

Organizing on HBCU Campuses

Participant Handouts



Participant Handouts

UniServ Directors and Organizers work with members, supporters, and partners on HBCU campuses or other non-predominantly white institutions of higher education. Studies show that these institutions provide their graduates with much higher rates of upward economic mobility than graduates of predominantly white institutions. Despite this, systems of power and inequality plague the workers and students on these campuses. UniServ, Organizers, Union Members/Leaders, and their partners in these settings must be skilled in leading, coaching, and organizing across racial differences. They require knowledge of systems of economic and racial oppression. This Focused Academy will build participants' knowledge about systems of oppression and power and their skills in developing successful campaigns to win student and worker rights. Participants will create organizing plans that escalate actions, include strong programs, and elevate leaders, mobilizers, and activists in this important higher education setting.

Lead Contacts:

Program Director

Kyle Serrette

kserrette@nea.org

Academy Coordinator

Ellen Holmes

eholmes@nea.org

Academy Logistics

Karla Medina

kmedina@nea.org

Community Agreements for Our Time

Awareness and Self-Knowledge

This requires self-knowledge and self-awareness. Self-knowledge allows you to see what causes you pain and conflict and enables you to embrace your contradictions and inconsistencies. It allows the space to work on things about yourself that you are not happy with. In turn, self-knowledge helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a positive attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others.

Listening for Understanding

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, looking them in the eye, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. This does not mean re-explaining or reinterpreting another's words for others in the room. Remember that most people need time to open up and might not be willing to immediately share their personal stories, hopes, fears and/or concerns.

Being Gracious

Being kind is a vital way of bringing meaning to our own lives, as well as the lives of others. Kindness is about caring genuinely for others around you, wanting the best for them and recognizing in them the same wants, needs, aspirations and even fears that you may have. Being kind and generous allows us to communicate better with others, to be more self-compassionate and to be a positive force in other people's lives. We are gracious when we accept and genuinely work to use the pronouns that others ask us to use. Being direct and precise about your needs and thoughts is also kindness.

Staying Engaged

Staying engaged requires you to be morally, emotionally, intellectually, and socially involved in the conversation. Staying engaged means that you are listening with curiosity and willing to deepen your understanding. Staying engaged might also require you to sustain the conversation even when it gets uncomfortable or diverted. This means a commitment to keeping your electronic communications to a minimum with folks not present in this learning community. This also means being present for all portions of the learning agenda.

Being Open and Suspending Judgment

Listening with an open mind includes being receptive to the influence of others. You can suspend judgment by becoming aware of your preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. It requires some vulnerability, but not to the point of jeopardizing your personal safety. Suspending judgment also means listening to what the speaker has to say for understanding, not just to determine whether the speaker is right or wrong. This means that we recognize each of us will make mistakes and that we have the capacity to grow. We should expect imperfections.

Saying "I" - tell your truth

Speaking your truth in authentic and courageous conversations about race, class, gender, and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours requires a willingness to take risks. It means that you will be absolutely honest and candid about your own thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions and not just saying what you perceive others want to hear. Speaking your truth will require you to speak from the "first person" and use "I" statements.

Seeking Discomfort

Leaning in to discomfort will require you to let go of understandings and stereotypes that you may be holding onto in order to move forward. Leaning in means that you will avoid pre-judgment and be open to the kernel of wisdom in each individual's experiences. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to sit through moments of embarrassment, confusion, anxiety, and/or fear.

Reaching Empathy

Empathy and compassion allow you to understand the other person's point of view. When you are empathetic, you are more understanding, patient and kind. Expanding your capacity to feel empathy will also allow others to enter your circle of human concern. Sharing, using, and respecting pronouns is a very simple form of empathy.

Expecting Non-Resolution and Non-Closure

Expect and accept that there may not be closure. It is not likely that you will resolve your personal understanding about race or another person's racial experience in a single conversation. The more you talk about race or other issues with another person, the more you learn and the more they will learn. Authentic and productive conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours are continuous and always evolving. This means that sometimes we will have unfinished, unexplored, and shortened conversations about some concepts.

**Adapted from "Embracing equity and inclusion", Annie E. Casey Foundation*

What questions do you want to ask about any of the ideas in these agreements?

What additional agreements do you need in order to be a fully participating member of our learning community?

Can you commit to these agreements? IF not, what would it take for you to be able to commit?

The Forge



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October 13, 2021

Power, Control, and Trust in Coalitions

Madeline Talbott

Like most organizers, I used to hate coalitions. They seemed to consist of a mixture of organizations that had something to contribute (a base, research, relationships with decision-makers) and organizations that wanted to tell the rest of us what to do. membership-based organizations, our bonds with our membe

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and our democratic decision-making structures were often threatened by individuals who wasted our time arguing about what our members should be doing.

In a city like Chicago, however, we despaired of ever being big enough to make change without allies. Thanks to some fine organizers who taught me about good coalitions, we learned how to make coalitions work by following these tips.

1. Set up transparent admission criteria.

The single best way to create a powerful coalition is to require that each member has the capacity to deliver a busload of constituents to coalition actions and events. I learned about the benefits of this criterion in a campaign against heat shutoffs, which was coordinated by Karen Nielsen of National Training and Information Center back in the '80s. We only had four member organizations in that coalition, but we delivered a minimum of 160 people to events and 500 to the rally where the governor announced that we had won.

For many years, Chicago ACORN made the mistake of joining coalitions with no admissions criteria, only to sit through long speeches about what we should be doing by individuals who brought nothing to the table. These seemed to be the same individuals who would bring the biggest banner to the march and position it in front of the rest of us with a message we had never agreed to. When we started joining and creating coalitions in which the decision-makers were organizers and leaders with a

base, we were able to develop relationships of trust over time and spent much less time arguing or trying to tell each other what to do.

2. Let a thousand flowers bloom.

Once we trusted some of our coalition allies, we could relax our attempts at control and let each member do things their own way. The Grassroots Collaborative, a permanent community-labor table in Chicago, provides an example. In our 2006 campaign to set a minimum wage standard for big box stores, we faced an onslaught of negative media generated by WalMart and the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, along with Mayor Richard M. Daley. We won the first round of battle by calling an emergency meeting of the Collaborative and asking every member organization to develop an action or media event over a critical two-week period leading up the city council vote.

We trusted our allies to deliver, and they did, each coming to the meeting with an action that fit their own capacities and interests. One held a press conference at Costco, noting that it was already paying the \$10/hour (plus full family health insurance) that we were demanding, and another held a press conference with Black ministers expressing their support for the living wage. One planned a blessing of City Hall the night before the vote. Some others held marches in targeted wards. No one tried to tell anyone else what to do. We simply used all of the events to construct a narrative of increasing grassroots support for the proposal leading up to the council vote, which we won 34-15.

Daley vetoed our big box living wage in the only veto of his career. But to make amends with his voters in an election year, he joined our efforts at the state capitol to win an increase in the statewide minimum wage, which cost WalMart and the retail merchants hundreds of millions more than a limited city ordinance would have and delivered pay increases in the thousands of dollars to over a million state residents.

3. Wear your colors.

In 1995, in our very first Chicago Jobs and Living Wage Campaign, we planned a rally at the Teamsters Hall, which held more than 500 people. With a dozen members of the coalition, it should have been easy for us to pack the hall, but we worried about what it would look like if, for our first rally ever, each member organization left it to the others to do the turnout.

Here's what we came up with: members should wear their organizations' colors to the rally, and each organization should bring its own signs with its own logos on them. We then assigned speakers based on turnout goals and roped off the exact number of chairs for each group based on their goals. The result was a packed hall. None of us would risk looking small and weak in front of our own members and leaders; all of us wanted to be proud of our turnout and our organizations.

The rally was jammed and spirits were high. I remember walking up the aisle amidst the chanting and singing thinking that we just might win this one. We did. In the process, we created a model for how future coalitions, including the Grassroots Collaborative, would work.

4. Invite participants through one-on-ones.

Let's go back a moment, to the creation of any coalition. The good ones will begin with an organizer, usually the director, from an initiating organization paying a visit to the directors or presidents of all the organizations they want to invite to join. That visit will include a conversation in which the coalition creator explores the self-interest of the organization that is being invited.

When I did these visits for the first Chicago living wage coalition, I began with the unions, starting with the big ones because I needed them to attract the others. In that initial meeting, I got to know the invitee, got a better understanding of why they might want to participate in our coalition (and hopefully, so did they!), and acknowledged their role in their own organization as well as the role they might play in this one. Finally, I laid out the admission requirements for the coalition (\$1,000 and a busload to each event) and made the ask.

5. Make sure your coalition adds value.

Amisha Patel, who took the reins of the Grassroots Collaborative in 2007, taught me how significant it could be for a coalition to offer value-added items to each of its member groups. The first lesson came when member organizations offered Amisha the directorship of the Collaborative. "I'll do it," she said, with her

signature serious look, “if each of you directors will go through a racial justice training that I lead.” We needed Amisha, and we sure needed that kind of training, so we agreed. Having a thoughtful and brilliant trainer carry us through multiple days of training was a huge value add for each of us.

Next, Amisha proposed popular economics trainings for our members and leaders. Not only did our members learn about flat vs. progressive taxation, but, for the first time, they built relationships with the members and leaders from ally organizations across the city, people who until that moment had only seen each other at big public actions. Amisha made the Collaborative indispensable with these two trainings. There would be many more to come.

6. Be clear about who has decision-making power.

When Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) invited us to participate in their coalition against the Chicago Olympics, in 2008, they insisted that the groups on the ground in the neighborhood where the Olympics was proposed to land (the Black south-side community of Bronzeville) would be the ultimate decision-makers. Such a stand caused something of an uproar from organizers, like me, whose organizations were not on that turf. I loved and respected Jay Travis, KOCO’s director, and liked everything KOCO was doing, but it seemed unfair that KOCO was claiming the right to a final say. But KOCO’s argument was ultimately compelling: the impacted people had to own the decisions on their own turf. If we wanted in, and we did indeed

want in on that fight, we would have to abide by that rule. We joined with clarity about the different levels of power, and we loved working under KOCO's leadership. By being clear on the front end that the groups who were most directly impacted would lead, KOCO saved us all a great deal of conflict down the road.

7. Set up an agenda-setting committee.

Something else that I learned from KOCO was the idea of an "agenda-setting group." Jawanza Malone, a KOCO organizer who ran that coalition, laid out the concept at our first coalition meeting. Jawanza noted that some groups were more active in any coalition than others, and some groups wielded more power than others, sometimes by virtue of the amount of work they did. Jawanza proposed making that hidden process visible by creating an agenda-setting committee. The agenda-setting committee decided what appeared on the agenda for each meeting and when to call an emergency meeting. To get a seat on the committee, a group's executive director had to attend most of the regular and agenda-setting meetings. Most of us did not feel the need to do all that work, so we stayed off the agenda-setting group, but we all knew how to get on if we wanted.

8. Talk about power disparities.

When we worked with the Grassroots Collaborative on the Big Box Living Wage, ACORN had some key roles that we did not delegate

to the coalition. At that time, we had experience with political campaigns, large canvasses, and lots of door knocking. Once we understood that the huge majority of almost every Chicago ward supported our living wage proposal, we realized that a big door-to-door canvass, operating in all the swing wards, could force the bill out of committee and then win support from swing city council members at the key council vote. So ACORN approached the UFCW, the lead union in the campaign, for funding for a citywide canvass. At that time, the Collaborative did not have the staffing or the experience to run a major canvass, nor did any other ally. ACORN did. Because that was so clear to us, we moved on our own to create the canvass, fund it, and get it underway.

This is a very tricky issue because it brings up the thorny problem of size. For instance, what do we do about huge unions in coalition with smaller community groups? I think the jury is still out on that one. Smaller organizations will worry about being overwhelmed in a coalition with a huge union. Huge unions, on the other hand, may feel like they have more to lose or more to win. Can a big union that has to negotiate its contract with the mayor or governor every few years afford to enrage that decision maker? They may pull out if the smaller groups don't agree with them, decimating the power and resources of the coalition. The best way to navigate these challenges is to acknowledge the power imbalance up front and hold early discussions about the value in maintaining relationships even when there are serious disagreements. But in the end, disparities of power, capacity, and member self-interest may result in the rending of coalition ties.

9. Make permanent friends.

Who on earth ever uttered that old slogan, “No permanent friends, no permanent enemies”? So wrong!

The underlying current in this article is trust. Ultimately, we need to build trust across all levels of organizations in the movement: directors, staff, leaders, members. If you are fighting for racial, economic, and social justice, there are permanent sides. Of course, we can establish a temporary alliance with an enemy for a pragmatic goal, and we can have a terminal falling out with an ally. But there are sides, and knowing who is on which side is critical to our success.

This level of trust is what made the Grassroots Collaborative, a permanent community-labor table, possible. During the first Chicago living wage campaign, the directors of some community organizations and a union sat down and talked about what we wanted from a potential permanent table. The answer we all agreed on: a transformation of power in Chicago, from the corporations to the largely Black and brown working class. I don't presume to speak for the Collaborative today, but that was our sense of what we were about back then. With our consensus on that goal, we made our alliance a permanent one.

There were groups that chose not to join the Collaborative, like KOCO and Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA has since joined), that were nonetheless clearly on our side. Sometimes I had to chase KOCO down to work with them, but I kept trying because they were the most brilliant and principled community organization in town. In my mind, they were permanent friends, whether they liked it or not!

As we all work to find funding, get credit, and build power, we'd best stop treating our relationships with each other as disposable

and stand firm in our commitment to each other as permanent movement allies. Good coalitions can be a way of learning how to do this. I urge you to give them a try.



About **Madeline Talbott**

Madeline is a retired community organizer who spent 37 years working with ACORN and Action Now, mostly in Chicago. In retirement, she is organizing her own neighbors on climate change, racial justice, and electoral politics, and enjoying her family and friends.

Tribal Colleges & Universities – American Indian Higher Education Consortium

3-3 minutes

Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) are chartered by their respective tribal governments, including the ten tribes within the largest reservations in the United States. The 35 accredited TCUs operate more than 90 campuses and sites in 15 states—covering most of Indian Country—and serve students from well more than 250 federally recognized Indian tribes. TCUs vary in enrollment (size), focus (liberal arts, sciences, workforce development/training), location (woodlands, desert, frozen tundra, rural reservation, urban), and student population (predominantly American Indian). However, tribal identity is the core of every TCU, and they all share the mission of tribal self-determination and service to their respective communities.

These academically rigorous institutions engage in partnerships with organizations including U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and universities nationwide to support research and education programs that focus on issues such as climate change, sustainable agriculture, water quality, wildlife population dynamics, and diabetes prevention. Many support distance learning involving state-of-the-art learning environments.

TCU faculty are engaged in research in many areas including: hydrology, molecular cell biology, archaeology, entomology, community health, environmental science, aerospace engineering, and advanced manufacturing processes. The majority of faculty, teaching staff, and administrators hold a master's or doctoral degree. Dedicated faculty and staff often serve double-duty as counselors and mentors in addition to their teaching and administrative roles.

<https://www.traditionrolex.com/49>

TCUs provide many services to help students stay in school and complete their studies, such as personal and career counseling, mentoring, tutoring, wellness programs, child care, lending of laptop, and transportation and housing assistance.

Community members often take advantage of the TCU libraries and computer labs, as well as a range of community service programming, such as business incubators and healthy lifestyles awareness events.

<https://tribalcollegejournal.org/map-of-tribal-colleges/>

<https://collegefund.org/tribal-colleges-and-universities/>

Fundi: The Story of Ella Baker Video Reflection Guide

Watch this video that delves into the life and legacy of Ella Baker, a trailblazing organizer and legendary figure in the civil rights movement. As you watch, reflect on her leadership style, organizing principles, and the impact of her collaborative approach. Consider how her strategies align with or differ from your experiences within your affiliate.

Three questions to consider while watching:

1. How did Ella Baker's emphasis on grassroots organizing and collective leadership challenge traditional notions of leadership, and how might this apply to your work?

2. In what ways does your affiliate foster collaboration and empower voices at all levels, and how can it improve?

3. What lessons from Ella Baker's approach can you adopt to create more equitable, inclusive, and sustainable practices in your organizing efforts?

Tribal Colleges and Universities Offer Affordable, Quality Higher Education



📅 Wednesday, September 11, 2024 📰 News

The Bureau of Indian Education is committed to offering affordable and culturally relevant educational opportunities to American Indian and Alaska Native students pursuing higher education. Tribal Colleges and Universities, as defined by the Higher Education Act, support thousands of Indigenous students.

“Having a Tribal college or university has made a difference in their communities because they are growing their own workforce,” Katherine Campbell, Ph.D., Program Analyst at the BIE Office of Postsecondary Education. “TCUs have a significant economic impact.”

The BIE operates [Haskell Indian Nations University](#) in Lawrence, Kansas, and [Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute](#) in Albuquerque, New Mexico. It also provides operational grants to 29 TCUs, offering programs ranging from associate to doctorate degrees. The BIE also supports two Tribal technical colleges and offers scholarship programs to keep these institutions affordable for qualified American Indian and Alaska Native students.

“Tribal college students will give back to their people,” Campbell said.

Affordability

Tribal Colleges and Universities are among the most affordable higher education options in the United States. Compared to national averages for public, four-year universities, BIE institutions and TCUs offer significant savings, with some costing less than \$1,000 a semester. Many students graduate with little to no debt.

“It is helpful after graduation because they're not paying student loans, and if they go to another college, they know what they need to do academically and financially based on their experience at the Tribal college,” Campbell said.

BIE schools and TCUs can facilitate a smooth transition from small, rural schools to four-year universities. Students benefit from individualized attention and can enroll in courses focused on their Tribal culture and language — many of which are unique to these institutions — all while keeping their education costs low.

BIE Scholarships

The BIE offers a range of scholarships and development opportunities for higher education students across various fields and levels. Unlike loans, scholarships do not require repayment, although some involve service commitments or maintaining specific academic performance.

1. **BIE Scholarship for Service**: Awards scholarships to students committed to serving in Tribal communities or federal agencies post-graduation in fields like healthcare and education.
2. **BIE Science Post Graduate Scholarship Fund**: Supports students pursuing degrees in science-related disciplines, ranging from associates to doctorates and MDs, as well as those participating in internships and STEM educators and students pursuing professional development.
3. **BIE Special Higher Education Program**: Provides funding for various higher education initiatives to improve students' educational outcomes.
4. **Pre-Law Summer Institute**: Two-month orientation program that prepares American Indian and Alaska Native students for their first year of law school through instruction and skill building in research methods, legal analysis and legal writing.

Additional Resources and Opportunities

Many federal agencies provide information on other scholarships, savings programs, federal loans and additional resources to keep college affordable.

1. **Federal Student Aid**: Provides information on how to save for college, including savings plans and financial aid options.
2. **U.S. Department of Education**: Offers resources and guidance on financial planning for college, including information on scholarships and grants.
3. **Internal Revenue Service Education Savings Plans**: Provides information on tax benefits for education savings, including the tax advantages of 529 plans and Coverdell Education Savings Accounts.

4. **Consumer Financial Protection Bureau:** Offers tools and resources to help families understand saving for college and managing student loans.
5. **American Indian College Fund:** Provides a wide variety of scholarship and funding opportunities to American Indian and Alaska Native students enrolled at colleges, universities.
6. **Cobell Scholarship:** Offers scholarships to exceptional Native students with leadership abilities who are involved in their communities and pursuing higher education.

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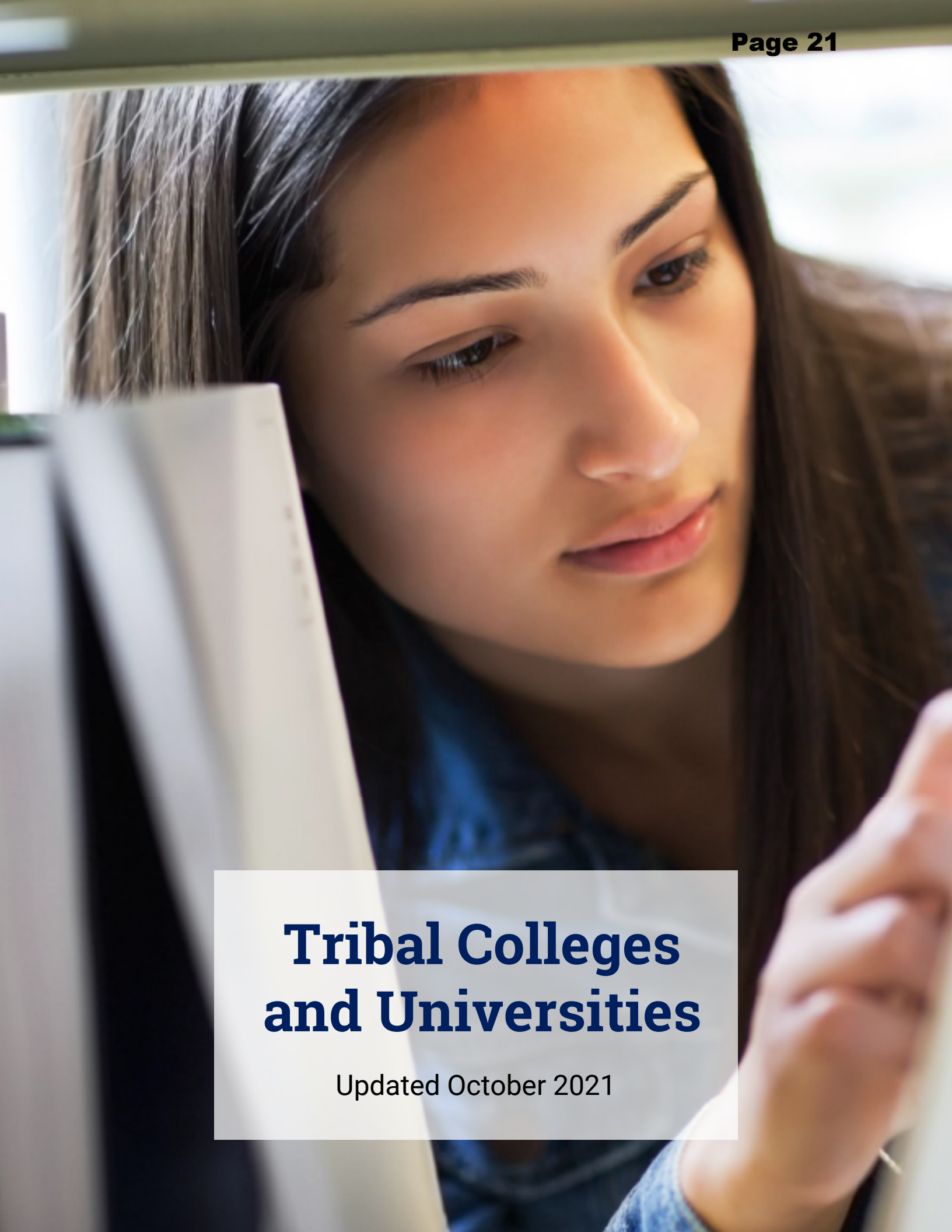
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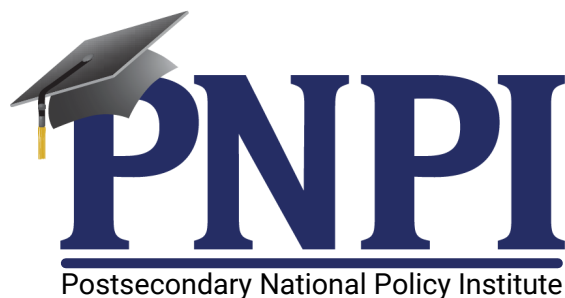
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A close-up photograph of a young woman with long, dark hair, looking down at a document or book she is holding. The lighting is soft and warm, highlighting her face. The background is blurred, suggesting an indoor setting like a library or study area.

Tribal Colleges and Universities

Updated October 2021



The Postsecondary National Policy Institute (PNPI) provides current and prospective policymakers with a substantive and collegial foundation on which to build federal higher education policies that drive positive outcomes for students and their families.

For more information please visit pnpi.org.

A background primer on Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs).

