, with your permission. The amount of time required for your participation will be 1 interview session, lasting no longer than an hour. You may be asked to complete a follow-up interview, also lasting no longer than an hour. There are no known risks associated with this research.

Findings from this study can identify ways HBCUs can recruit more White students. It can also identify challenges HBCUs experience in recruiting White students and ways to overcome those challenges. Results from this study can also increase understanding of the settlement’s impact on the recruitment process at Mississippi HBCUs. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You may also decline to answer a particular question during the interview. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Lamont Flowers of Clemson University at 864.656.0313 or Yoruba Mutakabbir at 864-506-5162. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Clemson University Office of Research Compliance at 864.656.6460.
Appendix C

Letter E-mailed and Sent via Postal Mail to Participants

March 4, 2010
Jackson State University
1400 Lynch St.
Jackson, MS 39217
Dear Sir or Madam:
I am a doctoral candidate in Educational Leadership at Clemson University. My dissertation research will examine how Jackson State University recruits White students in the wake of the 2002 Fordice Settlement. I am asking for your assistance in completing my dissertation research.

You are being asked to participate in an in-depth, semi-structured, audio-recorded interview lasting no longer than an hour. You may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview. With your permission, these interviews will be recorded. You will also be asked to review preliminary notes from these interviews to ensure that your words are not misrepresented. The entire procedure should take no more than 3 hours over several weeks. You may ask questions at any time during the study. We expect no risks for participants in this study. A copy of the approval letter is enclosed.

The results from this study may provide useful information about how the 2002 Fordice settlement impacts public HBCUs in Mississippi and challenges HBCUs experience while recruiting White students.

All information obtained during this study is private. Each person will be identified using a pseudonym rather than their given name. Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any specific question. Participants may withdraw at any time without penalty or prejudice. You may also decline to be audio-recorded, but still consent to being interviewed.

Please let me know if you are willing to assist in the completion of my dissertation research by being interviewed. If you do consent to being interviewed, let me know the best day and time to call you. You can also contact me if you have any questions about the study. I can be reached at 864-506-5162 or yorubam@clemson.edu. Please disregard this letter if you have already responded.

Respectfully,
Yoruba T. Mutakabbir
Doctoral Candidate, Educational Leadership
Faculty Fellow, Charles H. Houston Center for the Study of the Black Experience in Education
Follow up Phone script
Good morning, this is Yoruba Mutakabbir, I’m a student at Clemson University. I would very much like to interview you for my dissertation. I’ve mailed you a letter with all the relevant information and sent you an e-mail with all the information. I would greatly appreciate a response. You can e-mail me at yorubam@clemson.edu or call me at 864-506-5162. Or you can e-mail me at YORUBAM@clemson.edu. That’s the letters Y as in yellow, o-r-u-b as in boy-m as in Mary at Clemson.edu.

Message sent through Facebook
Hello, I am interested in conducting my dissertation research on Jackson State University. I am sending you a friend request to staff at Jackson State that I wish to establish a rapport with and hope to be able to interview when I receive permission to begin conducting my study.
Appendix D

IRB Approval Letters

Your IRB protocol # IRB2010-060, entitled “A Case Study Examining the Recruitment of White Students to a Public HBCU”

Laura Moll

Sent: Friday, February 26, 2010 12:28 PM
To: Lamont A. Flowers; Yoruba Mutakabbir; ytm24@aol.com

Dear Lamont and Ms. Mutakabbir,

The Clemson University IRB (Institutional Review Board) / ORC (Office of Research Compliance) reviewed the protocol identified above using Exempt review procedures and a determination was made on February 26, 2010 that the proposed activities involving human participants qualify as Exempt from continuing review under Category B2, based on the Federal Regulations (45 CFR 46). You may begin this study.

Please remember that no change in this research protocol can be initiated without prior review by the IRB / ORC. Any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects, complications, and/or any adverse events must be reported to the IRB / ORC immediately. You are requested to notify the ORC when your study is completed or terminated.

Please review the Responsibilities of Principal Investigators (available at http://media.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb/pi-responsibilities.doc) and the Responsibilities of Research Team Members (available at http://media.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb/research-team-responsibilities.doc) and be sure these documents are distributed to all appropriate parties.

Good luck with your study and please feel free to contact us if you have any questions. Please use the IRB number and title in all communications regarding this study.

Best,

Laura 😊
DATE: February 11, 2010

MEMORANDUM

TO: Yoruba Mutakabbir
101 Arbors Ct.
Central, SC 29630

FROM: Dr. Sophia Leggett
IRB, Chair

Re: Protocol entitled: “A case study examining how a public HBCU recruits White students.”

Dept. Educational Leadership, Clemson University

The Jackson State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed your application and has come to the conclusion your responses are satisfactory and meet the requirements for protection of human participants as stipulated by the Federal government. Your application received an Expedited approval. This approval is good for one year from the date of this letter.

Any adverse reactions or problems resulting from this investigation must be reported immediately to the university Institutional Review Board. If you decide to modify or change your procedures in any way, please notify the IRB office in writing. We will review your request in the context of your complete application. If the changes are approved, you will receive written notification for the approval.

Any research that continues beyond one year should be resubmitted for approval before the end of each year so there is no lapse. Contact the IRB office for the extension form and the submission requirements before the end of December 2010.

c.c. Dr. Dorris Gardner, Dean
Graduate School
References


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Weaver, F., Davidson, D., Torres, R. (1992). Black public colleges and universities: A


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Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.


CA: Sage.