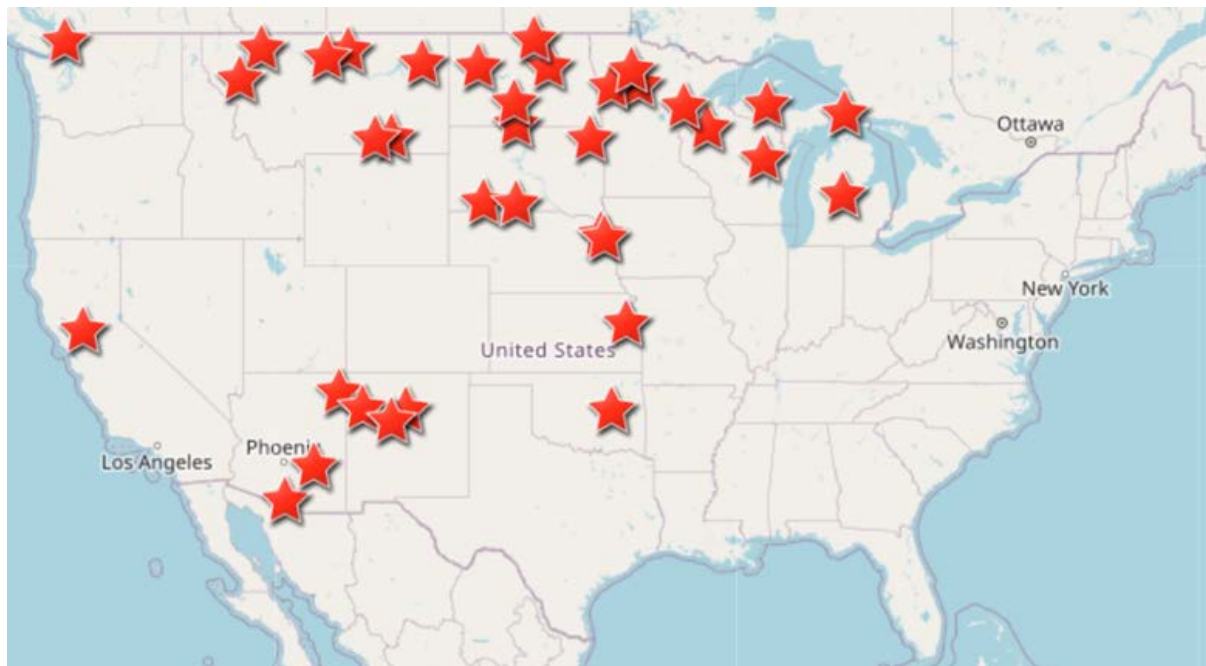
Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs), also known as tribally controlled colleges and universities, or TCCUs, are institutions of higher education formally controlled, sanctioned, or chartered by the governing body of a Native American tribe or tribes where Native American culture, language, and tradition are fostered.ⁱ in the 2017-18 academic year, 86% of the TCU population was Native American.ⁱⁱ

In addition to students, TCUs serve a diverse group of 100,000 community members in academic and community-based programs and actively work to preserve Native American languages, promote tribal sovereignty, and further economic growth for Native American people.ⁱⁱⁱ Because Native Americans (both American Indians and Alaska Natives) make up 1% of both the U.S. undergraduate and graduate student population, these students are often left out of postsecondary research and data reporting due to small sample size.^{iv} What data is available indicates that, while 50% of Native Americans have attempted some form of higher education, only 25% have earned a degree.^v

After years of federal government control over tribal education at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels, tribal leaders began a political movement known as self-determination in the 1960s. Beginning with Dine College, founded in 1968 by the Navajo Nation,^{vi} tribally controlled colleges grew out of this movement, establishing themselves as institutions that would sustain and grow tribal culture.

The majority of designated TCUs are located on reservations in the Midwest and Southwest (see Figure 1).^{vii} TCUs are chartered by tribal governments and serve students from more than 230 federally recognized tribes. Many TCUs have open admission practices and, while they vary in size, focus, and location, individual tribal identity is deeply embedded in every institution. Often TCUs are the only postsecondary option for students in rural and poor communities and as such they tend to offer a broad range of social services, such as mentoring, childcare, wellness programs, and community programs, to meet student needs.

Figure 1: Map of Tribal Colleges and Universities



Source: [Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education](#) Not pictured: Ilisagvik College (Alaska)

TCU Funding

State governments are not obligated to provide any financial support to TCUs and because tribal colleges are predominantly located on Native American reservations with high poverty rates, local property taxes are not collected to support them. Instead, TCUs are funded primarily through Title III of the Higher Education Opportunity Act (HEOA) administered by the U.S. Department of Education and the Tribally Controlled College or University Assistance Act (TCCUAA) of 1978, administered by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1994, the U.S. Department of Education allowed TCUs land-grant status, which provided access to additional funding sources.^{viii}

In FY21, TCUs received a total of \$66 million through HEOA, an increase of \$1 million from FY20.^{ix} These funds allow institutions to purchase new scientific equipment, build libraries, educate students on tribal public policy, provide counseling services to improve students' financial and economic literacy, improve facilities for internet use, support faculty development, establish or improve a program of teacher education with emphasis on teaching Native American children, and establish community outreach programs that encourage Native American children to pursue postsecondary education.

When originally passed, the TCCUAA authorized \$8,000 in federal money for each Native American student enrolled in a TCU. However, due to insufficient funding, TCUs only receive \$6,355 per student.^x This per-student subsidy composes the base budget for TCUs—federal funds are not given for non-Native American students, who make up 14% of the TCU student population.^{xi}

The Higher Education Emergency Relief Funds

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted thousands of students and institutions, including TCUs. In response to financial concerns for both students and institutions, President Trump signed into law the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act, more commonly known as the CARES Act, in March 2020. The CARES Act authorized \$30.75 billion for an Education Stabilization Fund, including \$14 billion in the Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund (HEERF I).

Of the \$14 billion higher education allocation, \$12 billion is divided into two grants, both of which are issued directly to institutions: emergency financial aid grants for students and institutional grants. The methodology for institutional allocations primarily focused on an institution's Pell Grant recipient enrollment. At least 50% of an institution's allocation was required to go toward emergency financial aid grants for students, and no more than 50% of an institution's allocation can go toward institutional costs.^{xii}

An additional \$1 billion is directed to Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs), including TCUs, through existing programs in Titles III and V. All institutions eligible to participate in any of the MSI programs in the Higher Education Act were eligible to receive these funds. HEERF I also included \$350 million directed to institutions that received less than \$500,000 in overall CARES Act funds through the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). In a letter to institutions, the Department specified that institutions may use these funds for emergency student grants to cover any component of cost of attendance or for institutional costs, such as lost revenue, reimbursement for expenses, technology costs, faculty and staff training, or payroll needs. Unlike the largest portion of HEERF I, this allocation did not require institutions to spend half of their funds on student emergency grants, though they may if they choose.^{xiii}

To access these funds, institutions were required to submit a funding certification agreement through the Department and agree to specific reporting requirements. Thirty-five TCUs received \$50.5 million in CARES Act assistance.^{xiv}

Additionally, the CARES Act set into law several federal student loan provisions that affect students enrolled at TCUs: a temporary suspension of federal student loan repayment; interest rates on federal student loans set to 0%; and a pause on garnishing wages and collecting upon defaulted student loans. These measures have been extended until January 31, 2022 by executive order.

Given the need for further financial assistance to colleges and universities, President Trump then signed the Coronavirus Response and Relief Supplemental Appropriations Act (CRRSA Act) into law in late December 2020. The CRRSA Act authorized \$21.2 billion for higher education through the Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund II (HEERF II). These funds were used for emergency financial aid grants to students with exceptional need, such as those receiving Pell Grants, and to cover institutional costs associated with responding to the pandemic. The same 35 TCUs that received CARES Act funds received \$82.1 million in HEERF II funds.^{xv}

A third Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund (HEERF III) was created in the American Rescue Plan, signed into law in March 2021. The American Rescue Plan authorized \$39.6 billion for higher education. The 35 TCUs received \$143.1 million in HEERF III funds. While half of HEERF III funds were required to be used towards emergency financial aid grants to students with exceptional need, institutions were required to use a portion of the remaining funds to implement COVID-19 prevention or suppression methods and to advertise the use of professional judgment on financial aid awards to students.^{xvi}

Types of Institutions

There are currently 37 designated TCUs that serve 15,000 full- or part-time students annually.^{xvii} Of these, 35 are Title IV-eligible and accredited by mainstream accreditation organizations. The 35 Title IV-eligible TCUs awarded 1,410 associate degrees, 415 bachelor's degrees, and 45 master's degrees in 2019–20.^{xviii} While TCUs started as two-year institutions, 16 TCUs now offer bachelor's degrees and five offer master's degrees.^{xix} In total, TCUs offer master's degrees in four fields, bachelor's degrees in 46 fields, associate degrees in 193 fields, and certificates in 119 fields.^{xx}

Curricula at most TCUs focuses on the skills and knowledge needed to promote Native American nation building and strengthen tribal sovereignty. Most TCUs offer American Indian studies degree programs. Other popular majors at TCUs include liberal arts, business, and STEM fields.^{xxi}

Successes and Impact

The impact of tribal colleges can be seen through their commitment to access, their role in improving local economies, their efforts to cultivate and maintain diverse faculty, and their outreach to the broader community.

- **Access:** As TCUs expand their degree programs, they strive to keep tuition low. The average cost of attendance at a TCU in the 2020-21 academic year was approximately \$15,666 per year for in-state students (including room, board, books, and tuition averaged across institutions), while the average cost of attendance across all U.S. institutions during the same time period was \$37,064 per year.^{xxii}
- **Economic Growth:** TCUs have made significant contributions in local communities by creating jobs and boosting economies. In 2013, the College of Menominee National added \$37 million to the local economy, provided 404 jobs, and generated over \$800,000 in tax revenue. Tribal colleges are also working hard to meet workforce demands. For example, TCUs in North Dakota are working to fill the estimated 17,000 unfilled jobs at the Bakken Formation, one of the largest single deposits of oil and natural gas found in the United States, with workers who possess the technical knowledge of resource extraction as well as the knowledge of and appreciation for tribal philosophies regarding nature and environmental protection.^{xxiii}
- **Faculty Diversity:** TCUs boast a robust and diverse faculty. Nationwide, American Indians and Alaska Natives make up less than 1% of higher education faculty members. At TCUs, 44% of all faculty are Native American and Alaska Natives.^{xxiv} The importance of Native American faculty cannot be understated: They can challenge discriminatory scholarship and practices, stimulate research on indigenous issues, and assist colleges and universities in recruiting and retaining Native American students.
- **Community Outreach:** TCUs provide services to their local populations outside of the campus community. These services include health screenings, educational programs, and business development workshops.^{xxv}

Challenges

Critics of tribal colleges often ask why TCUs do not have better outcomes. On average, 20% of Native American students at TCUs earn four-year degrees within six years or two-year degrees within three years, one-third the national average and half the rate of Native American students at non-tribal schools. At some tribal colleges, fewer than 10% of students graduate.^{xxvi}

Advocates of TCUs respond to this criticism by emphasizing the unique obstacles many Native American students face: 23% of all Native Americans lived in poverty in 2019, the highest poverty rate of any racial group in the U.S.^{xxvii} Seventy-four percent of students at TCUs are eligible to receive a Pell Grant, indicating financial need.^{xxviii} Native students who enroll in higher education often face especially long commutes of between 30 and 100 miles to reach their closest college or university. And while they may be eager for a college education, many are unprepared for college work. On average, 74% of Native American students at TCUs require remedial math and 50% require remedial reading or writing.^{xxix}

Future Growth

Community advocates have many ideas on how to strengthen TCUs. Most focus on acknowledging what makes TCUs unique and providing adequate resources to allow TCUs to serve their communities in a culturally sensitive and appropriate way. Advocates point to the following ways to improve higher education outcomes for Native American students and to strengthen the capacity of TCUs to serve them:^{xxx}

- **Increase Funding:** Provide TCUs with the full amount of federal funding authorized under current law annually adjusted for student enrollment increases and inflation. As noted, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act (1978) authorizes \$8,000 per Native American student per year, but the program has never been fully funded.
- **Provide More Reliable Funding:** Establish sustainable funding opportunities for TCUs to apply to their base operating budgets rather than relying on grants, which can be unreliable and inhibit long-term planning and growth.
- **Create Better and More Comprehensive Pathways:** Create earlier outreach and dual-credit programs for high school students that put students on a college track. Establish transfer agreements between TCUs and four-year institutions that recognize the unique challenges Native American students face. Strengthened agreements would allow students to experience a Native undergraduate education and earn an advanced degree at a non-Native institution.
- **Changes to Accreditation:** Consider the possibility of TCUs having their own accrediting body focused on Native American values and “indigenous ways of knowing.” Allow TCUs to accredit themselves to standards they deem culturally appropriate.

Despite their challenges, TCUs work in various ways to support the students they serve and play an important role in Native American student success.

A good demonstration of the role these institutions play in the lives of their students is best told through the voices of their students. You can read several of those stories [here](#) and [here](#).

Updated November 2021

- ⁱ White House Initiative on American Indian and Alaska Native Education: <https://sites.ed.gov/whiaiane/tribes-tcus/tribal-colleges-and-universities/>
- ⁱⁱ Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education 2020 Supplement: <https://1xfsu31b52d33idlp13twtos-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REHE-2020-final.pdf>
- ⁱⁱⁱ ACE and CPRS: <https://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Documents/Tribal-College-and-University-Funding.pdf>
- ^{iv} The Condition of Education 2020: <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2020144>
- ^v Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone): <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Race%20and%20Ethnicity%20educational%20attainment&tid=ACSDT1Y2019.B15002C>
- ^{vi} Dine College: <http://www.dinecollege.edu/about/history.php>
- ^{vii} Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education
- ^{viii} American Indian Higher Education Consortium: http://aihec.org/what-we-do/docs/FY19/AG_Bill_MAR2018.pdf
- ^{ix} U.S. Department of Education Budget Tables FY 2021 Congressional Action: <https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/budget/tables.html>
- ^x ACE and CPRS: <https://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Documents/Tribal-College-and-University-Funding.pdf>
- ^{xi} Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education 2020 Supplement: <https://1xfsu31b52d33idlp13twtos-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REHE-2020-final.pdf>
- ^{xii} U.S. Department of Education: CARES Act: Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oep/caresact.html>
- ^{xiii} U.S. Department of Education: Letter Sent to College Presidents. April 30, 2020.
- ^{xiv} U.S. Department of Education: CARES Act: Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oep/caresact.html>
- ^{xv} U.S. Department of Education: CRRSSAA: Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund II <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oep/crrsaa.html>
- ^{xvi} U.S. Department of Education: American Rescue Plan: ARP (HEERF III) <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oep/arp.html>
- ^{xvii} College Navigator: <https://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator/?s=all&sp=8>
- ^{xviii} Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System: https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/SummaryTables/report/341?templateld=3412&years=2020,2019,2018,2017,2016,2015,2014,2013,2012,2011&expand_by=2&tt=aggregate&instType=2
- ^{xix} College Navigator: <https://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator/?s=all&sp=8>
- ^{xx} American Indian Higher Education Consortium: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/docs/AIHECbrochure2018.pdf>
- ^{xxi} Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education 2020 Supplement: <https://1xfsu31b52d33idlp13twtos-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REHE-2020-final.pdf>
- ^{xxii} Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System: <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/use-the-data>
- ^{xxiii} Not a Full Picture: Evaluating Tribal College Success Using Mainstream Measures: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/not-a-full-picture-evalua_b_6320400
- ^{xxiv} Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education 2020 Supplement: <https://1xfsu31b52d33idlp13twtos-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REHE-2020-final.pdf>
- ^{xxv} Ibid.
- ^{xxvii} Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System: https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/SummaryTables/report/801?templateld=8010&year=2019&expand_by=0&tt=aggregate&instType=2

^{xxvii} U.S. Census Bureau: <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=poverty&t=006%20-%20American%20Indian%20and%20Alaska%20Native%20alone%20%28300,%20A01-Z99%29%3A009%20-%20American%20Indian%20and%20Alaska%20Native%20alone%20or%20in%20combination%20with%20one%20or%20more%20other%20races%20%28300,%20A01-Z99%29%20%26%20%28100-299%29%20or%20%28300,%20A01-Z99%29%20or%20%28400-999%29&tid=ACSST1Y2019.S1701&hidePreview=false>

^{xxviii} Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System: https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/SummaryTables/report/702templateId=7021&years=2019,2018,2017,2016,2015,2014,2013,2012,2011,2010&number_or_percent=1&t=aggregate&instType=1

^{xxix} The American Indian College Fund: <https://collegefund.org/news/why-tribal-colleges-matter-our-response-to-the-hechinger-report/>

^{xxx} Redefining Success: How Tribal Colleges and Universities Build Nations, Strengthen Sovereignty and Persevere through Challenges: https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1386&context=gse_pubs

2024 FACT SHEET

HISPANIC HIGHER EDUCATION AND HISPANIC-SERVING INSTITUTIONS (HSIs)



2022-23 IPEDS Data

Hispanic demographics:

- In 2023, nearly 64 million Hispanics lived in the U.S.¹ and 3.2 million in Puerto Rico.²
- Hispanics were 19.1% of the U.S. population in 2023.³
- Hispanic median age is 30.7, eight years lower than the entire U.S. population median age of 39.0.⁴
- Thirty-one percent of the Hispanic population is under 18 years of age, compared to 22% of the U.S. population.⁵
- California (15.7 million) and Texas (12.1 million) had the nation's largest Hispanic populations in 2022, followed by Florida (6.0 million), New York (3.9 million), and Arizona (2.4 million). States that also have large shares of Hispanic populations (1 million or more) include: Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Washington.⁶
- Hispanics accounted for 19.1 percent of the U.S. labor force in the third quarter of 2023. The number of Hispanic workers is projected to reach 35.9 million in 2030, accounting for 78% of the net new workers between 2020 and 2030.⁷
- Hispanic buying power rose from \$213 billion in 1990 to \$1.97 trillion in 2020, representing an annual growth rate of 7.57%.⁸

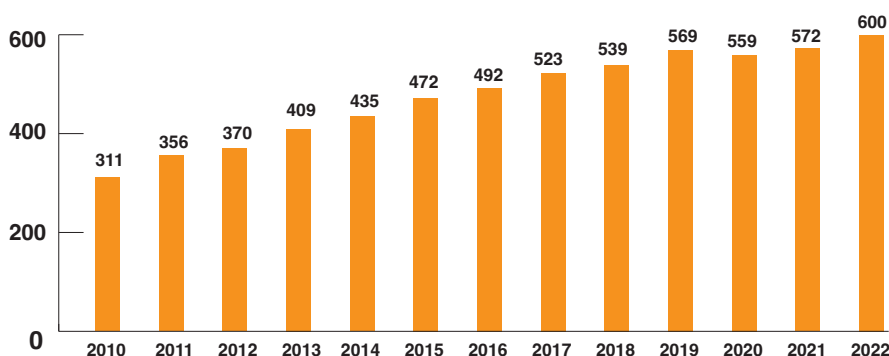
Hispanic enrollment in higher education:

- In 2022, Hispanic enrollment in higher education reached nearly 3.8 million students. It is expected to exceed 4.3 million students by 2026, far surpassing the growth rate of any other racial-ethnic group – by over 10%.
- The percent of STEM degrees conferred to Hispanic students rose from 9.2% to 15.6% between 2009 and 2022.⁹
- In fall of 2022, 3.2 million Hispanic undergraduate students were enrolled in nonprofit postsecondary institutions.
- Hispanic students earned one out of four (25.9%) associate degrees conferred in 2022, compared to 13.2% in 2011.
- Hispanic students earned 16.3% of bachelor's degrees conferred in 2022, compared to 9.2% in 2011.

Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs):

- Defined by the Higher Education Act as degree-granting institutions with Full-Time Equivalent undergraduate enrollments of at least 25% Hispanic. (For the complete federal definition, please visit www.hacu.net.)
- In 2022, 600 institutions met the federal HSI enrollment criterion, enrolling two-thirds of all Hispanic undergraduate students.
- HSIs enroll 31.7% of all undergraduate students in nonprofit postsecondary education.
- Of the top 10 colleges and universities ranked by the Social Mobility Index (SMI) in 2023, nine were HSIs.¹⁰
- A majority of HSIs are in urban areas and are concentrated geographically, with 82% (489) of these institutions located in seven states and one territory: California (172), Florida (30), Illinois (34), New Jersey (23), New Mexico (24), New York (39), Texas (111), and Puerto Rico (56).
- During the COVID-19 pandemic, college enrollment dropped significantly among Hispanics and most other racial and ethnic groups.¹¹ Given the decline in Hispanic enrollment, the number of HSIs decreased by 10 institutions in 2020. In 2021, the number of HSIs surpassed pre-pandemic levels. In 2022, the number of HSIs reached 600.

Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) Through the Years



600 HSIs by Institution Type

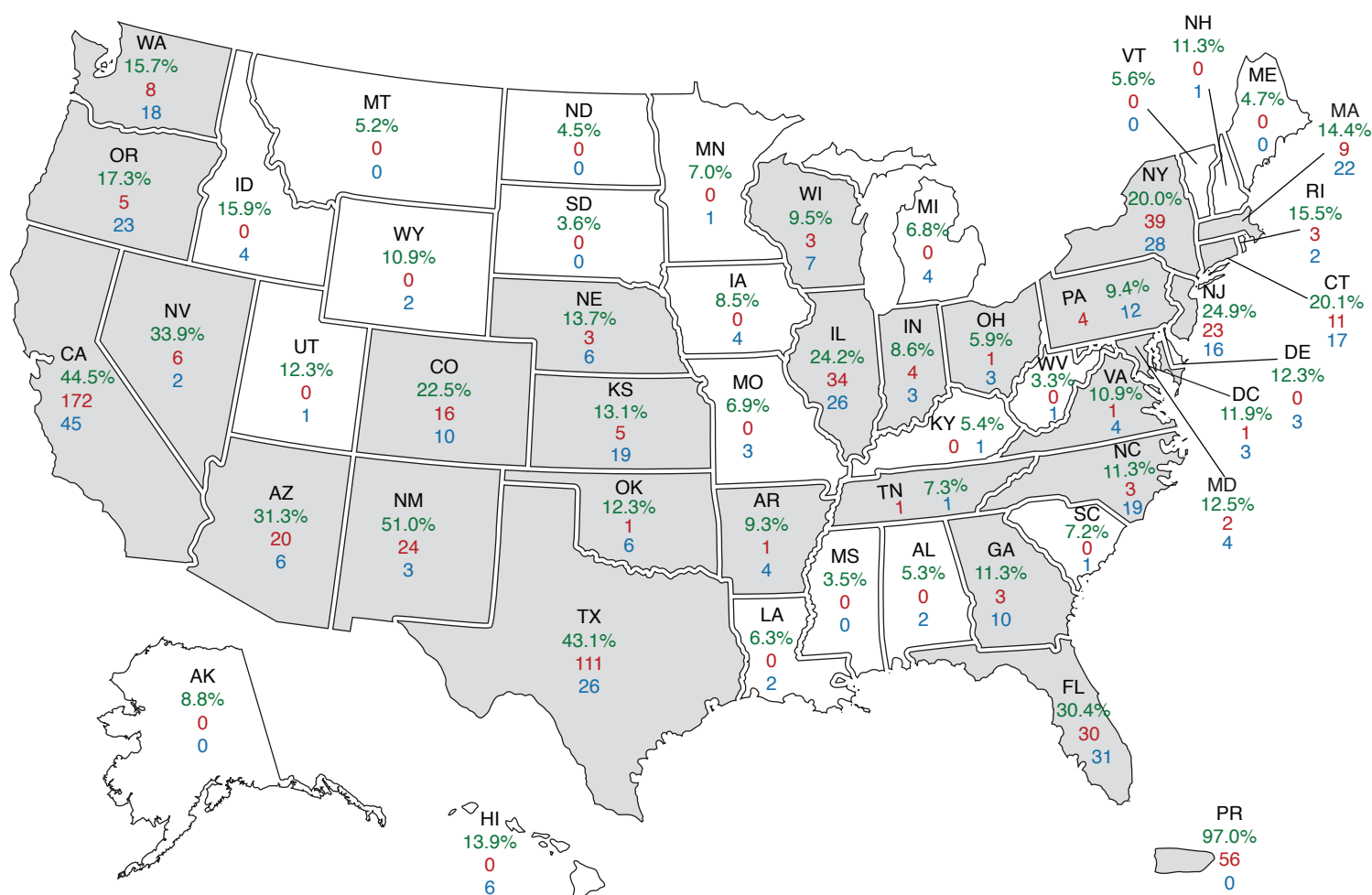


1. Facts about U.S. Latinos for Hispanic Heritage Month | Pew Research Center, 2023.
 2. Puerto Rico | Data USA
 3. U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: United States, 2023.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Facts about U.S. Latinos for Hispanic Heritage Month | Pew Research Center, 2023.

7. Hispanics in the Labor Force: 5 Facts | U.S. Department of Labor Blog (dol.gov), 2021.
 8. Thirty years of change: Consumer buying power is more diverse than ever (uga.edu), 2021.
 9. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d22/tables/dt22_318.45.asp
 10. <https://www.socialmobilityindex.org/>
 11. <https://www.npr.org/2021/10/26/1048955023/college-enrollment-down-pandemic-economy>

2022-23 Geographic Distribution

By percentage of Hispanic Undergraduate Headcount and Number of HSIs/EHSIs



Percentage of Hispanic Undergraduate Students by State Headcount

Number of Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs): Total 600
(25.0 % minimum Hispanic Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) enrollment)

Number of Emerging HSIs : Total 412
(15.0 - 24.9 % Hispanic FTE)

State percentages based on:

Total Undergraduate (UG) Student Headcount = 14,780,157

Total Hispanic UG Student Headcount = 3,235,494

Total Hispanic UG Student Percentage = 21.9%

HACU Office of Policy Analysis and Information. 3/1/2024.

Source: 2022-23 IPEDS data using Title IV eligible, 2 year & 4 year, public and private, nonprofit institutions.

About Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs)

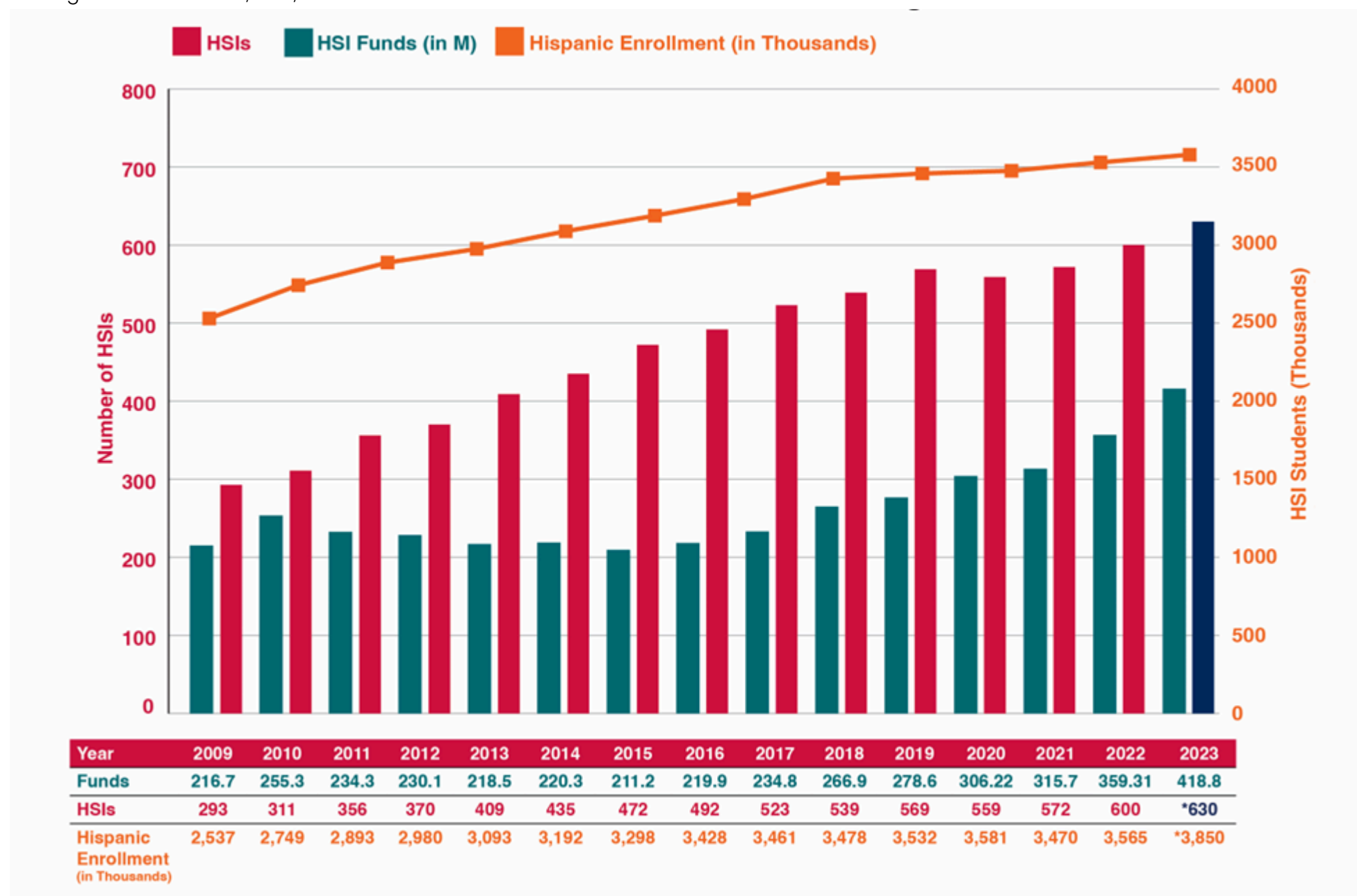
HACU's Position

HACU’s mission is to champion Hispanic success in higher education. HSIs are at the forefront of efforts to increase educational access and success for the nation’s Hispanic population. **Together, HSIs represent only 20% of institutions nationwide, yet they are home to almost two-thirds of the Hispanic student population.**

Among the requirements laid out in the Higher Education Act (HEA), HSIs enroll at least 25% full-time enrollment Hispanic undergraduate students and offer access to a significant proportion of the nation’s most underserved and underrepresented student groups. Increased federal resources are needed to improve Hispanics' educational attainment.

Background

In the 2022–23 school year, HSIs grew to 600 institutions, a 4.9% increase from 2021–2022, surpassing pre-pandemic levels. While the number of HSIs has increased, funding has remained static relative to their growth. The following map shows the relative distribution of Hispanic undergraduate students, HSIs, and Federal HSI funds



HSIs Today

In 2022, 600 institutions met the federal HSI enrollment criterion, enrolling two-thirds of all Hispanic undergraduate students.

- HSIs enroll 31.7% of all undergraduate students in nonprofit postsecondary education.
- Of the top 10 colleges and universities ranked by the Social Mobility Index (SMI) in 2023, nine were HSIs.
- A majority of HSIs are in urban areas and are concentrated geographically, with 82% (489) of these institutions located in seven states and one territory: California (172), Florida (30), Illinois (34), New Jersey (23), New Mexico (24), New York (39), Texas (111), and Puerto Rico (56).



HISPANIC ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES



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 **HACU Gov. Relations reposted**

HACU @HACUNews · Sep 20

Thank you to President Biden for inviting HACU President and CEO Antonio R. Flores and the HACU Government Relations Team to the White House for the Hispanic Heritage Month Celebration.

1

 **HACU Gov. Relations reposted**

U.S. Commerce  @Commer · Sep 14 

[#CommerceNews](#): The Department hosts the Inaugural Supply Chain Summit, signs an MOU with [@HACUNews](#) and more!

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The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, founded in 1986, represents more than 500 colleges and universities in the United States, Latin America, Spain, and school districts throughout the U.S. HACU is the only national association representing existing and emerging Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). The Association's





HISpanic ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

HACU Emerging Leaders Summit

Friday, October 4, 2024.
8:30 A.M. - 4:30 P.M.

Austin Community College:
Highland Campus

Building HLC2, Room 1550
6101 Highland Campus Dr.
Austin, TX 78752

HOSTED BY:

ascender
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Apply at www.hacu.net/emergingleaders

ICYMI: HACU is accepting applications from undergraduate and graduate #students to participate in an in-person Emerging Leaders' Summit on Oct. 4, 2024. The event will be held at the Austin Community College: Highland Campus. The Summit will feature career

National Headquarters

4801 NW Loop 410, Suite 701
San Antonio, TX 78229
210-692-3805 (Main)
210-692-0823 (Fax)
hacu@hacu.net

Washington, D.C. Office

One Dupont Circle N.W.
Suite 430
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-833-8361 (Main)
202-496-9177 (Fax)
dcgr@hacu.net

Western Regional Office

1107 9th Street, Suite 850
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-442-0392 (Main)
916-446-4028 (Fax)
wro@hacu.net

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Hispanic-Serving Institution Definitions

Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) are defined in Title V of the Higher Education Act as not-for-profit institutions of higher learning with a full-time equivalent (FTE) undergraduate student enrollment that is at least 25 percent Hispanic. The federal definition can be found here: www2.ed.gov/print/programs/ideshsi/definition.html.

HACU maintains two lists of HSIs based on differing definitions for differing uses, either advocacy or membership.

1. For HACU's **advocacy and research** purposes, the "List of HSIs" follows the criteria set forth in Title V of the Higher Education Act.

- HACU often is asked for an "official" list of Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). As of 2016, the U.S. Department of Education began to publish a list of eligible Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), as a result of HACU's continued advocacy work. These institutions of higher education are eligible to compete for HSI-related federal funding. The list can be found in the Hispanic-Serving Institutions Division webpage: <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/ides/hsidivision.html>.
- In the absence of there being an "official" HSI list in prior years, the [HACU List of HSIs](#) has been published online following the federal definition. This list is developed using data from the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).
- In following this definition, HACU has only included non-profit institutions that are eligible for Title IV (federal student financial aid) funding.
- Additionally, since institutional Hispanic enrollment percentage needs to be calculated, HACU has developed a custom file by calculating the undergraduate full-time equivalent (FTE), as defined by IPEDS, by race/ethnicity. Further calculation is done to determine the Hispanic FTE enrollment of each institution. The percent FTE Hispanic enrollment is rounded to the tenth decimal point (e.g., 25.56% is rounded to 25.6%).
- Federal definition requires that institutions meet a 25.0% Hispanic FTE threshold; therefore, HACU only includes institutions that meet the 25.0% minimum.

2. For HACU's **membership** purposes, HSIs are defined as colleges, universities, or systems/districts where total Hispanic enrollment constitutes a minimum of 25% of the total headcount enrollment.

- "Total Enrollment" includes full-time and part-time students at the undergraduate or graduate level (including professional schools) of the institution, or both (i.e., headcount of for-credit students).
- Member enrollment statistics are self reported by the institution for the fall semester of the year prior to the membership year. For example, year 2009 members provide Fall 2008 enrollment statistics.
- HACU's [HSI member institutions](#) are listed on HACU's website.

Listing as an HSI by HACU, on either list, does not "certify" an institution as an HSI for Title V or other Federal grant purposes. Title V eligibility (i.e., meeting the Federal definition of an HSI) is determined by the U.S. Department of Education as the first step in the application process for a Title V grant. Specifically, if your college or university has (1) a full-time equivalent (FTE) enrollment of undergraduate students that is at least 25 percent Hispanic students and (2) not less than 50 percent of all students are eligible for need-based Title IV aid, it should be an "eligible institution" for Title V.

Eligibility designation qualifies an institution of higher education to receive grants under the Title V and Title III, Part A, Programs, provided certain other program-specific eligibility requirements are met. Title V authorizes the Developing Hispanic-Serving Institutions Program. Title III, Part A, authorizes the Strengthening Institutions, American Indian Tribally Controlled Colleges and Universities, and Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian-Serving Institutions Programs. The [U.S. Department of Education's Office of Institutional Development and Undergraduate Education Service](#) administers both programs. Visit their website for additional information. In particular, visit the [Title V Program Statute](#) for legislation about Title V.

The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, founded in 1986, represents more than 500 colleges and universities in the United States, Latin America, Spain, and school districts throughout the U.S. HACU is the only national association representing existing and emerging Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). The Association's headquarters are in San Antonio, Texas, with regional offices in Washington, D.C. and Sacramento, California.

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HISPANIC ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES



Spaces are still available for the 13th Annual Deans' Forum, taking place on October 31, 2024, at the Gaylord Rockies Resort and Convention Center in Aurora, Colorado. <https://t.co/Z0iQAgQDIS> #HACU2024

This program offers paid internships in federal agencies to students from all academic backgrounds. Apply before October 18, 2024. <https://bit.ly/4cmbxb0> #InternWithHACU



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National Headquarters

4801 NW Loop 410, Suite 701
San Antonio, TX 78229
210-692-3805 (Main)
210-692-0823 (Fax)
hacu@hacu.net

Western Regional Office

1107 9th Street, Suite 850
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-442-0392 (Main)
916-446-4028 (Fax)
wro@hacu.net

Washington, D.C. Office

One Dupont Circle N.W.
Suite 430
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-833-8361 (Main)
202-496-9177 (Fax)
dcgr@hacu.net

The mission of *Excelencia* in Education is to accelerate Latino student success in higher education. A critical set of institutions enrolling Latino students is Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs).

Background

The classification of Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) was formally recognized in federal legislation for capacity-building support to improve the access and quality of education for Latino and other low-income students. HSIs are defined as accredited, degree-granting public or private not-for-profit institutions of higher education with 25% or more total undergraduate Hispanic full-time equivalent student (FTE) enrollment.¹ To create this list, *Excelencia* uses the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and maintained by the U.S. Department of Education. The information presented below is the most recent data as of February 2024.

Overview: 2022-23

- **HSIs represent a small segment of higher education and yet enroll the majority of Latino undergraduates.** There are 600 HSIs, which represent 20% of all colleges and universities and enroll 63% of all Latino undergraduates.
- **The number of HSIs is growing significantly.** The number of HSIs has increased to 600 in 2022-23 up from 571 in 2021-22 (an increase of 29 institutions, compared to an increase of 12 the year before).
- **The majority of Seal of *Excelencia*-certified institutions are now HSIs.** Of the 39 Seal of *Excelencia*-certified institutions, 37 are now HSIs. These colleges and universities have demonstrated their commitment to intentionally serve their Latino students, and all, students.
- **Latino representation at HSIs is high.** Almost half of students enrolled at HSIs (45%) are Latino.

Location

- **HSIs are geographically concentrated.** HSIs are located in 28 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. California has the most HSIs (172), followed by Texas (111), Puerto Rico (56), and New York (39).
- **Locations not generally known for having large Latino populations have HSIs.** Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Ohio, and Oklahoma each have at least one HSI.
- **The majority of HSIs are located in cities or suburbs.** Over 80% of HSIs are either in a city (314) or suburb (180), while less than 20% are in towns (60) or rural areas (46).

Sector

- **A majority of HSIs are four-year institutions.** Overall, 60% of HSIs are four-year institutions (public—30%; private—30%), and 40% are two-year institutions (public—39%; private—1%).
- **The majority of HSIs are public institutions.** Overall, 69% of HSIs are public and 31% are private.

Emerging HSIs (eHSIs)

- **Emerging HSIs represent a growing subset of colleges and universities.** There are 412 eHSIs (institutions with 15-24.9% undergraduate full-time equivalent Hispanic enrollment), representing 13% of all institutions.
- **The number of eHSIs continues to increase.** The number of eHSIs has increased by 11 (from 401 to 412).
- **The majority of states have at least one eHSI.** eHSIs are in 43 states and the District of Columbia, including Alabama, Hawaii, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.
- **The majority of eHSIs are four-year institutions.** Overall, 72% of eHSIs are four-year institutions (private—45%; public—27%), and 29% are two-year institutions (public—28%; private—1%).²

HSIs with Graduate Programs (gHSIs)

- **More than a third of HSIs offer graduate degrees.** Of the 600 HSIs, 252 offer graduate degrees (42%).
- **gHSIs are concentrated geographically.** Two-thirds (67%) of gHSIs are in California (56), Texas (55), Puerto Rico (35), and New York (23).

¹ Summary of Title V of the Higher Education Act, as amended in 2008. To be eligible for the “Developing HSIs Program”, the law further requires an HSI have a high enrollment of needy students and low core expenditures.

² Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Investing in better
futures® for students
and for all of us.

FACT SHEET



UNCF: Investing In Better Futures...

For students, the HBCUs they attend, the economy to which they will contribute and the civil society they will serve.

UNCF, the country's largest and most effective minority education organization, helps students get the college education they need and that we as a nation need them to have.

At a time when college is more important—and more expensive—than ever, for both students and the economy, each year UNCF enables nearly 50,000 students to attend its 37 member historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and other colleges and almost 8,000¹ students to receive degrees by:

- **Providing operating funds** that make it possible for UNCF's member HBCUs to offer their students quality academic programs in a small-college environment and still keep their average tuition approximately 27% lower than comparable institutions.²
- **Awarding more than 12,000³ scholarships and internships each year** so students from low- and moderate-income families can afford college tuition, books and room and board.
- **Serving as a national advocate for the importance of HBCUs, minority education and college readiness** by representing HBCUs' and students' public policy interests in Washington, in cities around the country and in the media.

UNCF Gets Results

UNCF's 37 member HBCUs offer their students a small-college experience at average tuition lower than that of comparable institutions, and out-perform other colleges and universities at graduating low-income African American students.

HBCU students' academic performance exceed their numbers.

America's 101 HBCUs represent only 3% of all four-year nonprofit colleges and universities. But they enroll 10% of all African American students, 15% of all African Americans with bachelor's degrees and 19% of all bachelor's degrees in science, technology, engineering or mathematics (STEM) awarded to African American graduates.⁴

HBCUs provide education at significantly lower cost than that of comparable non-HBCUs.

HBCUs' cost-of-attendance is 27% less than attending a comparable non-HBCU (\$25,412 vs. \$35,049, respectively).⁵

HBCUs prepare students for STEM employment and further education.

- Almost 20% of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) bachelor's degrees⁶ awarded to Black graduates were conferred at HBCUs.
- Between 2015 and 2019, six of the top 10 institutions where African American science and engineering Ph.D.s earned their bachelor's degrees were HBCUs.⁷ ^A

HBCUs provide better learning environments. African American HBCU grads report having experienced more support and higher levels of engagement than their peers at non-HBCUs, according to a 2015 Gallup study.⁸ ^B

HBCUs build and strengthen communities, states and the country.

An independently-researched study, *HBCUs Make America Strong: The Positive Economic Impact of Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, documents HBCUs' local, regional and national effect: More than 130,000 jobs created nationally, \$14.8 billion in overall annual economic impact and \$130 billion in added lifetime earnings for HBCU graduates.⁹

UNCF HBCUs are nationally respected. Although smaller than competing institutions, UNCF-member colleges and universities occupy five of the top 10 places in the 2023 *U.S. News & World Report's* ranking of historically Black colleges and universities.¹⁰

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UNCF Scholarships and Programs Get Results

UNCF scholarships and programs help to put a college education within reach of students from low- and moderate-income families and increase their recipients' chances of graduating.

UNCF annually awards more than 12,000 scholarships worth about \$70 million¹¹.

African American UNCF scholarship recipients have a 70% six-year graduation rate,¹² more than 1.5 times the 42% six-year graduation rate for all African American college students nationwide and higher than the 62% six-year graduation rate for all students.

UNCF scholarships' rates of success, extrapolated to the entire population of African American college students, would increase the annual number of African Americans earning college degrees by 15,876 annually, contributing significantly to the country's college completion goals.

UNCF programs include:

- **Fund II/UNCF STEM Scholars Program**—A \$48 million initiative designed to create a national pipeline to prepare African American students for careers in technology and innovation.¹³
- **UNCF Emergency Student Aid**—A just-in-time scholarship program that enables UNCF-member college students to meet unexpected financial emergencies, so they can stay in college, graduate and begin their careers.
- **Fidelity Scholars Program**—A \$190 million partnership with Fidelity Investments assisting students in certain geographic regions that have mid-level GPAs with scholarship funds and other services attend, thrive and graduate from college.¹⁴

UNCF Protects the Interests of HBCUs and Their Students

UNCF makes the case, in Washington and around the country, for the importance of HBCUs and college education, for college readiness and every child's right to a strong K-12 education.

- UNCF and its member HBCU presidents serve as the voice of students and HBCUs before Congress and federal agencies on education policy and student and institutional aid.
- UNCF and its member HBCU leaders take the case for education to national and local audiences through speeches, op-ed columns, articles and other communication media.
- UNCF works with grassroots and grassroots local leadership organizations in communities around the country to make sure that when better schools and education reform are discussed, parents and other citizens of color are at the table, and that all students—not just some students—receive an education before college that prepares them for success in college.

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UNCF Students Need Your Support

A disproportionate number of African American students face obstacles in going to and graduating from college.

- Seventy-three percent of all UNCF HBCU undergraduate students came from families whose income was low enough that they received Pell Grants, the federal government's principal low-income student aid program, compared to 36% of their non-HBCU peers.¹⁵
- Only 6% of African Americans who took the ACT college entrance exam met college-readiness benchmarks in English, reading, math and science, compared to 25% for all students.¹⁶
- Fifty-four percent of all African American high school graduates enrolled in college, compared to 65% for all high school students.¹⁷
- Forty-five percent of African American college students graduated from college within six years, compared with 64% for all students.¹⁸

America Invests in UNCF

Students look to UNCF for the education they need. And UNCF looks to you.

- Hundreds of thousands of individuals, corporations and foundations have contributed more than \$5 billion to send students to and through college since the organization began in 1944.¹⁹
- Charity Navigator gives UNCF four out of four stars,²⁰ and *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* ranks it among the country's top charitable organizations. UNCF maintained a cost ratio of 12% of total expenses—4% for administrative costs and 8% for fundraising in fiscal year 2022.

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Endnotes

- 1 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 2, UNCF Impact
- 2 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 3, Other notable HBCU facts
- 3 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 2 UNCF Impact
- 4 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 3, HBCUs Impact
- 5 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 3, Other Notable HBCU facts
- 6 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 3, HBCUs Impacts
- 7 National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics. 2021. Women, Minorities, and Persons with Disabilities in Science and Engineering: 2021. Special Report NSF 21-321. Alexandria, VA: National Science Foundation. Available at <https://nces.nsf.gov/wmpd>.
- 8 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 3, Other notable HBCU facts
- 9 HBCUs Make America Strong, p. 5
- 10 US News and World Report, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, <https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/hbcu>
- 11 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 2, UNCF Impacts
- 12 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 2, UNCF Scholarship Impacts
- 13 "UNCF and Fund II Foundation Launch a \$48 Million Scholarship Program to Support African American Students Pursuing STEM Careers," March 7, 2016
- 14 UNCF and Lilly Endowment, Inc., Announce \$50 Million Initiative to Better Prepare Students for 21st Century Jobs, October 6, 2015
- 15 Represents the average of the percentages across institutions. four-year non-HBCU figure includes four-year public and private nonprofit Title IV participating and U.S. service institutions. UNCF Patterson Institute special tabulations of data from the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2020 data collection year.
- 16 The ACT Profile Report - National. ACT, Inc. Graduating class of 2021. Table 3.3. Percent of Students Who Met ACT College Readiness Benchmark Scores by Race/Ethnicity. Retrieved 8/24/22 from <https://www.act.org/content/dam/act/unsecured/documents/2021/2021-National-ACT-Profile-Report.pdf>.
- 17 3-year moving average 2018-2020. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 2021. Table 302.20. Percentage of recent high school completers enrolled in college, by race/ethnicity: 1960 through 2020. Retrieved 7/11/22 from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_302.20.asp.
- 18 U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 2021. Table 326.10. Graduation rate from first institution attended for first-time, full-time bachelor's degree-seeking students at 4-year postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity, time to completion, sex, control of institution, and percentage of applications accepted: Selected cohort entry years, 1996 through 2014. These figures include 4-year public, private not-for-profit, and private for-profit Title IV participating institutions. Retrieved 6/29/22 from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_326.10.asp.
- 19 The UNCF Fact Sheet: An Annual Snapshot of Key Statistics, p. 2, UNCF Impact
- 20 Charity Navigator website

A These institutions include: 1) Howard University, 2) Spelman College, 3) University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 4) University of Maryland, College Park, 5) North Carolina A&T State University, 6) Florida A&M University, 7) University of Florida, 8) Morehouse College, 9) Hampton University, 10) University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

B Gallup (2015). Gallup-USA Funds Minority College Graduates Report. <http://www.gallup.com/services/186305/gallup-usa-funds-minority-college-graduates-report.aspx>



Challenges and Possibilities at HBCUs after the COVID-19 Pandemic

Reinvesting in vital institutions.

By Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Kimberly M. Jackson



Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), founded in the nineteenth century, are well-known for empowering students to become leaders and change agents. HBCUs have varying demographics, but all are centrally focused on ensuring the academic success of students of color. Among our 101 institutions are colleges and universities public and private, urban and rural, large and small, thriving and struggling, and single-gender and coeducational, awarding degrees ranging from the associate's to the doctorate.

Historically, HBCUs have produced 50 percent of Black teachers and doctors and 80 percent of Black judges. They continue to graduate the largest percentage of African American students with degrees in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. According to the National Science Foundation, Spelman College has produced the highest number of Black women doctoral recipients in science and engineering. Xavier University of Louisiana and Howard University have been the top producers of African American medical school graduates. HBCUs deliberately focus on brokering access to STEM through a variety of policies, practices, and activities. Howard University now has the distinction of having graduated the first woman vice president in the nation's history. Other outstanding alumni and alumnae include Toni Morrison, Thurgood

Marshall, Martin Luther King Jr., Oprah Winfrey, Common, Stacey Abrams, Rosalind Brewer, Andrew Young, Levi Watkins Jr., Jesse Jackson, Samuel L. Jackson, and Chadwick Boseman.

The continued relevancy of HBCUs has generated academic inquiry for more than a decade. Some believe that HBCUs are an outmoded vestige of segregation and cite opportunities for African Americans now to attend all institutions of higher education. Increased access for African American students to the full range of colleges and universities has, for many, become an argument to dismantle HBCUs. Between 2010 and 2018, HBCUs experienced a 10 percent decrease in enrollment, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. However, applications and enrollments have increased at some HBCUs among international and Latinx students over the past four years as well as among Black students, perhaps as a result of the current political climate concerning structural racism. In this regard, an increase in hate crimes, including racist police violence, has been cited as a possible explanation for increased HBCU enrollments. Walter Kimbrough, president of Dillard University, attributes this increase at forty HBCUs to what he calls the “Missouri Effect”—racial harassment of Black students at majority (predominantly white) institutions.

At HBCUs around the nation, the COVID-19 pandemic has pushed administrators to think more strategically about their institutions in the wake of perhaps the most daunting challenge to face higher education in the twenty-first century. In many ways, it is the best of times and the worst of times. On the one hand, millions in much-needed philanthropic dollars have made their way to Black colleges in the aftermath of the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police in May 2020. On December 12, 2020, Congress finally passed the HBCU Propelling Agency Relationships towards a New Era of Results for Students (HBCU PARTNERS) Act following decades of lobbying efforts by HBCU advocates. Certain federal agencies are now required annually to explain how HBCUs can compete more effectively for contracts and grants. On the other hand, only a handful of Black colleges have endowments that exceed \$200 million; inequitable federal and state funding continues; our students, coming from households that on average earn considerably less than the median white family income, must secure larger federal, state, and private loans than many non-HBCU students, resulting in substantially greater debt upon graduation; and graduation rates in 2019 were reported to be only 35 percent compared with 60 percent for all higher education institutions. Chief among the various factors contributing to differential graduation rates is the large number of low-income and first-generation Black students at HBCUs, who face daunting financial and other challenges that make graduating from college in four years more difficult.

A year after the start of the pandemic, HBCUs are struggling to make difficult decisions about reopening and cope with daunting shortfalls in critical tuition and room and board revenue resulting from enrollment drops and campus closures. While students focus on preserving their GPAs with pass/fail requests, connecting with their peers, or wanting to walk across the stage at sometimes-canceled in-person graduation ceremonies, administrators have been forced to prioritize the health and safety of students and their workforce. These additional financial and operational burdens have forced many institutions to shift to crisis-management mode. HBCUs are among the estimated half of US colleges and universities facing financial crises, with effects that will likely linger beyond the pandemic. Significant declines in federal funds for HBCUs and rising college tuitions have also forced many HBCUs to the brink of financial disaster.

And yet, for many African American students, HBCUs remain irreplaceable. In a recent article in *Inside AMU*, “House Not a Home without Students: HBCUs and COVID-19,” Alabama A&M University student Aayana Ingram powerfully captures the importance and uniqueness of Black colleges: “These institutions are

not just institutions of knowledge for students but their home.” Testimony from a graduating student and student government association president underscores both the challenges and the possibilities facing HBCUs: “COVID-19 has affected the experience and the community of HBCUs drastically. However, the worldwide pandemic has brought HBCUs even closer together virtually. We are reaching out to each other to share ideas on how we can cater to students across universities. We are doing everything we can to keep the students involved, engaged, and entertained.”

Despite having shut down temporarily in March 2020, many HBCUs had no choice but to allow students, faculty, and staff to return to campus in August, despite increased COVID-19 cases in their states. Closing campuses for even one semester surely would have severely hindered their ability to reopen the following year, given the reliance of HBCUs on tuition and room and board for financial sustainability.

They did their best to keep students safe. Many of these Black colleges applied for federal assistance to create COVID-19-testing hubs. Institutions that chose to reopen their campuses for instruction in the fall 2020 semester applauded their students for compliance with social-distancing and mask-wearing requirements and reported lower COVID-19 infection rates than predominantly white institutions. However, there has been limited reporting of data on COVID-19 at HBCUs and limited information about campus protocols surrounding frequency of testing, quarantining on campus, and contact-tracing implementation. Faculty members on many campuses are frustrated by inadequate technology upgrades for remote instruction; the digital divide among students and between tenure-line and non-tenure-line faculty must be addressed. Faculty see continuing challenges associated with the lack of adequate training for hybrid, asynchronous, and synchronous teaching; uncertainty about the health and well-being of their faculty and staff colleagues as well as students; and an overall unease about the rush to reopen or stay open in the spring 2021 semester, given the increased numbers of COVID-19 cases and deaths in their respective cities and states. They are also keenly aware that African Americans have borne a heavier burden than the rest of the population since the beginning of the pandemic. While students overwhelmingly share a desire to return to their campuses as soon as possible, they are also anxious about what they perceive to be less than optimal planning on the part of administrators with respect to a broad range of safety issues. For example, in spring 2021, Spelman College, whose prepandemic enrollment was 2,100, brought back a small number of students to campus using a low-density model (350 students or less). And, although the campus has instituted a “reset and pause” period (five days of rest for those students living on campus), mandatory COVID-19 tests including weekly rapid tests for students and staff, and extensive town-hall meetings, students and parents remain concerned about care available for students and staff when someone becomes ill, the cleaning and ventilation of campus buildings, the adequacy of food services, plans for contact tracing, and services for mental health. However, the desire of students to connect to unique campus cultures and to their peers appears to be outweighing their anxiety about returning to campus, given their reasons for having chosen to attend an HBCU in the first place: community and a sense of home.

HBCUs face compelling and difficult questions in a postpandemic era. How will they evolve and adapt to the serious financial burdens that are likely to linger or worsen, especially at more fragile institutions? The influx of millions of dollars from wealthy donors over the past several months has landed at only a handful of institutions, most of which are the least financially at risk. What is the likelihood that institutions can ensure safety for students, faculty, and staff returning to campus and to dormitories? How can HBCUs handle their serious financial challenges if postpandemic enrollments continue to drop? While the pandemic is certainly not responsible for all of the enrollment and retention challenges at HBCUs, it definitely has exacerbated

them. The socioeconomic status of African American families as well as their more serious health issues have also exacerbated the pandemic's impact in our communities.

An urgent question for administrators and faculty members at HBCUs to ponder remains: What have we learned about ourselves—our strengths and liabilities—during the past year? Because the COVID-19 crisis amplified deeply rooted inequities in education, we are at a turning point. HBCUs are critical to the higher education landscape, providing more reliable safe havens for students through housing, food security, health-care access, and mental-health support. State and federal agencies must reinvest in and reprioritize funding for HBCUs and other colleges that do the brunt of the work in supporting Black and brown students. Faculty at HBCUs should be recognized as they continue to be extraordinary teachers and advocates in places where students enter with serious financial and other challenges. HBCUs will need compassion and resources to address the ongoing impact of the COVID-19 crisis on Black and brown students in the years to come. They must continue to plan, prepare, train, equip, and organize for disasters; design and offer a model for sustainable tuition and fees; increase financial stability through alternative funding revenue streams; substantially increase endowments with more aggressive fundraising among philanthropists and other individual donors (including alumni and alumnae) and foundations; implement alternative and effective teaching models when in-person teaching is not an option; recruit more competitive, affluent international students; and close the digital divide. We are confident that serious attention to these challenges on our campuses will result in a reimagining of our futures and recommitments to what we do best. Increased and substantial philanthropic dollars for urgent racial equity projects in the aftermath of highly publicized anti-Black violence, especially the murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd by police, are also signs of hope.

Beverly Guy-Sheftall is the founding director of the Women's Research and Resource Center and the Anna Julia Cooper Professor of Women's Studies at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. Kimberly M. Jackson is the chair of chemistry and biochemistry, director of food studies, and associate professor of biochemistry at Spelman College.

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A look at historically Black colleges and universities in the U.S.

BY JENN HATFIELD AND MONICA ANDERSON



Students celebrate at North Carolina Central University's graduation ceremony on May 4, 2024, in Durham. (DeAndres Royal/North Carolina Central University via Getty Images)

The nomination of Howard University graduate Kamala Harris for president has [brought new attention to historically Black colleges and universities](#), or HBCUs, in the United States.

The oldest HBCUs have been in existence for over 150 years, and HBCUs continue to play an important role in the U.S. higher education landscape. As of fall 2022 – the latest semester with available data – there were 99 HBCUs nationwide, and they collectively enrolled just under 290,000 students, according to the [National Center for Education Statistics](#).

How we did this ☹

As Kamala Harris, a Howard University graduate, campaigns for president, Pew Research Center conducted this analysis to examine the characteristics of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the United States.

This analysis primarily uses data from the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES), but it also includes data from the Census Bureau and other sources. Links to each source are available in the text.

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NCES categorizes HBCUs based primarily on the definition in the Higher Education Act of 1965, and its count of HBCUs includes only those that remained open and accredited as of fall 2022. The Higher Education Act defines HBCUs as “degree-granting institutions established prior to 1964 with the principal mission of educating Black Americans.” Some federal regulations also allow certain institutions founded since 1964 to count as HBCUs. Degree-granting institutions include only those that participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

What are HBCUs?

Congress defines HBCUs as accredited institutions of higher education that were founded before 1964 and [have a primary mission to educate Black students](#). However, not all students who attend HBCUs today are Black.

Prior to the Civil War, higher education opportunities were virtually nonexistent for nearly all Black Americans. A few HBCUs were founded before the Civil War, but many more were established between 1867 and 1900 [to provide educational opportunities for Black Americans](#), including formerly enslaved people.

Some HBCUs arose in response to the [Second Morrill Act](#) in 1890, which required states to admit Black Americans to their existing institutions or provide funding for new institutions that would serve them. These HBCUs, along with other institutions founded through similar legislation, are called “land-grant institutions.”

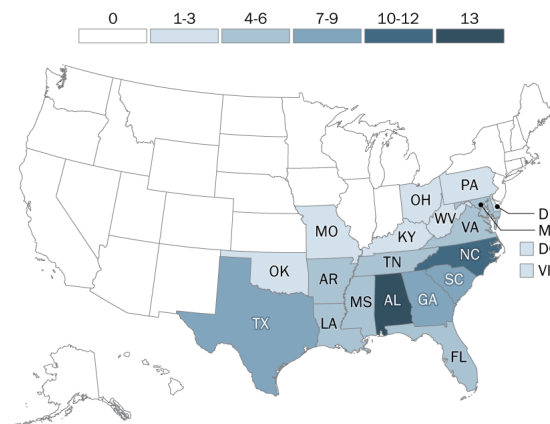
HBCUs can be either public or private institutions. In fact, the 99 HBCUs in existence in 2022 were almost evenly divided between public (50) and private (49) schools. Most HBCUs are four-year institutions that mainly award bachelor’s degrees.

Where are HBCUs located?

The vast majority of HBCUs are located in the South. Alabama had the most in 2022, with 13, followed by North Carolina with 10. Georgia, Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee each had at least six. But there are also HBCUs as far north as Pennsylvania (Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, Lincoln University) and outside the continental U.S. (University of the Virgin Islands).

Most historically Black colleges and universities are located in the South

Number of HBCUs by jurisdiction, fall 2022



Note: HBCUs that do not participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs are excluded.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Table 313.10.

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How has enrollment at HBCUs changed over time?

[Enrollment at HBCUs](#) grew between 1976 and 2010 but has decreased slightly since then. In 1976, the first year with available data, more than 222,000 students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds were enrolled at HBCUs. That number peaked at over 326,000 in 2010. Still, the nearly 290,000 students enrolled in HBCUs in 2022 accounted for a 30% increase from 1976.

This is similar to the enrollment pattern at *all* U.S. colleges and universities. About 11 million students were enrolled in college in 1976, and that number peaked at just over 21 million in 2010. In 2022, there were about 18.6 million students enrolled in college – 69% more than in 1976.

However, HBCUs differ from colleges overall in how enrollment has changed among students who are Black and students of other racial or ethnic backgrounds. The share of Black students attending HBCUs

declined as [desegregation](#), rising incomes and increased access to financial aid led to [more college options for Black Americans](#).

At HBCUs, enrollment of Black students increased by 15% between 1976 and 2022. That was far lower than the 117% increase in students of other racial or ethnic backgrounds who attend these schools. As a result, the share of students at HBCUs who are Black decreased from 85% to 76%.

In contrast, enrollment of Black students at *all* colleges and universities in the U.S. increased by 125% between 1976 and 2022, far outpacing the 63% increase among students of other races or ethnicities. As a result, the share of all college students who are Black increased from 9% to 13%, about in line with [the Black share of the U.S. population](#) in 2022.

These changes also mean that a declining share of Black college students are enrolled at HBCUs. While 18% of all Black college students in the U.S. attended HBCUs in 1976, only 9% did in 2022.

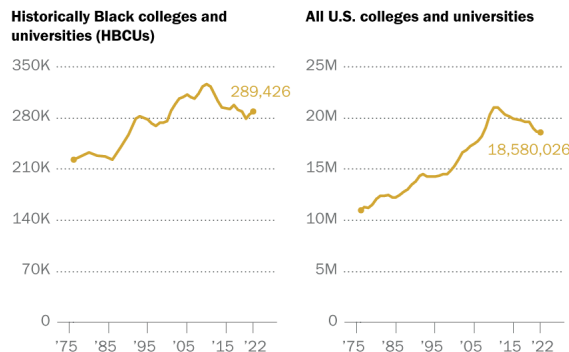
Still, HBCUs accounted for 16% of the bachelor's degrees that Black college students earned in the 2021-22 school year.

These statistics predate [the Supreme Court's 2023 ruling](#) that colleges and universities may not consider race in admissions. Enrollment patterns may change under new admissions policies.

How does enrollment vary among HBCUs?

Enrollment trends at HBCUs have mirrored U.S. colleges and universities overall

Total fall enrollment in higher education by year and institution type, 1976-2022

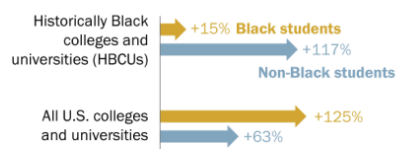


Note: Data for all colleges and universities covers the 50 states and the District of Columbia. For 1976 through 1995, "all colleges and universities" includes institutions of higher education and U.S. service academies; since 1995, it includes degree-granting institutions and U.S. service academies. HBCU data covers degree-granting institutions in the 50 states, D.C. and the U.S. Virgin Islands. HBCUs that do not participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs are excluded. Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Tables 303.10 and 313.20.

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As U.S. colleges enroll more Black students, HBCUs enroll more non-Black ones

% change in U.S. fall enrollment, 1976-2022



Note: Data for all colleges and universities covers the 50 states and the District of Columbia. For 1976 through 1995, "all colleges and universities" includes institutions of higher education and U.S. service academies; since 1995, it includes degree-granting institutions and U.S. service academies. HBCU data covers degree-granting institutions in the 50 states, D.C. and the U.S. Virgin Islands. HBCUs that do not participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs are excluded. Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Tables 303.10 and 313.20.

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HBCUs vary widely in size. In 2022, the median-sized HBCU enrolled 1,840 students, but three had more than 12,000 students each: North Carolina A&T in Greensboro; Howard University in Washington, D.C. (Harris' alma mater); and Saint Philip's College in San Antonio, Texas. At the other end of the spectrum, 10 HBCUs enrolled fewer than 500 students.

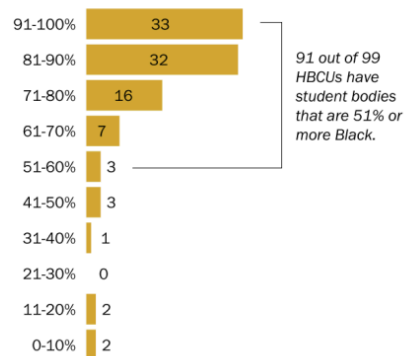
Most HBCUs continue to serve large majorities of Black students. In 2022, more than 80% of the student body was Black at 65 of the 99 HBCUs.

But at eight HBCUs, more than half of the student body was *not* Black – including Saint Philip's and West Virginia State University. At each school, just 9% of students were Black. (Saint Philip's is also considered a Hispanic-serving institution, or HSI, and [most of its students were Hispanic](#) in 2022. West Virginia State [now serves mainly White students.](#))

At some HBCUs, low overall enrollment numbers – or growth in non-Black enrollment – may reflect recent challenges for higher education overall. Since 2016, at least 120 colleges and universities across the country [have closed, merged with other institutions](#) or announced plans to do so. And the problem may worsen over the next decade because [the number of high school graduates is expected to peak in 2025 and then decrease](#) – a phenomenon some have termed the “[enrollment cliff](#).” Some institutions are responding by casting a wider net in student recruitment, which, for some HBCUs, includes [recruiting more non-Black students](#).

The vast majority of HBCUs still mostly enroll Black students

Number of historically Black colleges and universities whose student bodies are ____ Black, fall 2022



Note: HBCUs that do not participate in Title IV federal financial aid programs are excluded.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Table 313.10.

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What does government funding look like at HBCUs?

HBCUs have long been underfunded compared with other colleges and universities, according to a 2023 analysis by the departments of Education and Agriculture. The analysis found that historically Black land-grant institutions [received about \\$12.6 billion less](#) in state funding than other land-grant institutions between 1987 and 2020. In addition, between 2003 and 2015, private HBCUs experienced the steepest declines in *federal* funding per student, according to a 2019 report by the [American Council on Education](#).

Note: This is an update of a post originally published on Feb. 28, 2017.

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[Jenn Hatfield](#) is a writer/editor at Pew Research Center.



[Monica Anderson](#) is a director of research at Pew Research Center.

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MAY 16, 2024

FACT SHEET: Biden-Harris Administration Announces Record Over \$16 Billion in Support for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

Today, the Biden-Harris Administration announced a new record in Federal funding and investments in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) totaling **more than \$16 billion** from Fiscal Years (FY) 2021 through current available data for FY 2024. This new reported total is up from the previously announced over \$7 billion, and captures significant additional actions already undertaken. The total of more than \$16 billion includes over **\$11.4 billion** between FY2021 and FY2023 through Federal grants, contracting awards, and debt relief for HBCUs; over **\$4 billion** between FY2021 and FY2023 for HBCU-enrolled students through federal financial aid and educational benefits for veterans; and, so far in FY 2024, **over \$900 million** has been secured for Department of Education programs strengthening HBCUs as institutions. President Biden and Vice President Harris are committed to ensuring whole-of-government investment efforts in HBCUs continue at full momentum through the rest of FY 2024.

These historic funding levels – the most by any administration – demonstrate President Biden and Vice President Harris’s ongoing commitment to HBCUs, which serve as an engine for upward economic mobility in our country. The Administration is also focused on work to ensure HBCUs have the resources to provide a high-quality postsecondary education.

For more than 180 years, HBCUs have been advancing intergenerational economic mobility for Black families and communities, developing vital academic research, and making our Nation more prosperous and equitable. Despite representing only 3% of colleges and universities, HBCUs play an outsized role to support the economic mobility of African Americans, producing 40 percent of all Black engineers, 50 percent of all Black teachers,

70 percent of all Black doctors and dentists, 80 percent of all Black judges, and the first woman and Black Vice President of the United States. Overall, HBCUs greatly contribute to the economic success of America, providing college access to twice as many Pell Grant-eligible (low-income) students as non-HBCU institutions. Additionally, social mobility research by the United Negro College Fund finds that HBCUs support nearly five times more students than Ivy League and other top-ranked institutions in facilitating movement from the bottom 40% in U.S. household income to the top 60%.

A CEA report published today further underscores that HBCUs are engines for upward mobility and additionally discusses new research showing that HBCU enrollment has considerable positive effects on bachelor's degree completion and household income later in life. The report details how these successes have occurred in the context of historic underfunding of HBCUs. It also discusses a recent resurgence in applications to, and enrollment in, HBCUs which highlight the high value that students have placed on these institutions in recent years.

Since Day One, the Biden-Harris Administration has committed to advancing racial equity, economic opportunity, and educational excellence, including by reestablishing the White House Initiative on Advancing Educational Equity, Excellence, and Economic Opportunity through Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Between FY 2021 – FY 2023 the Biden-Harris Administration has taken historic actions to support HBCUs:

Invested over \$11.4 billion in HBCUs, which includes:

- **Nearly \$4 billion** for HBCUs through the American Rescue Plan and other COVID relief legislation. These grants funded through the Department of Education and other agencies have helped HBCUs support students' ability to meet basic needs; support campus operations, staffing, teaching, and educational programs; and keep campuses and the surrounding communities on the path to an equitable recovery;
- **\$2.6 billion** from the Department of Education to build institutional capacity at HBCUs. These efforts support the growth and sustainability of HBCU degree programs; increase and enhance human, technological, and physical infrastructure for research; strengthen positioning to secure

direct partnership opportunities; and create sustainable fund development;

- **Over \$1.6 billion** to HBCUs through Federal grants, cooperative agreements, and other competitive funding opportunities that drive the advancement of academic and training programs, community-based initiatives, and research innovation across national priorities such as medicine and public health, climate science, agriculture, emerging technologies, and defense;
- **Almost \$950 million** to support HBCUs in growing research capacity and related infrastructure to better compete for Federal research and development dollars;
- **Nearly \$719 million** in grant funding to expand STEM academic capacity and educational programs; and in other high-wage, high-demand fields such as computer science, nursing, and allied health;
- **Over \$150 million** in Federal contracting opportunities awarded to HBCUs, including for research and expansion of STEM education programs at the Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Transportation, Department of Energy, and U.S. Agency for International Development;
- **\$1.6 billion** in capital finance debt relief for 45 public and private HBCUs. Discharging these debts has enabled these institutions to focus resources on supporting students, faculty, and staff while recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic; and
- **Over \$2.4 million** in Project SERV funds to support HBCUs affected by more than a dozen bomb threats in 2022. These grants have helped restore safe learning environments and invest in student mental health and well-being for students.

In addition to the over \$11 billion provided to HBCUs, the Biden-Harris Administration has provided over \$4 billion to support the success of HBCU-enrolled students through:

- **\$2.8 billion** in need-based grants and other Federal programs, including Pell Grants, Federal Work-Study and Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, to assist HBCU students in affording a postsecondary education; and
- **Nearly \$1.3 billion** to support Veterans attending HBCUs through the GI bill and other college, graduate school, and training programs delivered through the Department of Veterans Affairs.

While more must be done to ensure equity for HBCUs and their students, the Biden-Harris Administration is delivering landmark first-of-its-kind results:

- The **Department of Defense U.S. Air Force** established the first-ever HBCU-led University Affiliated Research Center (UARC). Led by Howard University with seven other HBCUs and funded at \$90 million over five years, efforts will focus on advancing the deployment of autonomous technologies for Air Force missions. Participating schools include Jackson State University, Tuskegee University, Hampton University, Bowie State University, Norfolk State University, Delaware State University, Florida Memorial University, and Tougaloo College.
- The **Department of Commerce** established the first-ever Connecting-Minority-Communities program delivering funding for 43 HBCUs to purchase broadband internet, purchase equipment, and hire IT personnel to tackle the digital divide impacting HBCUs. Several HBCUs also recently launched an HBCU CHIPS Network in collaboration with Georgia Institute of Technology to increase the coordination of the resources at the colleges and universities and jointly contribute to workforce development needs of the semiconductor industry. Chips are critical in powering our consumer electronics, automobiles, data centers, critical infrastructure, and virtually all military systems.
- The **Department of Commerce National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration** will provide \$4.2 million in grant funding to HBCUs, through the EPP/MSI Cooperative Science Center program.

- The **Department of Agriculture** announced a \$262.5 million investment to support 33 projects across U.S. institutions of higher education designed to train the next generation of diverse agricultural professionals. Through the [USDA NextGen program](#), the projects are led by 1890 land-grant institutions (historically Black land-grant universities), 1994 land-grant institutions (Tribal Colleges and Universities, Alaska Native-Serving Institutions and Native Hawaiian-Serving Institutions, Hispanic-Serving Institutions), and institutions of higher education located in the Insular Areas. This historic investment will provide training and support to more than 20,000 future food and agricultural leaders through 33 projects executed by more than 60 institutions across 24 states and Insular Areas.
- The **Department of Energy** announced the inaugural \$7.75 million [Historically Black Colleges and Universities \(HBCU\) Clean Energy Education Prize](#), a competition that will support HBCUs in developing programming to strengthen the participation of K-12 and community college students in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields. The competition, which has announced its first 10 winning [HBCU teams](#), is supporting the creation of clean energy community networks to inspire the next generation of students to work in STEM fields related to clean energy.
- The **Department of Education** provided nearly \$25 million to HBCUs under the Research and Development Infrastructure program to transform their research infrastructure, including strengthening research productivity, faculty expertise, physical infrastructure, and partnerships leading to increases in external funding.
- The **Department of Transportation** announced Prairie View A&M University in Texas as the first-ever HBCU to lead a [University Transportation Center](#). Prairie View A&M and 11 other HBCUs were among 34 schools to receive a portion of a \$435 million grant for development of interoperable technology systems, which allow equipment, software, and applications to work together, communicate,

and exchange data.

- The **National Aeronautics and Space Administration** is pioneering efforts to close opportunity gaps in STEM, including [nearly \\$12 million for eight HBCUs to support programs in artificial intelligence and machine learning](#) and create a more diverse pipeline of talent for careers in data-intensive space-based Earth science.
- The **White House Initiative on Advancing Educational Equity, Excellence, and Economic Opportunity through HBCUs** established the [Executive HBCU Space Lab](#), a new collaboration between HBCUs, the Federal government, and industry partners to increase HBCU engagement in space-related federal contracting. The Executive HBCU Space Lab is a solutions-oriented initiative that will release resources including SpaceTechConnect, a free platform to highlight space-related capabilities at HBCUs.
- The **Department of Health and Human Services National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences** established [HBCU-Connect](#), a new initiative with HBCUs to inspire the development of environmental health science leaders from diverse backgrounds. HBCU-Connect is a multifaceted effort to strengthen ties between the institute and faculty and students at academic institutions that are often underrepresented in the sciences.
- The **Department of Health and Human Services Health Resources and Services Administration's Maternal and Child Health Bureau** launched the [Maternal Health Research Collaborative for MSIs](#), providing roughly \$30M in research support to seven HBCUs over five years. The funding will build capacity of HBCUs to conduct Black maternal health research to fully understand and address the root causes of disparities in maternal mortality, severe maternal morbidity, and maternal health outcomes; and to find community-based solutions to address these disparities and advance health equity.

- The **Department of Health and Human Services National Institutes of Health** funding to HBCUs totaled \$147.5 million to support research, training, research capacity building, and outreach efforts. NIH funding included endowment awards to strengthen the research infrastructure of the HBCU award recipients to conduct minority health and health disparities research. Other NIH funding has assisted several HBCUs in contributing towards building a diverse scientific workforce, including mentorship and student training programs and career development opportunities for faculty.
- The **National Science Foundation** launched Advancing Research Capacity at HBCUs through Exploration and Innovation (ARC-HBCU) to support participation in an intensive, facilitated workshop that brings together HBCU faculty, staff, research administrators and academic leadership focused on exploration of innovative and promising approaches for addressing the research capacity needs of HBCUs.
- The **National Science Foundation**, as part of Growing Research Access for Nationally Transformative Equity and Diversity (GRANTED) initiative, awarded an Atlanta-based HBCU consortium a \$14 million competitive grant to establish a hub that promotes equity in the national research ecosystem and serves as a model for other HBCUs and emerging research institutions. The consortium includes Spelman College, Morehouse College, Morehouse School of Medicine, and Clark Atlanta University.
- The **National Science and Technology Council's Committee on STEM**, in support of the CHIPS and Science Act, established an Interagency Working Group (IWG) on HBCU, TCU, and MSI STEM Achievement. The Council provides a coordinated federal approach to carry out sustained outreach activities to increase clarity, transparency, and accountability for federal research agency investments in STEM education and research at HBCUs, TCUs, and MSIs, including such institutions in rural areas.

- The **Department of Housing and Urban Development** announced awards totaling \$5.5 million for HBCUs to conduct housing and community development research to support the production of affordable housing, support homeownership, advance use of renewable energy, and address infrastructure inequity affecting underserved communities.
- The **Department of Justice** has increased both the number of HBCUs applying for grants and its HBCU approval rate. Over the past five years, DOJ's grant awards to HBCUs have increased 83% (from \$900,000 in FY18 to \$5.2 million to HBCUs in FY23).

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 FAST FACTS

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Question:

What data do you have on historically Black colleges and universities in the United States?

Response:

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are institutions that were established prior to 1964 with the principal mission of educating Black Americans ([source](#)). These institutions were founded and developed in an environment of legal segregation and, by providing access to higher education, they contributed substantially to the progress Black Americans made in improving their status ([source](#)).

In 2022, there were 99 HBCUs located in 19 states, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Of the 99 HBCUs, 50 were public institutions and 49 were private nonprofit institutions ([source](#)). The number of HBCU students increased by 47 percent (from 223,000 to 327,000 students) between 1976 and 2010, then decreased by 11 percent (to 289,000 students) between 2010 and 2022 ([source](#)). However, the number of HBCU students was about the same in 2022 as it was just prior to the coronavirus pandemic in 2019 (also rounded to 289,000 students). In comparison, the number of students in all degree-granting institutions increased 91 percent (from 11.0 million to 21.0 million students) between 1976 and 2010, then decreased 12 percent (to 18.6 million students) between 2010 and 2022 ([source](#)).

Although HBCUs were originally founded to educate Black students, they enroll students of other races as well. The composition of HBCUs has changed over time. In 2022, non-Black students made up 24 percent of enrollment at HBCUs, compared with 15 percent in 1976 ([source](#)).¹

Black enrollment at HBCUs fluctuated between 1976 and 2022, with a peak in 2010 (266,000 students). Meanwhile, the total number of Black students enrolled in all degree-granting postsecondary institutions (both HBCUs and non-HBCUs) was more than twice as high in 2022 as in 1976, despite annual declines since its peak in 2011 (3.1 million students), including throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. In contrast, although Black enrollment in HBCUs fell from 219,000 in 2019 to 212,000 in 2020, it rebounded to 219,000 in 2022. As a result, the percentage of Black students enrolled at HBCUs fell from 18 percent in 1976 to a low of 8 percent in 2014, then rose to 9 percent, where it has remained through 2022 ([source](#), [source](#), and [source](#)).

Female enrollment at HBCUs has been higher than male enrollment in every year since 1976. The percentage of female enrollment at HBCUs increased from 53 percent in 1976 to 64 percent in 2022. Also in 2022, some 88 percent of HBCU students attended 4-year institutions, while the remaining 12 percent attended 2-year institutions. About 77 percent of HBCU students attended public institutions, while the remaining 23 percent attended private nonprofit institutions ([source](#)).

In academic year 2021–22, some 48,800 degrees were conferred by HBCUs: 11 percent were associate's degrees, about two-thirds were bachelor's degrees (67 percent), 16 percent were master's degrees, and 6 percent were doctor's degrees. Of the degrees conferred by HBCUs, the majority (74 percent) were conferred to Black students. Black students earned 44 percent of the 5,300 associate's degrees, 81 percent of the 32,800 bachelor's degrees, 70 percent of the 7,600 master's degrees, and 61 percent of the 3,000 doctor's degrees conferred by HBCUs in 2021–22. Of all degrees conferred by HBCUs to Black students, more than two-thirds were conferred to female students (69 percent) ([source](#)).

Of all the bachelor's and master's degrees conferred to Black students, the percentage conferred by HBCUs has decreased over time. For example, HBCUs conferred 35 percent of the bachelor's degrees and 21 percent of the master's degrees Black students earned in 1976–77, compared with 13 and 5 percent, respectively, in 2021–22 ([source](#), [source](#), [source](#), and [source](#)). Additionally, the percentage of Black doctor's degree recipients who received their degrees from HBCUs was lower in 2021–22 (10 percent) than in 1976–77 (14 percent) ([source](#), [source](#), and [source](#)).

The total revenue for HBCUs in 2021–22 was \$10.7 billion, with \$1.9 billion from student tuition and fees. Total expenditures were \$9.9 billion, of which \$2.3 billion was spent on instruction ([source](#)).

Ninety percent of all undergraduate students at HBCUs received some type of financial aid² in 2019–20. Specifically, 83 percent received grants,³ 65 percent took out student loans,⁴ 4 percent received work-study awards,⁵ 2 percent received federal veterans education benefits,⁶ and 18 percent had parents who took out federal Direct PLUS Loans ([source](#)).

Among undergraduates at HBCUs who received any financial aid in 2019–20, the average total amount received was \$17,300. The average amount received from grants was \$9,200, and the average amount received from loans directly to students was \$7,700 ([source](#)).

Student financial aid comes from federal, state, and institutional sources. Among undergraduates at HBCUs in 2019–20, 82 percent received federal aid, 27 percent received state aid, and 35 percent received institution aid ([source](#)). The average amounts for students receiving financial aid from these sources were \$13,200, \$3,400, and \$6,400, respectively ([source](#)).

¹ Data come from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). Prior to 2010, IPEDS required institutions to report all students as belonging to a single racial/ethnic group (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian/Alaska Native). From 1992 to 2009, under this single-choice design, the percentage of non-Black students fluctuated between 17 and 18 percent. Beginning in 2010, IPEDS asks institutions to separately report students of single racial/ethnic backgrounds and those of two or more races. Since this reporting change, students reported as Two or more races have been included in the percentage of non-Black students. Although students reported as Two or more races may be Black (and another race), it is not possible to determine that with the available data.

² Aid includes all types of financial aid from any source except parents, friends, or relatives. Direct PLUS Loans to parents and other types of aid such as veterans benefits and job training funds are included, but federal tax credits for education are not included. Aid does not include emergency aid related to COVID-19.

PLUS Loans to parents or other forms of financing such as credit cards, home equity loans, or loans from individuals.

Work-study includes federal, state, and institution work-study.

Federal veterans education benefits include benefits to dependents. Amounts are based on Veterans Benefits Administration data. Interpret this estimate with caution. It is unstable, or less precise, because the standard error is more than 30 percent but less than 50 percent of the estimate.

Related Tables and Figures: (Listed by Release Date)

- 2024, Digest of Education Statistics 2023, Table 302.20. Percentage of recent high school completers enrolled in college, by race/ethnicity and level of institution: 1960 through 2022
- 2024, Digest of Education Statistics 2023, Table 302.60. Percentage of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in college, by level of institution and sex and race/ethnicity of student: 1970 through 2022
- 2024, Digest of Education Statistics 2023, Table 306.10. Total fall enrollment in degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by level of enrollment, sex, attendance status, and race/ethnicity or nonresident status of student: Selected years, 1976 through 2022
- 2024, Digest of Education Statistics 2023, Table 318.45. No. & % distribution of STEM degrees/certificates conferred by postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity, level of degree/certificate, & sex of student: Academic years 2012–13 through 2021–22

Other Resources: (Listed by Release Date)

- 2024, White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities
- 2022, NCES Blog: Research Roundup: NCES Celebrates Black History Month
- 2019, Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2018
- 2016, First-Time Postsecondary Students in 2011–12: A Profile
- 2012, Higher Education: Gaps in Access and Persistence Study
- 2007, Characteristics of Minority-Serving Institutions and Minority Undergraduates Enrolled in These Institutions
- 2006, Economic Impact of the Nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities
- 2004, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 2001
- 1985, The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education 1860 to 1982

Opportunities, challenges specific to HBCUs highlighted during inaugural HBCU Advance

nacacnet.org/opportunities-challenges-specific-to-hbcus-highlighted-during-inaugural-hbcu-advance/



By Rachel Williams, NACAC Communications

Arlington, VA (June 12, 2024) – To be well positioned for the future, historically Black colleges and universities should build systems and processes that serve their unique missions instead of caving to pressure to conform to the systems built by predominantly white institutions.

That was one of the key takeaways from NACAC’s inaugural HBCU Advance on June 10 at Coppin State University in Baltimore, Maryland.

“Soul food didn’t come from emulating white chefs. Good Black research won’t come from imitating white researchers,” said keynote speaker Ivory Toldson, chief of research at Concentric Educational Solutions and professor of counseling psychology at Howard University.

HBCU Advance was designed to build off the success of the HBCU Roundtable session at NACAC Conference 2023 and to support HBCU admission offices, celebrate their successes, and bring awareness to their challenges.

Attendees also heard from Coppin State University President Anthony Jenkins and President and CEO of the Thurgood Marshall College Fund Harry Williams. A primary theme of their panel discussion — moderated by NACAC CEO Angel B. Pérez — was change.

Regarding the upcoming demographic cliff, “we have to adjust how we recruit, where we recruit, and who we recruit,” said Jenkins. “Black students make up 75-80 percent of HBCUs, but that’s going to shift in a few years. We’re going to have to grapple with our identities as all institutions are going to be fighting for the same, smaller pool of Black students.”

Attendees of HBCU Advance also heard from speakers about access, affordability, and persistence from the HBCU perspective, and engaged in smaller tabletop exercises where they identified successful practices of HBCUs that can be scaled across all higher education, challenges in reaching prospective students, and how policymakers and institutional leadership can support HBCU admission offices.

Organizing HBCU Advance was a strategic initiative of NACAC, which has been identifying new ways to support its diverse members and communities within college admission counseling. In addition to Coppin State, Morgan State University, University of Maryland Eastern Shore, Bowie State University, Spelman College, Howard University, University of the Virgin Islands, and Delaware State University HBCUs were represented at the event, as well as community-based organizations, secondary and postsecondary admission professionals, and independent educational consultants.

“HBCUs continue to occupy a unique and vibrant space within the higher education landscape,” said John Hollemon, director of diversity, equity, and inclusion at NACAC. “As we talked to the NACAC membership, it became clear that we needed to provide space to acknowledge and address the unique needs of our HBCU community, while celebrating its diverse experiences and perspectives to cultivate best practices, progression, inclusivity, and distinction.”

What Are HBCU Colleges? Facts About Historically Black Colleges And Universities

Horacio Sierra, Ph.D. : 10-12 minutes : 10/19/2023

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Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are uniquely American institutions. Just as the U.S. would not be the culturally dynamic country it is without jazz music and hip-hop culture, its intellectual and political landscapes would be weaker without the contributions of HBCU colleges.

Although [HBCUs](#) have been around since the 1830s, they have received newfound interest in the past few years thanks to HBCU alum Kamala Harris' election to vice president of the United States and the recent Black Lives Matter movement.

While HBCUs account for less than 3% of America's colleges and universities, they enroll 9% of America's Black college students, according to data from the [National Center for Education Statistics](#) (NCES).

What Is an HBCU?

The U.S. Department of Education defines an HBCU as a college or university established before 1964 with the primary mission of educating Black students.

Origins

Most HBCUs are located in the American South, going as far west as Texas and Oklahoma and even as far north as Ohio and Pennsylvania. These institutions were founded by activists and philanthropists who understood the transformative powers of a formal education and wanted to extend such opportunities to Black Americans.

HBCUs have traditionally been seen as safe and nurturing spaces for Black students, given that the majority of their students, faculty, administration and staff are Black.

Mission

HBCUs have grown in size and stature since the 19th century, enrolling around 287,000 students as of 2021. Though these schools have long accepted students of any race or ethnicity, they are still guided by a mission to educate, uplift and empower the Black community.

As bastions of Black intellectualism, they serve as epicenters of Black empowerment and intersectional social justice movements. Public intellectuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois, who authored groundbreaking texts such as *The Souls of Black Folk* and *The Talented Tenth*, and Toni Morrison, who won the Pulitzer and Nobel prizes and authored the novels *Sula* and *Beloved*, attended HBCUs for undergrad.

Looking Forward

HBCUs have been experiencing a recent renaissance thanks to Millennial and Gen-Z students raised on economic and social justice movements such as Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter. Compared to their predecessors, these students are generally more aware of the issues surrounding racial inequity in the United States and have less tolerance for such offenses.

A Brief HBCU History

HBCUs were founded in the 19th and 20th centuries to offer Black Americans opportunities to earn college degrees when, at the time, most predominantly white institutions (PWIs) refused to admit them. Several HBCUs started as colleges of education, intending for graduates to go on to teach Black Americans at all grade levels.

Most HBCUs were founded after the Civil War; [Clark Atlanta University](#), for example, became the first HBCU in the American South when founded in 1865. HBCUs became sanctuaries of higher education for Black students from Reconstruction through the Civil Rights Movement.

The successes of the Civil Rights Movement led to better federal funding and resources for many HBCUs, leading to a 47% enrollment increase between 1976 and 2010. By 2021, non-Black learners made up 25% of HBCU student enrollment, compared to 15% in 1976.

Amid renewed attention toward HBCUs, students and administrators are fighting for financial equity. Having been underfunded for centuries, several public HBCUs are suing their state governments for financial compensation.

After a 15-year lawsuit, a coalition of Maryland's four public HBCUs resulted in a \$577 million settlement from the state in 2021. Inspired, Florida A&M University students recently sued the state of Florida for chronic underfunding of their HBCU.

Philanthropists such as Mackenzie Scott and the HBCU Transformation Project have also joined the fray by boosting HBCUs' endowments to help fund student scholarships and capital improvement projects.

HBCU Fast Facts

- You can find 99 HBCUs across 19 states, the District of Columbia and the U.S. Virgin Islands. (Source: NCES)
- Cheyney University of Pennsylvania became the first HBCU when it was founded in 1837.
- Of all degrees awarded by HBCUs, nearly 75% go to Black students, but HBCUs accept students of any race or ethnicity. (Source: NCES)
- Although HBCUs represent a small percentage of America's higher education landscape, they graduate nearly 50% of Black teachers, 70% of Black doctors and dentists, and 80% of Black lawyers. (Source: [U.S. Department of Education](#))
- One-third of HBCUs received their largest donations to date after the death of George Floyd and the resulting racial justice protests in 2020. (Source: [WeAreHBCUs](#))
- With 14 HBCUs, Alabama is the state with the most HBCUs. (Source: [Advance Local](#))

Reasons To Consider an HBCU

If the goal of all HBCUs were to be summed up in one phrase, it would be: student success. Whether public or private, a research powerhouse or a teaching-oriented liberal arts college, any HBCU's goal is to prepare its students to thrive as intellectuals, professionals and thoughtful citizens.

Intellectual and Activist Community

Is it any surprise that HBCUs produce nearly half of America's Black teachers? With two of the early 20th century's most important American intellectuals—W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington—having attended HBCUs, these institutions have long offered a sanctuary for Black intellectuals and a hub for Black activism.

Look at the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, the Black power movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the Black Lives Matter protests of the 2010s and 2020s, and you'll find the leaders of Black political initiatives have often come from HBCUs.

Alumni Success

The strength of HBCU alumni networks is evident in the number of HBCU graduates who thrive in professions where networking is key. The [National HBCU Alumni Alliance](#) reports that HBCUs have produced about 40% of Black engineers, 40% of Black members of Congress, 50% of Black lawyers, 70% of Black doctors, and 80% of Black judges in America.

Moreover, a [Gallup poll](#) indicates that Black HBCU graduates are more likely to report better financial well-being and a stronger sense of purpose than those who attended non-HBCUs.

Boosting Student Confidence

HBCU professors are known for investing their energy to effectively teach, mentor and uplift their students. And the results are clear: [A study published in the *Journal of General Internal Medicine*](#) found that Black medical students who attended HBCUs reported higher levels of confidence than those at PWIs.

HBCUs provide students with the knowledge and skills needed to succeed in their chosen field, also boosting their confidence and self-esteem for their future careers.

Diversity and Inclusion

When PWIs refer to diversity initiatives, they often mean racial diversity. But because the Black community is not a monolith, diversity campaigns take different forms at HBCUs.

HBCUs celebrate the diversity of the African diaspora by including Afro-Latinos, African-born students and Black students from countries with small Black populations. And just like PWIs, HBCUs have made an effort to account for student differences when it comes to class, sexuality, religion, disability and other identity markers, ensuring no one feels like an outsider.

Financial Resources

HBCU students qualify for the same federal student aid programs as students at other institutions. However, HBCUs also receive special federal funding carved out just for HBCUs, thanks to The Higher Education Act of 1965. This expands funding opportunities for HBCUs.

The Biden-Harris Administration has invested more than \$7 billion in HBCUs and their relationships with various government agencies, all with the aim of bolstering internship and job opportunities for HBCU students.

Additionally, philanthropic organizations that support the Black community such as the United Fund, NAACP and the Thurgood Marshall Fund offer specialized programs for HBCU students and administrators.

Affordability

HBCUs make a concerted effort to offer an affordable college experience. In 2022, NCES reported that tuition and fees for in-state students at HBCUs cost \$9,900 per year, compared to around \$11,160 for in-state learners at all higher ed institutions.

The [Thurgood Marshall College Fund](#) reports that 52% of HBCU students are first-generation college students, who often come from lower-income backgrounds. As such, low tuition costs are a major draw for prospective HBCU students.

Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) About HBCU Colleges

What does HBCU mean in college?

HBCU stands for historically Black college or university. This federal designation applies to colleges and universities that were founded before 1964 to educate Black students in a time when other colleges and universities refused to admit them. Although students of any race or ethnicity can attend an HBCU, “historically” is used in the designation to honor the legacy of these colleges.

How many HBCUs are there?

The U.S. Department of Education recognizes 99 colleges and universities as HBCUs, 50 of them are public and 49 of them are private. HBCUs are located in 19 U.S. states, the District of Columbia and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Who are some famous HBCU alumni?

Prominent HBCU alums include Vice President Kamala Harris (Howard University), media mogul Oprah Winfrey (Tennessee State University), astronaut Christa McAuliffe (Bowie State University), U.S. Senator Raphael Warnock (Morehouse College), NAACP co-founder W.E.B. Du Bois (Fisk University), comedian Wanda Sykes (Hampton University), and singer Erykah Badu (Grambling State University).



ASIAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER-SERVING INSTITUTIONS (AANAPISI)

The U.S. Congress established the Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution (AANAPISI) designation in 2007. To be designated an AANAPISI and receive federal grants, an accredited institution must have at least 10 percent of its full-time undergraduate enrollment identify as Asian American and/or Pacific Islanders. Students of all races and ethnicities can attend an AANAPISI.

AANAPISI



LIST OF DESIGNATED AND ACCREDITED AANAPISI SCHOOLS FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

<https://www2.ed.gov/programs/aanapi/awards.html>

Fact:

AANAPISIs award almost half of the associate's degrees and approximately one-quarter of the bachelor's degrees attained by Asian and Pacific Islander American (APIA) college students.

- Some students are eligible to receive scholarships if they identify as an Asian American or Pacific Islander.
- These scholarships can be available through an institution or through organizations focused on equity.
- APIA Scholars Organization, the Center for Minority Serving Institutions, the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, and the National Institute for Transformation and Equity provide scholarships, advocate, and commit to sharing resources.

“

AANAPISIs are critical sites for responding to the changing demography of higher education, which is being driven, in part, by the Asian American Pacific Islander population, which continues to be the fastest growing population in the nation. These institutions are on the front line of and provide important lessons for expanding opportunities and reducing barriers to higher education for low-income Asian American Pacific Islander students.

- University of California, Los Angeles

”



ASIAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER-SERVING INSTITUTIONS

The Asian American Pacific Islander community is the fastest growing population in the United States. The U.S. government provides grants that enable AANAPISIs to improve their academic quality, increase self-sufficiency, and strengthen their capacity to contribute to U.S. higher education.



An AANAPSI and all minority-serving Institutions may use federal funding to:

- Purchase scientific or laboratory equipment.
- Renovate and improve classrooms, libraries, and other instructional facilities.
- Support faculty exchange and faculty development.
- Provide academic tutoring, counseling programs, and student support services.
- Provide academic instruction in disciplines in which Asian Americans and Native American Pacific Islanders are underrepresented.
- Conduct research and data collection for Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander populations and subpopulations.
- Establish an endowment fund.
- Establish partnerships with community-based organizations serving Asian Americans and Native American Pacific Islanders.
- Enhance education or counseling services designed to improve the financial and economic literacy of students or the students' families.
- Establish or improve a development office to strengthen or improve contributions from alumni and the private sector.
- Create or improve facilities for internet or other distance learning academic instruction capabilities, including purchase or rental of telecommunications technology equipment or services.

Sources

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AANAPISI | Thriving

4-5 minutes

The AANAPISI designation gives UC Berkeley the opportunity to expand the support, resources, and services we offer to Asian American and Pacific Islander (AA & PI) people and communities across our campus by creating institutional infrastructures and inclusive cultures.

In March 2023, UC Berkeley filed an Institutional Exemption Application for Title III/Title V programs with the Department of Education. Title III/Title V programs include the [Developing Hispanic-Serving Institution \(HSI\) Program\(link is external\)\(link is external\)\(link is external\)](#) and the [Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution \(AANAPISI\) Program\(link is external\)\(link is external\)\(link is external\)](#). The Division of Equity and Inclusion led this work in partnership with the Berkeley Research Development Office. A partner in this work has also been the Asian American and Pacific Islander Standing Committee (AAPISC) which released a 2021 report titled "[Twenty Years Later: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders at UC Berkeley\(PDF file\)\(link is external\)\(link is external\)\(link is external\)](#)," that included several recommendations, one of which was the pursuit of AANAPISI designation for our campus.

In April 2023, the U.S. Department of Education notified our campus that our application was approved, granting UC Berkeley an AANAPISI designation and making it a Minority Serving Institution (MSI) for the first time. This development also brings us closer to achieving federal designation as an HSI institution since we will have waived all other requirements besides the threshold percentage of Latinx students on campus.

The University's investment in pursuing the AANAPISI / MSI designation demonstrates its commitment to improving the educational experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AA & PI) students, and creating a more inclusive and equitable campus for all. With the possible support of competitive grant funds, UC Berkeley will increase its capacity to address the diverse and complex needs of AA & PI students, faculty, and staff in service to our whole campus community.

The Division of Equity & Inclusion and the Division of Research are partnering on campus-wide coordination of AANAPISI and MSI-related grant opportunities, working to inform faculty, staff, and students about relevant grant opportunities.

AANAPISI Executive Sponsors

- Dania Matos (she/her/ella), Vice Chancellor of Equity & Inclusion
- Kathy Yelick (she/her), Vice Chancellor of Research

AANAPISI Leadership & Coordinating Committee

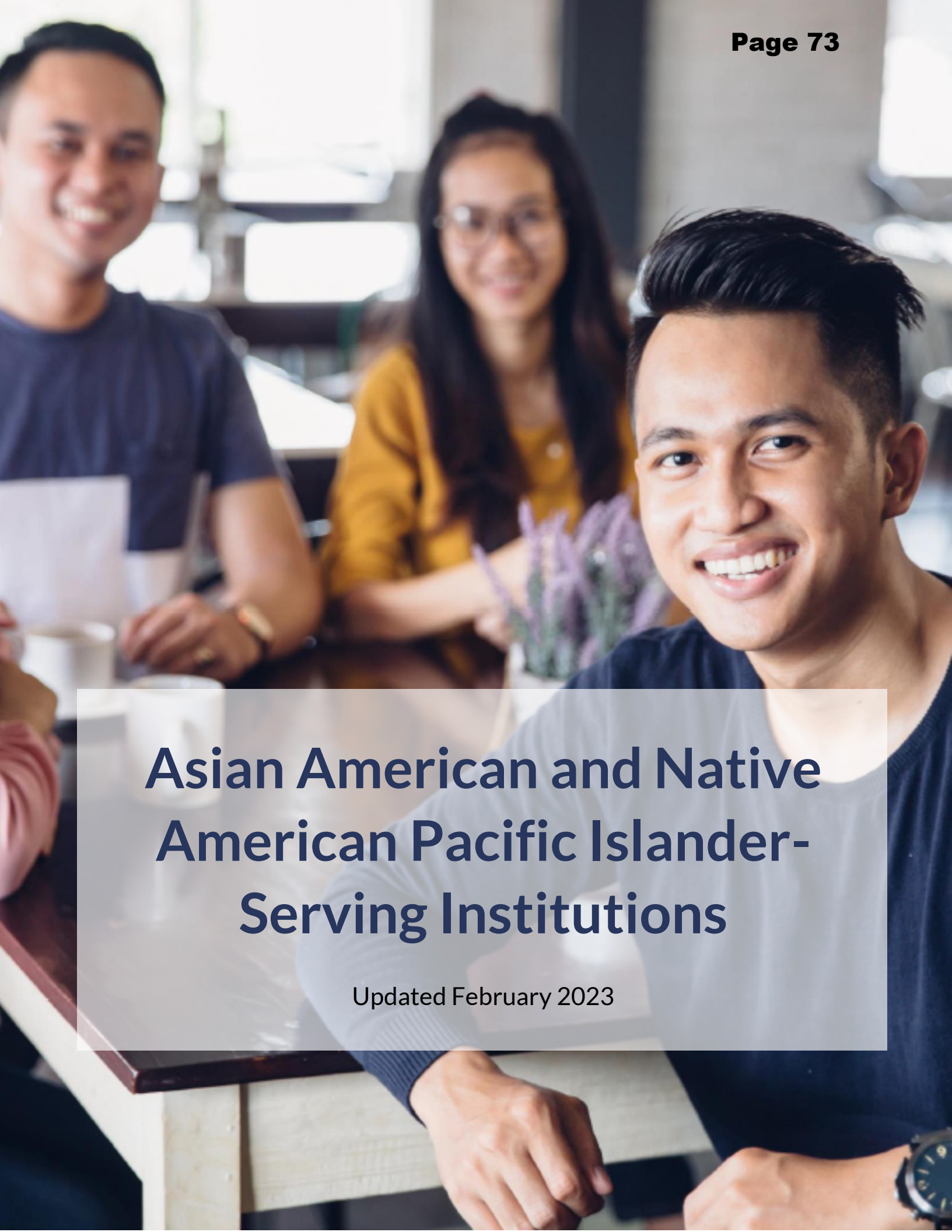
- Elisa Diana Huerta (they/them), AANAPISI/MSI Principal Investigator; Associate Vice Chancellor, Centers for Educational Justice & Community Engagement
- Melisa Bautista (she/her), Director of Asian Pacific American Student Development (APASD), AANAPISI Grant Project Director
- Andrew Eppig (he/him), Director of Equity Data Initiatives
- Lisa Hirai Tsuchitani (she/her), Director of Engagement, AA & PI Thriving Initiatives
- Liliana Iglesias (she/her), Director of Organizational Transformation, Latinx Thriving Initiatives and Director, Undocumented Student Program
- Panos Vagenas (he/him), Deputy Director of Research Development

Topics

Upcoming Events & Opportunities

Inaugural Critical Southeast Asian American Studies Artist in Residence

Announcing: Critical Pacific Islander and Critical Southeast Asian American Studies Research Fellowships

A photograph of three people sitting at a table in a bright, indoor setting. In the foreground, a young man with dark hair, wearing a dark blue t-shirt, is smiling broadly at the camera. Behind him, a woman with long dark hair and glasses, wearing a yellow top, is also smiling. To the left, another man with short dark hair, wearing a dark blue t-shirt, is smiling. The table has some white cups and a small potted plant with purple flowers. The background is slightly blurred, showing shelves and other indoor elements.

Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander- Serving Institutions

Updated February 2023



The Postsecondary National Policy Institute (PNPI) provides current and prospective policymakers with a substantive and collegial foundation on which to build federal higher education policies that drive positive outcomes for students and their families.

For more information, please visit pnpi.org.

Contents

Summary	4
History of Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions	4
Current Legislation on Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions	4
Types of Institutions	5
Enrollment.....	7
Finance and Federal Financial Aid	8
Federal Financial Aid to Students	8
Federal Student Debt	9
HEA Funding.....	11
Higher Education Emergency Relief Funds	12
Outcomes and Impact	12
Conclusion.....	14
Sources	15

Clicking the PNPI Logo at the top-right of each page will return you to this
table of contents

Summary

Since receiving federal grant funding and recognition in 2007 and 2008, Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs) have been serving students who were historically disenfranchised from the U.S. higher education system. Primarily public two- and four-year institutions, AANAPISIs educated 33% of all Asian American or Pacific Islander (AAPI) students in fall 2020. Currently present in 27 states and territories, they are clustered mostly on the west coast and in Hawaii and the Pacific territories, as well as New York.

History of Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions

The College Cost Reduction and Access Act of 2007 established federal funds for Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs), including AANAPISIs and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs), Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), and Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs).¹ During the reauthorization of the Higher Education Opportunity Act (HEOA) in 2008, AANAPISIs were [authorized](#), with specific eligibility and use requirements codified in [2009](#) into Title III, Parts A and F of the HEA. These acts established a limited pool of federal funds for which eligible institutions could apply with the specific intent of increasing the ability of institutions to serve AAPI students.

Current Legislation on Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions

The AANAPISI program allows eligible institutions of higher education to improve their academic quality, increase their self-sufficiency, and strengthen their capacity to make a substantial contribution to the success of AAPI students.²

To be eligible for AANAPISI status, an institution's undergraduate student enrollment must be at least 10% Asian American or Native American Pacific Islander. In addition to being an accredited institution, schools need to demonstrate that at least half of their enrolled students received federal financial aid and must maintain less-than-average expenditures per FTE student. Institutions that meet these standards can apply to be designated as an AANAPISI by the U.S. Department of Education. Once an institution has been designated as an AANAPISI, they may apply for discretionary grants up to \$350,000 per year for five years, with a cumulative maximum award of \$1,750,000.³

¹ See [Public Law 110-84, Section J](#) for the full text of the act pertaining to AANAPISIs.

² See the U.S. Department of Education [AANAPISI Program](#) page. An institution of higher education (IHE) may have a Title V, Part A, HSI grant and a Title III, Part F, AANAPISI grant simultaneously. An institution may not have a Title V, Part A and Title III, Part A simultaneously. An institution can have any Title III, Part F grants simultaneously.

³ See the U.S. Department of Education [AANAPISI FAQ](#).

AANAPISI grants encourage schools to provide students with support services, develop summer bridge programs between two-year and four-year colleges and universities, strengthen student advising and academic support, provide professional development to faculty, and develop an endowment fund to meet costs for maintenance and technological upgrades. AANAPISI funding also provides resources to increase access to leadership development, create first-year experience programs, establish student learning communities, and provide mentorship opportunities for students. AANAPISI dollars may be used to conduct research on the AAPI population and to provide staff development opportunities to help AANAPISI administrators, faculty, and campus personnel better understand the complexities of the AAPI communities.⁴

Table 1: HEA Titles That Apply to AANAPISIs

HEA Title & Section	Purpose	AANAPISI Eligibility	Most Recent Funding Amount
Title III, Part A	“Used by AANAPISIs to assist such institutions to plan, develop, undertake, and carry out activities to improve and expand such institutions’ capacity to serve Asian Americans and Native American Pacific Islanders and low-income individuals.”	Institutions must submit enrollment data to the U.S. Department of Education to establish AANAPISI designation. After the designation, institutions submit an application for the grant that includes a five-year plan of action.	FY 2023: \$18.6M
Title III, Part F	The purposes of Part F are the same as Part A. The key difference is that Part A constitutes discretionary spending, while Part F is mandatory spending.	The same as Part A.	FY 2023: \$5M

In FY 2021, the most recent available data for specific grant awardees, 32 AANAPISIs received funding, for a total distribution of \$9.6 million dollars, an increase of \$839,326 from FY 2020, when 28 grants were awarded. A complete list of currently funded AANAPISIs can be found [here](#).⁵

Types of Institutions⁶

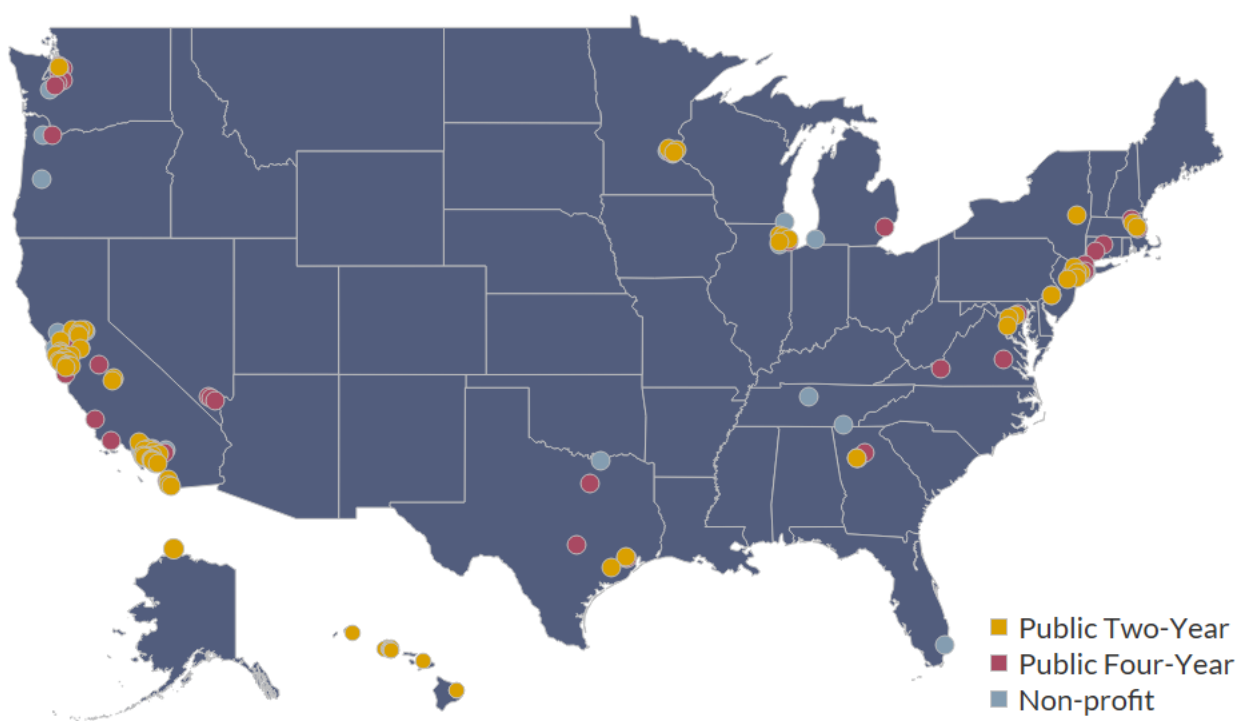
There are AANAPISIs in 27 states and territories. AANAPISIs are clustered mostly on the west coast or in Hawaii and the Pacific territories, with New York being the notable exception. California has the greatest number with 87, followed by New York with 20, Hawaii with 13, and Washington state with 10. California’s 87 AANAPISIs comprise 43.7% of all AANAPISIs, and their total enrollment of 1,160,573 in fall 2020 comprised 48% of all AANAPISI enrollment. While AANAPISIs are present in multiple regions of the country, their concentrations reflect the distribution of AAPI residents. Figure 1 shows the geographic distribution of AANAPISIs by institutional sector.

⁴ See the U.S. Department of Education [AANAPISI FAQ](#).

⁵ See the U.S. Department of Education [AANAPISI Program](#) page.

⁶ Institution, enrollment, financial aid, and student outcome data come from the author’s analysis of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) unless otherwise noted.

Figure 1: Map of AANAPISIs

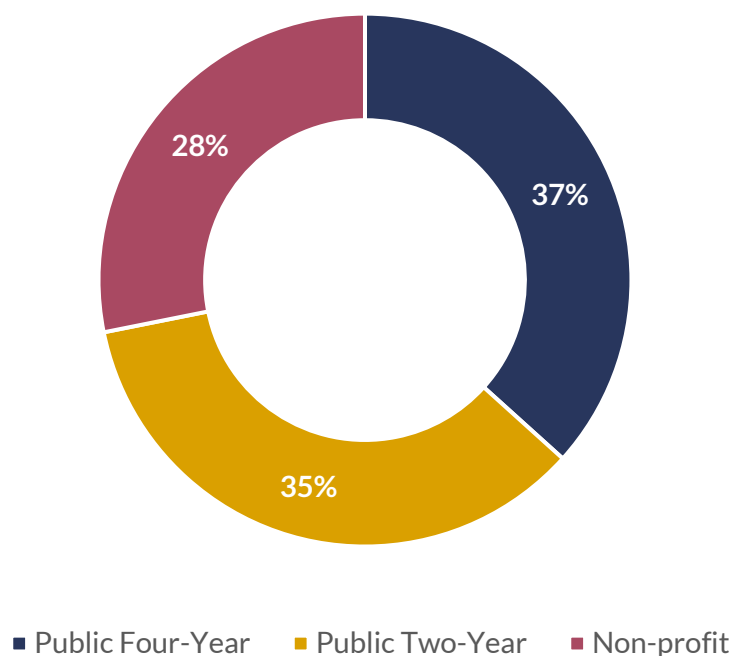


U.S. Territories	Public Two-Year	Public Four-Year	Non-profit
American Samoa		1	
Guam		2	1
Marshall Islands		1	
Micronesia		1	
Northern Marianas Islands		1	
Palau	1		

Source: Author's analysis of IPEDS.

Though AANAPISIs share considerable similarities given that their AANAPISI status is derived from shared enrollment and demographic benchmarks, there is diversity within the sector with regard to institutional type. Of the 199 AANAPISIs, 73 are public four-year institutions, 70 are public two-year institutions, and 56 are private non-profit. Figure 2 shows the distribution of AANAPISIs by sector: Though evenly split when viewing by level, a clear majority are public institutions.

Figure 2: AANAPISIs by Institutional Sector



Source: Author's analysis of IPEDS.

Enrollment⁷

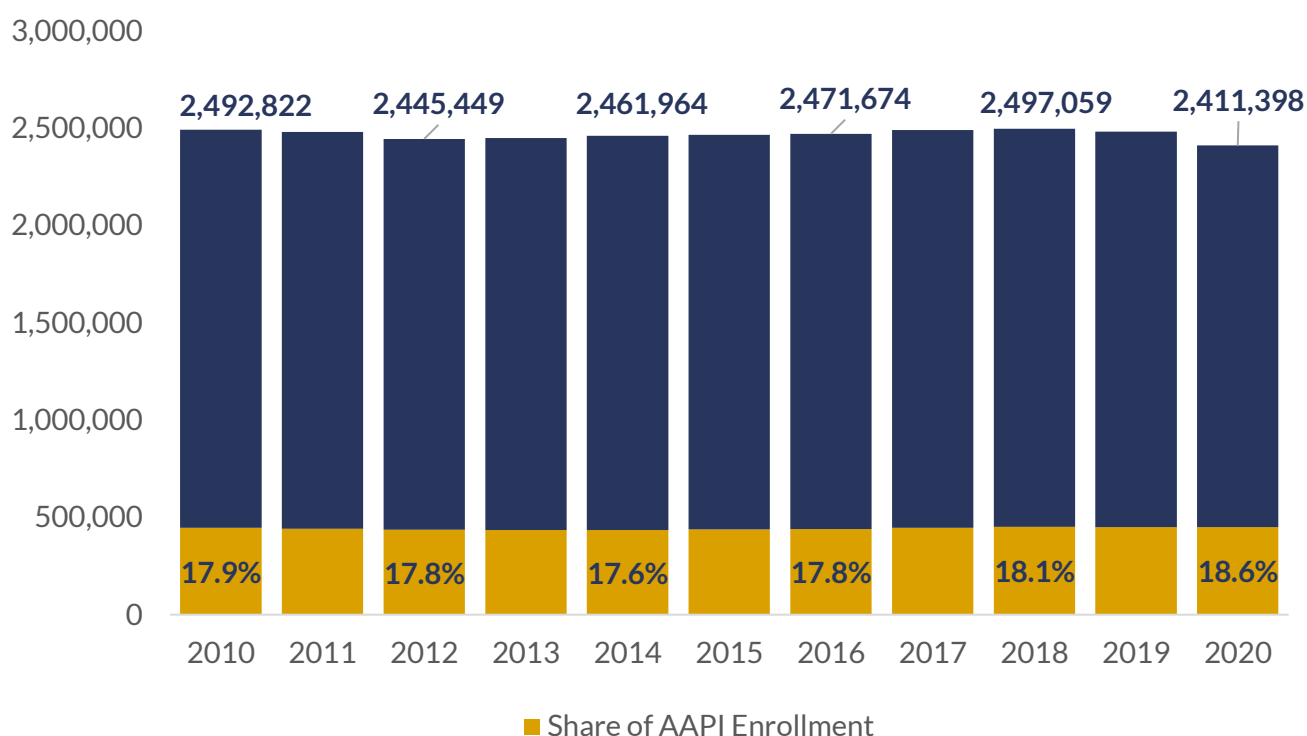
In fall 2020, the 199 designated AANAPISIs enrolled a total of 2,411,398 students, including graduate and professional students, 449,511 (18.6%) of whom were AAPI. In 2020, AANAPISIs educated 33% of all AAPI students enrolled in postsecondary education.⁸ In the past decade, the 199 current AANAPISIs saw a 3.2% decline in total enrollment, which is considerably smaller than the 10.4% decline in total enrollment among all Title IV participating institutions.⁹ Despite these trends, AAPI enrollment at these AANAPISIs increased by 0.5%, while AAPI enrollment across all postsecondary institutions increased by 11.2%. Of the total enrollment at AANAPISIs, 8.9% (or roughly 220,000 students) were enrolled exclusively in courses delivered via distance learning in fall 2019.¹⁰ Non-AANAPISI institutions had much higher total online enrollment, with 17.2% of students enrolled exclusively in distance learning in fall 2019. Figure 3 shows AANAPISI enrollment since 2010 and the share of that enrollment that identified as AAPI.

⁷ For all longitudinal analyses of enrollment, financial aid, and student outcomes, the institutions designated as AANAPISIs in 2022 are included for all years.

⁸ Estimated for all institutions available in IPEDS, including U.S. territories.

⁹ See the Digest of Education Statistics [Table 303.20](#).

¹⁰ Data for fall 2019 was used due to the COVID-19 pandemic resulting in abnormally high online enrollment beginning with fall 2020.

Figure 3: Total Fall Enrollment in AANAPISIs and Share of AAPI Student Enrollment

Source: Author's analysis of IPEDS, 2000–2020.

AANAPISIs have a sizable share of AAPI student enrollment by definition, but they also have considerable racial and ethnic diversity. In fall 2020, AANAPISI institutions were 29.6% Hispanic or Latino, 28.1% white, 9.7% Black, 5.4% non-residents, 5.1% two or more races/ethnicities reported, 3.2% with no reported race/ethnicity, and 0.2% American Indian/Alaska Native.

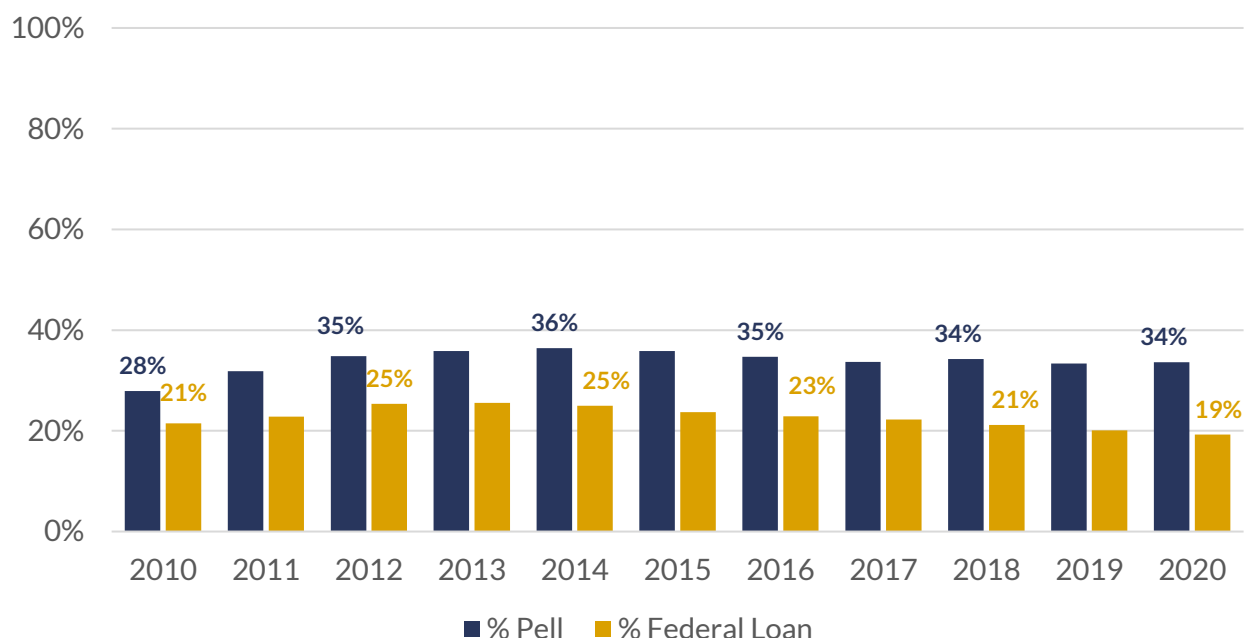
Finance and Federal Financial Aid

Federal Financial Aid to Students

The share of AANAPISI students who are Pell Grant recipients has remained relatively constant over the past decade and was 34% in 2020. Among all institutions in 2020, 34% of students were Pell Grant recipients (33% of public four-year students, 32% of public two-year students, 33% of non-profit students, and 56% of for-profit students). Compared to public and non-profit institutions, Pell students are similarly represented in AANAPISIs.

The share of AANAPISI students who borrowed federal student loans has declined slightly from a high of 25% in 2012 to 19% in 2020. In the past decade, at least one-fifth of AANAPISI students borrowed federal student loans each year. Among all institutions in 2020, 32% of undergraduates borrowed federal student loans (35% of public four-year undergraduates, 12% of public two-year undergraduates, 48% of non-profit undergraduates, and 59% of for-profit undergraduates). Figure 4 shows the share of Pell Grant and federal loan recipients at AANAPISIs for the past decade. In 2020, the average Pell Grant received by an AANAPISI undergraduate was \$4,491, while the average federal loan received by an AANAPISI undergraduate was \$6,312.

Figure 4: Share of Pell Grant and Federal Loan Recipients at AANAPISIs Over Time



Source: Author's analysis of IPEDS, 2010–2020.

At AANAPISIs in 2020, 1.4% of the undergraduate student population were veterans who received funds through the federal G.I. Bill, with the average amount received being \$6,364. The share of G.I. Bill recipients at AANAPISIs is lower than the national rate (2.6%), and considerably lower than for-profit institutions (6.9%), which is the sector with the greatest share.

Federal Student Debt

Table 2 shows an analysis of the College Scorecard data on federal student loan debt. AANAPISIs match closely to the median debt among all institutions. Upon entering repayment, AANAPISI students typically have \$11,500 in federal loan debt; this amount increases to \$15,060 for degree completers. AANAPISI students have much lower rates of default (5.9%) than those at most institutions and are more likely to be making progress on their loans or have their loans completely repaid two years after entering repayment.¹¹ Two years after entering repayment, students at AANAPISIs are nearly six percentage points above the national rate when it comes to making progress on their loans.

¹¹ Making progress is defined as paying enough in monthly payments that the principal amount of the loan is decreasing.

Table 2: Student Loan Debt and Repayment Status by Institutional Sector

	AANAPISIs	Public Four-Year	Public Two-Year	Non- profits	For- profits	All Institutions
Median Debt After Entering Repayment – All Students	\$11,500	\$13,841	\$6,247	\$16,088	\$10,555	\$12,139
Median Debt After Entering Repayment – Completers	\$15,060	\$20,123	\$10,250	\$24,500	\$14,408	\$19,168
Median Debt After Entering Repayment – Pell Recipients	\$11,185	\$14,856	\$6,750	\$18,079	\$10,541	\$12,667
Share of Students in Default Two Years After Entering Repayment	5.9%	6.3%	13.1%	7.7%	10.8%	9.5%
Share of Students Making Progress Two Years After Entering Repayment	25.2%	24.9%	16.5%	18.7%	9.9%	15.8%
Share of Students Paid in Full Two Years After Entering Repayment	10.7%	9.5%	4.1%	6.8%	2.1%	4.9%

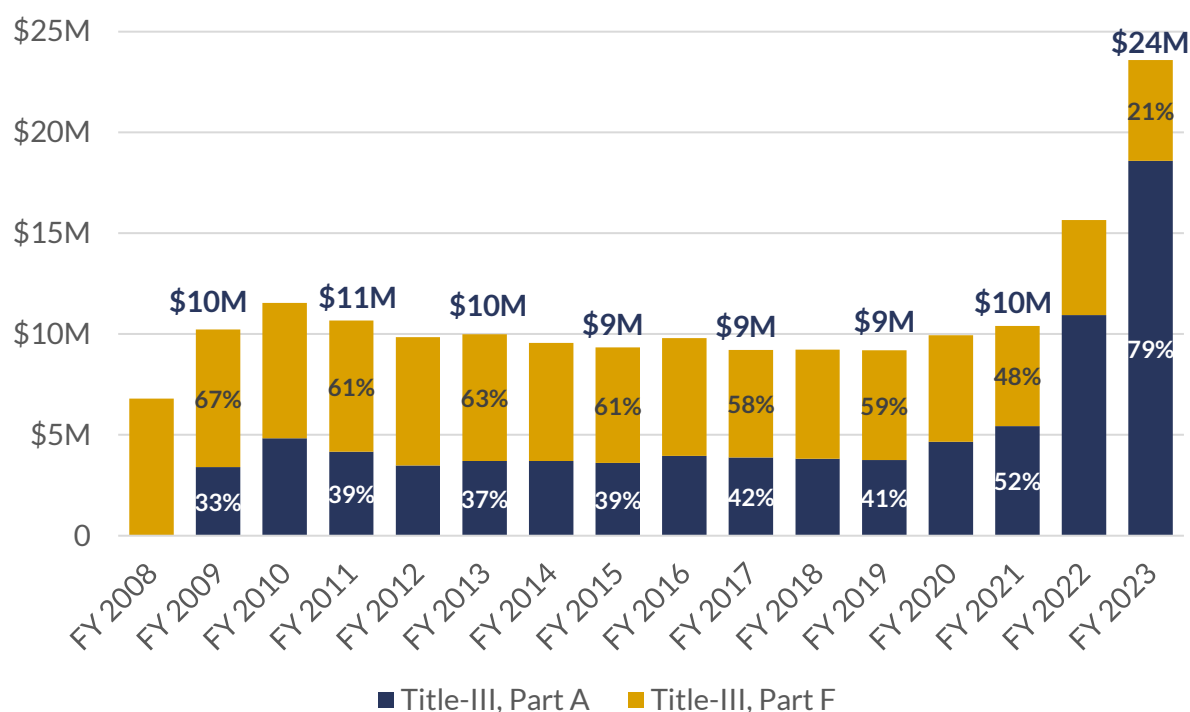
Source: Author's analysis of the College Scorecard.¹²

¹² Though the College Scorecard pulls from national data sets, it is technically an unaudited data source. These data only represent undergraduate federal student loans and excludes Parent PLUS loans. Data are for the 2015–16 and 2016–17 pooled award year cohort.

HEA Funding

AANAPISIs that have successfully applied for and received AANAPISI status by ED are eligible to apply for two grant programs under Title III of the HEA: Title III, Part A and Title III, Part F. The first grant awards to AANAPISIs were awarded in FY 2008. Figure 5 shows total HEA funding to AANAPISIs by Title since these grants were available, adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).¹³ In FY 2021, AANAPISIs received a total of nearly \$10 million in grant funding, 52% of which was distributed through Part A and 48% of which was distributed through Part F. Following a peak in 2010, funding has since declined with the exception of the most recent two fiscal years.

Figure 5: Total HEA Funding to AANAPISIs, by Title



Source: [ED Program Awards Data](#). Amounts adjusted to 2022 dollars using the CPI except for FY 2023, which uses real dollars. FY 2022 and FY 2023 data comes from ED [budget tables](#).

¹³ These funds represent all grants disbursed and, unlike the enrollment and financial aid data in the previous sections, are not necessarily connected to the current 199 AANAPISIs.

Higher Education Emergency Relief Funds

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted thousands of higher education institutions, including AANAPISIs. In response to financial concerns for both students and institutions, Congress enacted the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act, more commonly known as the CARES Act, in March 2020. The CARES Act authorized \$14 billion for the [Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund \(HEERF\)](#),¹⁴ with \$1 billion directed to Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs), including AANAPISIs, through existing programs in Titles III and V. The HEERF also included \$350 million directed to institutions that received less than \$500,000 in overall CARES Act funds through the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE).

In late December 2020, President Trump signed the Coronavirus Response and Relief Supplemental Appropriations (CRRSA) Act into law. The CRRSA Act authorized \$21.2 billion for higher education through the Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund II (HEERF II). The same AANAPISIs that received CARES Act funds were also eligible to receive CRRSA Act funds. In early February 2021, ED began disbursing this aid to institutions.

Most recently, the American Rescue Plan (ARP) provided nearly \$40 billion for colleges and universities, particularly many under-resourced institutions that educate students whose communities were most acutely affected by the pandemic. More than \$13 billion went to MSIs, including AANAPISIs, HSIs, and PBIs.

As of December 2021, 181 AANAPISIs had received \$10 billion in total HEERF funds, \$532 million of which was through Title III, and \$2.2 million of which was through FIPSE. These funds represent CARES, CRRSA, and ARP investments into the HEERF.¹⁵

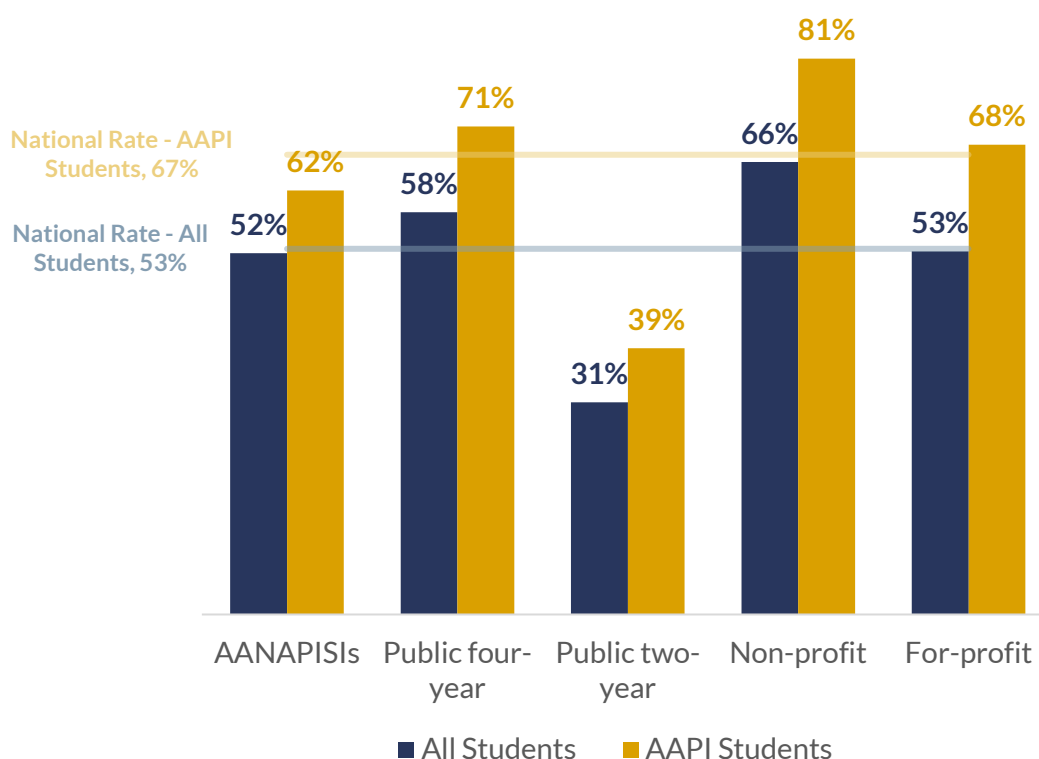
Outcomes and Impact

AANAPISIs confer a greater number of bachelor's degrees (261,838) than associate degrees (138,016). AANAPISIs are also significant degree producers for the AAPI student population. Despite enrolling just 33% of all AAPI college students, AANAPISIs produce 43% of all associate degrees received by AAPI students and 32% of all bachelor's degrees received by AAPI students.

Though AANAPISIs tend to graduate AAPI students at a lower rate than the national 150% time graduation rate, they tend to graduate all students at a rate similar to the national rate. AANAPISIs have lower graduation rates in general and for AAPI students specifically than all public four-year and non-profit institutions, but have greater rates in general and for AAPI students than public two-year institutions. Figure 6 shows graduation rates in 2020 of first-time, full-time students by institutional sector.

¹⁴ For a more detailed analysis of HEERF funding, see [PNPI's COVID-19 Primer](#).

¹⁵ Based on the author's analysis of the Department of Education's [COVID-19 relief funds tracker data](#).

Figure 6: Average Graduation Rates at 150% Time by Sector, 2020¹⁶

Source: Author's analysis of IPEDS.

It is important to contextualize these findings and note that AAPI students are not a monolith; according to the Census definition, the AAPI umbrella represents over 50 different ethnicities that vary greatly in terms of languages, English proficiency, colonial history, immigration patterns, and socioeconomic and first-generation college-going status. When we disaggregate the AAPI category, we see starkly different educational outcomes. For instance, Asian American students have much higher graduation rates, while Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students tend to graduate at a lower rate than the national average. These differences are obscured when looking at overall rates and outcomes.¹⁷

Table 3 shows the average earnings of students 10 years after entering postsecondary education. AANAPISI students earn, on average, around the same as students who attended public four-year institutions. Compared to all institutions, AANAPISI students typically earn \$3,900 more per year 10 years after entering postsecondary education.

¹⁶ 150% time means six-year graduation rate for four-year institutions and three-year graduation rate for two-year institutions. These rates are for first-time, full-time students. A rate in 2020 represents a cohort of four-year students entering in 2014 and a cohort of two-year students entering in 2017.

¹⁷ For more information on AAPI students and data disaggregated by race/ethnicity, please see our [AAPI factsheet](#).

Table 3: Earnings 10 Years After Entering Postsecondary Education, by Institutional Sector¹⁸

	Mean Earnings 10 Years After Entry	Median Earnings 10 Years After Entry
AANAPISIs	\$47,561	\$46,602
Public 4-Year	\$48,637	\$45,313
Public 2-Year	\$34,743	\$35,059
Non-profit	\$50,714	\$46,921
For-profit	\$36,669	\$34,110
All Institutions	\$43,627	\$40,273

Source: Author's analysis of the College Scorecard.

Conclusion

AANAPISIs are part of a changing higher education landscape—one in which the federal government recognizes institutions that are serving historically disenfranchised communities at an increasing rate. Nearly 33% of all AAPI students are enrolled at AANAPISIs, despite AANAPISIs only accounting for 12.3% of all postsecondary U.S. enrollment. A large share of students at AANAPISIs tend to be the first person in their family to attend college. Given the percentage of AAPI students they serve, AANAPISIs will continue to play an important role in higher education's goal of reducing disparities in opportunity for students of color.

¹⁸ Includes students who are working and not currently enrolled in postsecondary education.

Sources

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Please contact Jared Colston with any questions or inquiries at colston@pnpi.org.

OFFICE FOR EQUITY, DIVERSITY, AND INCLUSION

HOME / Initiatives / Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander

Serving Institution

Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI)



What is an AANAPISI?

AANAPISI stands for Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution. AANAPISI is a federal designation from the United States Department of Education. AANAPISI-designated institutions are eligible to apply to receive grants and related assistance to improve and expand their capacity to serve Asian American, Native American Pacific Islanders, and low-income students.

Benefits to Campus

UC San Diego is proud to announce that we have received AANAPISI designation, which is one of the Minority Serving Institution (MSI) designations campuses may be eligible for through the U.S. Department of Education. Having AANAPISI designation not only acknowledges the large, diverse population of Asian American and Pacific Islander students who attend and graduate from UC San Diego, it allows UC San Diego to apply for outside funding that will aim to expand and improve the overall quality of experience for Asian American and Pacific Islander undergraduate, first generation, and low-income students. AANAPISI designation, together with UC San Diego's efforts to be designated as a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), will position UC San Diego to be recognized as a premier MSI. Such recognition will provide new opportunities for UC San Diego students and help recruit incoming students from the state of California and beyond.

Holding AANAPISI designation acknowledges our commitment to supporting educational equity and access for diverse students of California. This designation encourages our campus to see the different experiences our Asian American and Pacific Islander students are having at UC San Diego. Additionally, our campus will seek to find ways to make Asian American and Pacific Islander student experiences as well as the experiences of other students on campus more equitable to positively impact student success. Education, interventions, and advocacy will be crucial to supporting the UC San Diego community's efforts to center Asian American and Pacific Islander students with the most need.

Task Force

In Spring 2021 the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion, convened a joint Senate-Administration Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI) Task Force. This Task Force reviewed campus data and relevant literature, and assessed campus practices. Their report included an assessment of current university practices and made recommendations to improve student experience.

The task force's first recommendation was to apply for AANAPISI designation from the U.S. Department of Education. The campus has received the designation and is committed to renewing this status annually.

Additional recommendations are being considered by the senior leadership of UC San Diego and a strong strategy forward will be provided to a new AANAPISI Implementation Task Force.

What are the requirements for a campus to become an AANAPISI?

There are two requirements:

- Enroll at least 10% undergraduate Asian American and Pacific Islander students

- Be within federal guidelines for serving students receiving federal student financial aid and spending limits per undergraduate student.

Campuses need to complete the application for designation of eligibility, which is a common application that determines eligibility for all MSI designations.

What is a Minority Serving Institution (MSI)?

MSIs are U.S. institutions of higher education that have been recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as a Historically Black College and University (HBCU), a Tribal College and University (TCU), a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), an Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution (AANAPISI), an Alaska Native or Native Hawaiian Serving Institution (ANNH), Native American-Serving Nontribal Institution (NASNTI), and/or a Predominantly Black Institution (PBI). While HBCUs and TCUs are designated by the history and founding of the institution, all other types of MSIs are designated through application based on the demographics present within the undergraduate populations at those institutions.

Can a campus be designated as both an AANAPISI and an HSI?

Campuses that meet the enrollment minimums are able to hold each designation. In fact, many of our UC counterparts have both designations.

[Collapse All](#)

Who are Asian American people?

Asian American people are people who are U.S. citizens, permanent residents, and undocumented people who are descendants of people who originated from places in East Asia (e.g. Japan, China, South Korea, Okinawa), Southeast Asia (e.g. Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand), and South Asia (e.g. India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh). The U.S. Census reports that people share as many as 40 different Asian American ethnic populations in reporting their ethnicity on the Census. The UC application for admissions lists 15 options for applicants to select from under the “Asian/Asian American” ethnicity categories, including one for “Other Asian.”

Who are Native American Pacific Islander people?

Native American Pacific Islander refers to people who are indigenous to areas that are now U.S. states, territories, or part of the U.S.-governed Trust and are located in Polynesia, Melanesia, or Micronesia. In addition to Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians), this typically also includes Chamorros, Samoans, Saipanese, and other indigenous people from Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, the Commonwealth Northern Mariana Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Palau.

UC San Diego uses the acronym APIMEDA. Is this the same?

APIMEDA stands for Asian Pacific Islander Middle Eastern Desi American. This term was implemented several years ago as the result of student input regarding how they preferred to be identified. Students advocated for the term APIMEDA to be used to define the diversity of identities and cultures represented on our campus.

In addition to the Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander populations mentioned above, APIMEDA also includes other domestic Pacific Islander populations and the domestic population that the UC system counts as Southwest Asian and North African (SWANA) American students.

Many of these students also have similar demographic data as their Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander counterparts, such as higher rates of first-generation and low-income students coming from these populations. The variety of cultural backgrounds of APIMEDA students come from requires consideration in developing programs that serve these students holistically.

How is UC San Diego supporting Asian American and Pacific Islander student success?

UC San Diego has taken several important steps toward improving services and programs for our growing population of Asian American and Pacific Islander students, many of whom are first in their families to attend college. Given our recent progress as a student-centered university, we believe our AANAPISI designation will lead to greater outcomes for all students. We remain committed to taking every opportunity to better serve and support students from

Asian American and Pacific Islander backgrounds. Through mentorship, culturally relevant pedagogy, and increased representation, our faculty and staff who share these students' identities and experiences play a critical role in their success. UC San Diego's AANAPISI designation further supports our thriving Asian American and Pacific Islander student communities and promotes a more inclusive environment for all.

Why did UC San Diego apply to become an AANAPISI?

As a public institution in the state of California, UC San Diego has a responsibility to serve the people of California. As a public institution with a large undergraduate population of Asian American and Pacific Islander descent, we are positioned to be a leader for the nation in supporting our students. In addition, disaggregation of our race and ethnicity data show that many of our Pacific Islander and Southeast Asian American students encounter a disproportionately higher number of challenges in navigating higher education. Efforts to center the needs of these populations to create an environment where all UC San Diego students can thrive.

Resources to learn more

- [Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions \(AANAPISIs\): A Resource Guide](#)
- [Cultivating a Cultural Kipuka: Pacific Islander Practitioner Reflections](#)
- [How AANAPISIs are Creating Conditions for Students to Thrive](#)
- [The Power of Ethnic Studies at Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions](#)
- [AANAPISIs at Work](#)
- [Beyond compositional diversity: Examining the campus climate experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander students](#)
- [National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education \(CARE\) reports](#)
- [A Community of Contrasts: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the United States](#)

Initiatives

2023 Progress Update

21-Day Anti-Racism Challenge

Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution

Black Academic Excellence Initiative

White Allyship, Action & Accountability

EDI Advisory Council

Gender Recognition

Hispanic-Serving Institution

LEAD Fellows

Strategic Plan for Inclusive Excellence

EDI Community of Practice

Resources at UC San Diego:

- APIMEDA Programs and Services
- Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies Program minor
- Project Generating and Reclaiming Our Wisdoms (Project GROW)

UC San Diego 9500 Gilman Dr. La Jolla, CA 92093 (858) 534-2230

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UNLV prides itself on being an institution of opportunity where students traditionally underrepresented in higher education can receive the support they need to achieve their educational and professional goals. As a Minority-Serving Institution (MSI), UNLV enrolls a high percentage of minority students and is committed to reducing barriers to their academic success. UNLV's MSI Task Force provides leadership and support to the campus community to provide educational equity.

UNLV

ASIAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER- SERVING INSTITUTION

WHAT IS AANAPISI?

Institutions serving a large population of Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander students have also been designated as an MSI. The term, "Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution," refers to an institution of higher education that is eligible under section 312(b) and at the time of application, has an enrollment of undergraduate students who are Asian American or Native American Pacific Islander that is not less than 10%. (ed.gov, 2011).

The goal of AANAPISI is to increase retention, persistence, and completion rates and to expand UNLV's capacity to offer web-based undergraduate courses in computer science. Key services include academic tutoring; counseling (i.e., academic, undergraduate financial aid, career, and graduate/professional school admissions and financial aid); frequent, ongoing academic-progress monitoring; and financial-literacy instruction

WHAT IS MSI?

Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs) are U.S. colleges and universities that enroll a high percentage of minority students. Because minority populations have experienced disproportionate barriers to higher education, the federal government provides financial support through various titles of the Higher Education Act. MSIs include Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), as well as colleges and universities with high enrollments of Native Americans, Asian Americans and Native American Pacific Islanders, and Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians.

UNLV STUDENTS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY 2020

Minorities	20,211	64.9%
Native American or Alaskan Native	84	0.3%
Asian	4,876	15.6%
Black or African American	2,496	8.1%
Hispanic	9,289	29.8%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	250	0.8%
Two or More Races	3,229	10.4%
Unknown Race/Ethnicity	397	1.3%
White	9,607	30.8%

Source: UNLV Analytics Enrollment Census Official Fall 2020 Preliminary, Office of Decision Support

UNLV DESIGNATED MSI, AANAPISI, AND HSI

In 2013, UNLV became an eligible Title III and Title V institution by the Department of Education. UNLV was awarded Nevada's first Title III grant in 2015 (AANAPISI Part A). UNLV received a second grant (AANAPISI Part F) in 2016. In 2020, UNLV received its third Title III AANAPISI Part A grant that will serve more than 1,000 UNLV students (low-income, first-generation, and those who need academic support) over the five-year grant period.

Qualification for these designations requires that institutions meet specific primary indicators that include diversity of the student body by race and ethnicity. To qualify, institutions also must have at least 50 percent of their degree students receiving need-based assistance under Title IV of the Higher Education Act, or have a substantial number of enrolled students receiving Pell Grants, and have low educational and general expenditures.

UNLV RANKED SECOND IN DIVERSITY

UNLV's fall 2020 enrollment highlights its role as a federally designated MSI, with 65% of students identifying as a racial or ethnic minority.

Southern Nevada's growing diversity lends to UNLV's diverse enrollment. Over the past decade, UNLV has remained among the most diverse campuses for undergraduates, according to U.S. News & World Report. The publication in 2020 ranked UNLV second on the list, tied with Andrews University in Michigan, just behind the University of Hawaii-Hilo.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR UNLV?

UNLV embraces and promotes the diversity of its students and has demonstrated its commitment and support through its comprehensive academic and campus life programs and initiatives. The federal AANAPISI, HSI, and MSI designations affirm this work and entitle the university to compete for grants under Title III and Title V of the Higher Education Act.

UNLV MSI TASK FORCE

The MSI Task Force provides institutional leadership and support for establishing UNLV as a leading MSI. The committee includes representatives from various administrative and academic units across the campus and is responsible for organizing a variety of programs and initiatives to support students and faculty of color as well as others underrepresented in higher education.

- Office of the President
- Office of the Executive Vice President and Provost
- Office of Diversity Initiatives
- Division of Student Affairs
- Academic Success Center
- Division of Student Affairs
- Office of Decision Support
- The Intersection Academic Multicultural Center
- Office of Community Engagement
- Faculty Senate
- Student Leadership
- UNLV Foundation
- Graduate College

ABOUT UNLV

UNLV is a doctoral-granting institution of more than 30,000 students and 4,000 faculty and staff. The university is among the top 3% of the nation's research institutions – those with “very high research activity” – as classified by the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education. UNLV offers a broad range of academic programs and is committed to recruiting and retaining top students and faculty, educating the region's diverse population and workforce, driving economic activity, and creating an academic health center for Southern Nevada.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
4505 S. Maryland Pkwy.
Las Vegas, NV 89154
Phone: 702-895-3011

Cycle of Socialization

First Socialization



Socialization Reflection Activity

Choose one social identity from the list below that you would like to reflect on and examine.

- **Race:** A social construct that artificially divides people into distinct groups based on certain characteristics such as physical appearance (particularly skin color) ancestral heritage, cultural affiliation, cultural history, ethnic classification
- **Gender Identity:** An internal, deeply felt sense of being female, male, a blend of both or neither. Refers to how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. Can be the same as or different from their sex assigned at birth
- **Sexual Orientation:** An inherent or immutable enduring emotional, romantic, or sexual attraction to other people
- **Class:** Relative social rank in terms of income, wealth, education, status and/or power

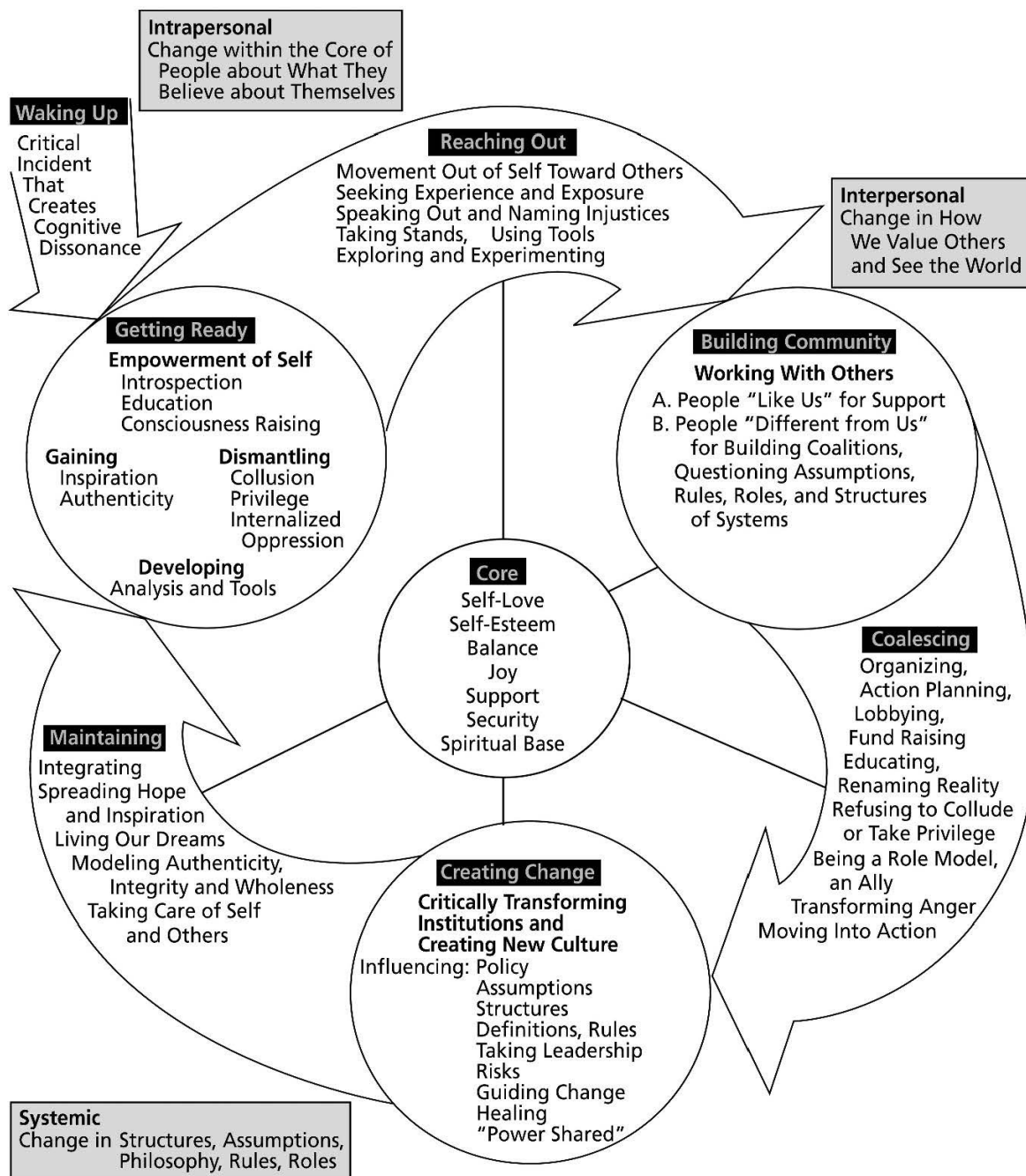
Using this sheet, you will map what you have learned about this identity throughout this time. Use the Cycle of Socialization as a reference and support.

Questions to consider:

1. What messages did you hear/learn about being_____?
2. Where did the messages come from?
 - a. Parents, other family members, religious organizations, schools, teachers, media, other institutions, peers, etc.)
3. What behaviors were encouraged, rewarded, and supported? How?
4. What behaviors were discouraged, unsupported, and punished? How?

Time Frame	Reflection	Graphic
Infancy and Toddlerhood (~0-2 Years)		 Infancy and Toddlerhood (~0-2 Early Childhood (~3-6 Middle Childhood (~7-11 Adolescence (~12-19 years) Early Adulthood (~20-40 Middle Adulthood (~41-65 Late Adulthood (~66+
Early Childhood (~3-6 years)		
Middle Childhood (~7-11 years)		
Adolescence (~12-19 years)		
Early Adulthood (~20-40 years)		
Middle Adulthood (~41-65 years)		
Late Adulthood (~66+ years)		

Cycle of Liberation



Levels of Expressions of Oppression

I n d i v i d u a l	Internalized Oppression lies within individuals. These are our private beliefs and biases about others, influenced by our culture.	S y s t e m i c	Institutional Oppression occurs within institutions and systems of power. It is the norms, policies and practices that are structured into political, societal and economic institutions that have the net effect of imposing oppressive conditions and denying rights, opportunity, and equality to identifiable groups.
	Interpersonal Oppression occurs between individuals. Once we bring our private beliefs into our interactions with others, we are now in the interpersonal realm.		Structural Oppression is bias across institutions and society. It's the cumulative and compounded effects of an array of factors that systematically privilege some and disadvantage others.

Key Points to Remember

Key Point 1 - There are not hard and fast lines between the levels - and changing one can affect another.

Key Point 2 - The way to effect change is by addressing institutional and structural oppression- this is where injustice lives.



September 18, 2023

Honorable Kay Ivey
Governor of Alabama
State Capitol
600 Dexter Ave
Montgomery, Alabama 36130-2751

Dear Governor Ivey:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Alabama A&M University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Auburn University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Alabama A&M University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Alabama. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$527,280,064 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Alabama A&M University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Alabama A&M University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Alabama A & M University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Sarah Huckabee Sanders
Governor of Arkansas
State Capitol, Room 250
Little Rock, Arkansas 85007

Dear Governor Sanders:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Arkansas, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Arkansas. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$330,935,712 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation’s economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow’s workforce will enhance your state’s economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Ron DeSantis
Governor of Florida
State Capitol
400 S. Monroe St.
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0001

Dear Governor DeSantis:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Florida, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Florida. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$1,973,081,216 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Brian Kemp
Governor of Georgia
203 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Governor Kemp:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Fort Valley State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Georgia, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Fort Valley State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Georgia. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$603,156,480 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Fort Valley State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Fort Valley State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Fort Valley State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter.

We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,



Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education



Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Andy Beshear
Governor of Kentucky
State Capitol
700 Capitol Ave., Suite 100
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

Dear Governor Beshear:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Kentucky State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Kentucky, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Kentucky State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Kentucky. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$172,135,168 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Kentucky State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Kentucky State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Kentucky State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable John Bel Edwards
Governor of Louisiana
P.O. Box 94004
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 708-9004

Dear Governor Edwards:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Southern University and A & M College, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Southern University and A & M College disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Louisiana. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$1,126,149,248 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Southern University and A & M College has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Southern University and A & M College, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Southern University and A & M College in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Wes Moore
Governor of Maryland
100 State Circle
Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Dear Governor Moore:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

University of Maryland Eastern Shore, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Maryland – College Park, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in University of Maryland Eastern Shore disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Maryland. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$321,181,312 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. University of Maryland Eastern Shore has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to University of Maryland Eastern Shore, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to University of Maryland Eastern Shore in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to

solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation’s economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow’s workforce will enhance your state’s economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Tate Reeves
Governor of Mississippi
P.O. Box 139
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Dear Governor Reeves:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Alcorn State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Mississippi State University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Alcorn State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Mississippi. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$257,807,216 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Alcorn State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Alcorn State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Alcorn State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Mike Parson
Governor of Missouri
P.O. Box 720
Jefferson City, MO 65102

Dear Governor Parson:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Lincoln University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with University of Missouri-Columbia, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Lincoln University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a

lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Missouri. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$361,569,760 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Lincoln University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Lincoln University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Lincoln University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Kevin Stitt
Governor of Oklahoma
State Capitol
2300 N. Lincoln Blvd., Room 212
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Dear Governor Stitt:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Langston University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Oklahoma State University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Langston University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Oklahoma. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$418,986,272 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Langston University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Langston University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Langston University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Henry McMaster
Governor of South Carolina
1100 Gervais Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Governor McMaster:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

South Carolina State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Clemson University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in South Carolina State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit South Carolina. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$469,956,832 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. South Carolina State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to South Carolina State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to South Carolina State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that

will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Bill Lee
Governor of Tennessee
State Capitol, 1st Floor
600 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37243

Dear Governor Lee:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Tennessee State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with The University of Tennessee-Knoxville, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Tennessee State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Tennessee. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$2,147,784,704 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Tennessee State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Tennessee State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Tennessee State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter.

We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,



Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education



Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Greg Abbott
Governor of Texas
Post Office Box 12428
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Governor Abbott:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Prairie View A & M University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Texas A & M University-College Station, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Prairie View A & M University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Texas. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$1,135,496,704 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Prairie View A & M University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Prairie View A & M University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Prairie View A & M University in addressing these disparities.

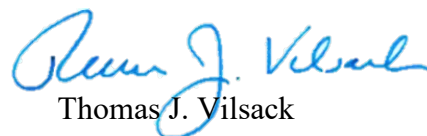
We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Glenn Youngkin
Governor of Virginia
P.O. Box 1475
Richmond, Virginia 23218

Dear Governor Youngkin:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

Virginia State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in Virginia State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit Virginia. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$277,544,416 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. Virginia State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

It is encouraging to learn that in recent years (the 2020 data from IPEDS) your state budget has taken steps to address this historic underinvestment, and it is our hope that we can work together to start a dialogue and develop a plan of action to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Virginia State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Virginia State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global

community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Jim Justice
Governor of West Virginia
State Capitol
Charleston, West Virginia 25305

Dear Governor Justice:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

West Virginia State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with West Virginia University, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in West Virginia State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit West Virginia. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$852,622,464 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. West Virginia State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to West Virginia State University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels. To date, while your state has sufficiently appropriated funds to the 1862 land-grant institution, including meeting or exceeding designated one-to-one federal match funding, it has not done so for the 1890 land-grant university in recent years.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to West Virginia State University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

1890 Letter to Governors
Page 3

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter. We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture



September 18, 2023

Honorable Roy Cooper
Governor of North Carolina
20301 Mail Service Center
Raleigh, NC 27699-0301

Dear Governor Cooper:

As we work toward expanding America's position as a world leader, it is our shared goal to produce the best and the brightest talent that any country has to offer. We know that you and other Governors around the country are deeply focused on and committed to education, as evidenced by the significant portion of state budgets allocated to education spending. We also know you share the Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the goal of excellence in education for all students. It is through the opportunities provided to our students that we will be able to innovate beyond what we thought was possible just a few years ago and even today.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Minority Serving Institutions make innumerable contributions to our country through the research produced by their faculty, achievements of their students and alumni, and services that they provide to the immediate community. As noted in the HBCU PARTNERS Act, while HBCUs, including 1890 land-grant institutions, represent 3 percent of postsecondary institutions, they enroll about 10 percent of all Black college students. Furthermore, these institutions generate close to \$15 billion in economic impact and over 134,000 jobs annually in the local and regional economies they serve.

To ensure we are able to compete at a high level and develop the strong workforce that will propel this country into the future, generate the next wave of job creators, and fuel our economy, it is imperative that high-quality educational opportunities are available to all students. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states choosing to open a second land-grant institution to serve Black students, provide an equitable distribution of funds between their 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.

North Carolina A & T State University, the 1890 land-grant institution in your state, while producing extraordinary graduates that contribute greatly to the state's economy and the fabric of our nation, has not been able to advance in ways that are on par with North Carolina State University at Raleigh, the original Morrill Act of 1862 land-grant institution in your state, in large part due to unbalanced funding.

The longstanding and ongoing underinvestment in North Carolina A & T State University disadvantages the students, faculty, and community that the institution serves. Furthermore, it may contribute to a lack of economic activity that would ultimately benefit North Carolina. It is our hope that we can work together to make this institution whole after decades of being underfunded.

Using readily available data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Integrated Postsecondary Education Survey (IPEDS) that ranges from 1987 to 2020, we calculated the amount that these institutions would have received if their state funding per student were equal to that of 1862 institutions. Unequitable funding of the 1890 institution in your state has caused a severe financial gap, in the last 30 years alone, an additional \$2,079,934,848 would have been available for the university. These funds could have supported infrastructure and student services and would have better positioned the university to compete for research grants. North Carolina A & T State University has been able to make remarkable strides and would be much stronger and better positioned to serve its students, your state, and the nation if made whole with respect to this funding gap.

In recent years, some states have begun addressing this issue. In some instances, legislatures have provided significant state allocations. In others, students and alumni have formed coalitions to pursue court orders that ultimately required states to allocate remedial funding.

This is a situation that clearly predates all of us. However, it is a problem that we can work together to solve. In fact, it is our hope that we can collaborate to avoid burdensome and costly litigation that has occurred in several states.

Given the large amount of state funding that is owed to Lincoln University, it would be ambitious to address the funding disparity over the course of several years in the state budget. It might very well be your desire to do so, which we wholeheartedly support. Yet, if an ambitious timetable is not a possibility, we suggest a combination of a substantial state allocation toward the 1890 deficit combined with a forward-looking budget commitment for a two-to-one match of federal land-grant funding for these institutions in order to bring parity to funding levels.

We want to make abundantly clear that it is not necessary to reduce funding to other institutions, nor make a reduction in general fund allocations to Lincoln University in addressing these disparities.

We are at an inflection point that will determine our place in the world as leaders. We need to solidify our country as the top producer of talent and innovation – demonstrating to the global community that nothing can beat American ingenuity. The state that serves as our nation's economic engine for the next generation is sure to be one that fully realizes all its assets and is committed to ensuring that opportunity is equally distributed. Given the career opportunities that will be available due to recent bipartisan federal investments for key industries, strengthening these universities to provide tomorrow's workforce will enhance your state's economic viability.

The Departments of Education and Agriculture, working with your state budget office, would welcome hosting a workshop to fully examine the funding data that we shared in this letter.

1890 Letter to Governors
Page 3

We are committed to working with you to bring balance to the state investments in institutions that have been severely underfunded through the years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Miguel A. Cardona".

Miguel Cardona, Ed.D.
U.S. Secretary of Education

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Thomas J. Vilsack".

Thomas J. Vilsack
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture

The 🔥 Forge



Photo by Colin Lloyd

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To Tackle Racial Justice, Organizing Must Change

Daniel Martinez HoSang, LeeAnn Hall , *and* Libero Della Piana

In his 1998 [article](#) “The Last Stop Sign,” the Oakland-based organizer Gary Delgado issued a friendly provocation: organizers must directly take on race and racism.

The dominant traditions of community organizing at the time, especially as practiced by the leading national networks, prioritized issues that promised to unite neighborhoods and constituencies. The ubiquitous campaign to demand a new stop sign on a busy street was the exemplar.

The most effective organizers were said to be “non-ideological”; they avoided controversial issues that might divide a group’s members. Racial “colorblindness” (celebrated across the political spectrum in the 1990s and early 2000s) was the default organizing position.

Delgado saw things differently. He wanted organizers — especially the white, male staff leaders who were often the arbiters of “good organizing” practice — to stop dodging controversial issues associated with race. Delgado wasn’t just asking individual organizers to talk about their racial identities and interpersonal struggles. He called for organizing as a field to “proactively address issues of race, class, gender, corporate concentration, and the complexities of a transnational economy” and to “use analytical and ideological tools to develop political vision.” Welfare. Housing. Health care. Community safety. Immigration. Jobs. All our big issues are about race, he argued, even if race isn’t mentioned explicitly. Hiding from that reality only stands in the way of building the effective multiracial movements we need. Delgado expressed the stakes clearly: “If community organizing is to live, it must change.”

Organizers of color — many trained by Delgado and others at the Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) — kept pushing the field to face racism squarely, to acknowledge questions of identity and culture, to address racialized structures of power, and to take on fights at a bigger scale than those associated with winnable neighborhood issues. Powerful groups on the right set their sights much higher than putting up local stop signs; we had to as well.

Today, nearly every community organizing group accepts the importance of centering racial justice. The events of the last decade in particular — Ferguson, Standing Rock, Flint, the election of Trump, and so much more — have shattered the myth of colorblindness and post-racialism. As longtime collaborators of Delgado’s — trained and developed in several of

the organizations he helped form, Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) and the Applied Research Center/Race Forward — we welcome these shifts.

Yet in our experience, these commitments to racial justice often don't translate into effective organizing praxis. To the contrary, many groups find themselves paralyzed in painful internal conflicts, with staff directing their energy and frustration at one another rather than forging cultures of growth and solidarity or developing strategies that enable them to make change externally. To be sure, attending to differences in politics, experience, and strategy are a crucial part of social justice work. But when they are divorced from member-driven campaigns to build power, they leave us ill-prepared to address the growing conditions of racial violence and inequality that shape our world.

Just as Delgado called for organizing to take racism head-on, we call for organizing to move from racial justice principle to racial justice practice rooted in member-driving power building.

Where We Get Tripped Up

Twenty-five years ago, the debate was around whether to address race. Now, the challenge is how to address it.

Just about every day, we hear from organizing groups that are struggling when it comes to race. These are organizations that are committed to multiracial organizing and that have made racial justice a core part of their strategy. Many are led by people of color. Yet race often comes up in these organizations not as an impetus for building community power but as a challenge to their cohesion and a distraction from their racial justice missions. Lacking a clear ideological anchor or strategic grounding, staff

leaders often don't know how to respond. The result is dysfunction, missed opportunities, and practices (like calling out individual acts of racial bias divorced from systemic analysis) that undermine racial justice goals instead of advancing them.

Here are a few examples we've witnessed:

- An organization uses a version of “progressive stack,” which, instead of encouraging staff of color to speak, prevents some white and Asian American staff from engaging in staff conversations. The stack is used as a rigid rule rather than a tool to an end. As a result, an effort to center Black and Indigenous experiences turns into a practice that leaves some staff feeling unable to contribute to the discussion. Staff tension and internal conflict increase, and the organization's impact suffers.
- A white staff person in one organization confronts a Native American leader, accusing them of “anti-Blackness” for talking about tribal sovereignty without discussing Black people. This incident illustrates how new frameworks for addressing race can shut down learning and exchange when framed as a zero-sum competition between separate groups. Rather than collectively discussing and exploring the centrality of Native sovereignty, confronting anti-Blackness, and brainstorming how the group's organizing could address both, the staff engaged in a conversation that devolved into personal condemnation separate from any engagement with members or campaign strategy.
- A group's multiracial staff of organizers resist setting goals or showing up on time, arguing that these standards reflect “white supremacy culture.” The organization has a mix of effective and rigorous work expectations. Leadership can be rigid at times and tough on the staff. But the lead organizer, a Black man, feels

accused and undermined by his staff organizers. The organizers stop meeting their outreach goals. The organization spends hours in internal negotiations about work expectations as the work suffers. Staff trust hits an all-time low.

- A community organization hires a talented organizer into an established chapter. Both the organizer and the local member leaders are people of color. The organizer engages the leaders in a discussion of policing and says defunding the police is the way to go. The leadership disagrees. The organizer tells their supervisor that the local leaders aren't aligned with the organization's mission and should be bypassed. The organization adopts defund as their position over local objections, driving some members out instead of investing in a longer-term process of education and alignment.
- Some staff at a longstanding organization refuse its model of multiracial organizing. One Black organizer announces that they won't doorknock anyone who isn't Black. The organization has not explained the rationale for their multiracial organizing model and steeped their staff in it, so individual staff act on their own conclusions, independent of any collective discussion about how differing models (including autonomous Black organizing) extend from particular analyses about history, politics, and power. Rather than discussing these issues as political and strategic questions, the staff reduces the question to a simple moralism, in which multiracial organizing is framed as inherently compromised. Their supervisor is forced to either challenge the refusal to carry out their staff role or let it slide, undermining organizational strategy and staff standards. The organizer only grows more frustrated, and the group's work suffers.

Some of the issues these stories raise concern internal organizational dynamics. Who holds power and decision-making authority? How do we resolve racist behaviors and systems within our organizations? How do we ensure that the harm and humiliation many of us have suffered because of racism and colonial violence are not meted out against others who are in close proximity? Ideally, these stories would also engage the question of how we hold open the possibility of learning and growing together, making mistakes in one another's presence and directing our collective will toward winning material changes in the world, rather than against one another.

More broadly, these stories surface questions revolving around the terms and principles on which multi-racial organizing should take place, including the concern that the very specific and material conditions of anti-Black racism will be lost in broad discussions of racial justice. They also turn on how organizations work through differences around ideology, political analysis, and program, both within the staff and between staff, leaders, and members.

These are real challenges that each organization must address. Yet organizations often limit their focus to personal attitudes and interpersonal dynamics, neglecting the structural analysis that is so central to our work and strategies. The focus on individual characteristics and behaviors slides easily into essentialism, the inaccurate and divisive idea that there is a set of traits and values inherent in one's racial identity. This understanding of race undermines an organizing theory of change and a focus on member-driven power building.

We take it as a given that people within progressive organizations can embrace racist beliefs and do harm to one another. This is the sad but utterly predictable consequence of being socialized in institutions (education, housing, media, etc.) saturated with racism. The power

dynamics of our organizations can be filled with oppressive actions and systems, which must be challenged and remade. But these dynamics cannot be productively addressed through individual conflicts and confrontations. When the organization's racial justice mission is reduced to pursuing and prosecuting such conflicts, few of us will remain, and no communities will be in any better position to challenge systemic racism and make change in people's lives.

Organizations that adopt racial justice principles must ensure that they also invest in sustained forms of leadership, staff, and member development to create a shared understanding of race and racism (and gender or class for that matter). Such efforts can guide us forward. In the absence of such commitments, we fear groups will continue to direct their focus toward individual conflicts within the organization at the expense of addressing the racialized structures and conditions that foreclose life for so many.

Thoughts on a Path Forward

When Gary Delgado issued his provocation to organizers twenty years ago, he didn't just take them to task and leave it at that. He and his colleagues at Race Forward (then the Applied Research Center) — along with a broader circle of organizers, including the three of us — rolled up our sleeves to help organizations create cultures and practices that allowed staff and members to tackle race and challenge one another, all with the goal of learning together and building solidarity. The organizational culture was a lot more calling-in than calling-out.

This helped many organizations create what we think is a foundational element of a racial justice program: a clear racial justice politics. That's not just a values statement written up in a memo and lost in a folder

somewhere on Google Drive or a web page decrying police killings. It's a vision of solidarity, an understanding of the racial impacts of policy demands, and a careful program of power-building that leaders and staff are steeped in and that they come back to again and again as a touchstone. It requires the integration of a racial justice analysis, a clear strategy for change, and an organizational culture that lives stated values and navigates emerging trends.

Building a team around this vision and this politics is key. To navigate tough questions and challenges (even interpersonal conflict), that team must be aligned around politics, values, and trust. Creating that team doesn't happen overnight. It requires organizational capacity and dedicated resources.

To build a strong racial justice program, we believe organizations also need to establish a culture that encourages people to challenge one another with a focus on collective learning and self-reflection, as opposed to shaming. Really vibrant organizations meet people where they're at and then help them move to a shared set of values and analysis.

And, of course, none of this matters if we cannot create opportunities for staff and grassroots leaders to act on the organization's racial justice politics through power-building strategies, focusing their energy externally on dismantling systems of oppression. In short, groups need to measure their progress toward racial justice by their impact on racial justice in our communities, not just inside our organizations.

Clearly, no organization is perfect when it comes to the complex and thorny issues of race and racism. Still, there are some organizational practices and principles from which we can learn. Virginia Organizing (VO) is a statewide multiracial membership organization with a 25-year commitment to racial justice. For more than two decades, the

organization has run “dismantling racism” workshops for all new members.

Virginia Organizing is clear about its racial justice commitment, even in the majority-white counties that several of its chapters are in. That commitment is not only about internal operations and practices but also about ongoing external racial justice policy goals. Local chapters oppose armed police in schools, fight for refugee resettlement, and have led the charge in taking down Confederate monuments. For well over a decade, Virginia Organizing chapters fought for voting rights for formerly incarcerated people, who are disproportionately Black men in Virginia. The organization has aided hundreds of individuals to regain voting rights through the Byzantine process in the state and was critical in getting Governor Terry McAuliffe to restore voting rights to more than 200,000 formerly incarcerated people in 2016.

This groundwork was crucial for the organization in 2019, in the wake of the revelation of Governor Northam posing in blackface in a college yearbook. Virginia Organizing had an internal process that led the organization to **call for Northam and other state leaders to make amends for their racist actions** with a set of concrete policies and practices. This was not an easy decision. Many of VO’s state allies were uncertain as to how to hold the Governor accountable, as he was seen as an ally to a number of progressive causes. In fact, many Black Virginians backed the Governor in the face of right-wing attack.

Virginia Organizing was able to navigate a discussion internally among staff and members in order to come up with a public approach that was principled, unifying, and invested in the broader goals of building power. No simple task. Lesser debates have torn organizations apart. One key to the process was that staff did not make the decision on the organization’s stance; it was member leaders who decided. Members and staff shared a

common language and framework for understanding race and racism. Staff and members agreed that they didn't want just symbolic action or individual shaming. Real change in policy was the way to make amends.

Communities for Our Colleges (C4C) in Washington state provides another example. Launched in 2020, C4C is a campaign to transform Washington state's community and technical colleges. They have already won important new legislation to fund equity programs for community colleges and are now campaigning free tuition and wrap-around services. The effort is student-led but also involves faculty and staff and draws on a broader coalition that includes organizations focused on racial equity in education. From the start, C4C staff believed the coalition needed to apply race and class analysis. Their concern was that C4C might win representational concessions without building student leadership or getting at systemic material issues affecting students. So, as they began assembling the coalition, they discussed this race-class framework individually with members. Then, in the coalition's initial meetings, the group considered and refined a statement of principles that fleshed out that framework.

This groundwork has given the coalition tools for addressing tensions as they arise. One instance involved asking a white coalition member, behind the scenes, to speak less in coalition meetings to give more room to others. Another occurred during a legislator-meeting debrief, when a coalition member said the group should challenge the lawmaker's aides for their "whiteness" and criticized the coalition for not focusing on defunding the police. Concerned these comments could derail and divide the coalition, the campaign director steered the conversation back to the coalition's principles and purpose — equity for community colleges — noting that the policing issues the member had raised required deeper conversation if the coalition wanted to do more than pay lip service.

The campaign faced another challenge after a hearing on its legislation, during which a Republican lawmaker attempted to bait an Asian American student over affirmative action — a clear attempt to split the coalition. The coalition didn't immediately know how to respond to the provocation, and they took a few hours to deliberate. One option was to “call out” the legislator and demand an apology. But the coalition realized that taking the bait wouldn't help them build their power. Instead, they reached out to the committee chair, who responded with a commitment to move the legislation forward. The coalition was able to turn the crisis into an opportunity, but only because they'd built trust around their commitment to racial equity and remained focused on their strategy while being principled about their racial justice politics.

Some Lessons

A few lessons emerge from these examples: 1) when members and leaders are fully informed and involved it keeps staff from getting way out ahead of the base; 2) long-term commitment to education and leadership development pays dividends; 3) having clear racial politics and analysis before a crisis is important to weather the storm; and 4) it is crucial for organizations to take action externally on their racial justice politics and win change that improves people's lives.

Gary Delgado's warning that organizing must change still holds true today. Racial justice is increasingly embraced across our movements, but the strategic work to live up to that vision is still all too lacking.

Again, there's no magic bullet or formula. But taking on systemic racism requires more than declaring our opposition to racism or accusing one another of white supremacy. It requires social movements to move from

principle to practice and to develop the organizational capacity to wield coherent and powerful racial justice politics.



About **Daniel Martinez HoSang**

Daniel Martinez HoSang is an Associate Professor of Ethnicity, Race & Migration at Yale University and the author of *A Wider Type of Freedom: How Struggles for Racial Justice Liberate Everyone*, and has worked with a wide range of community and labor organizing groups.



About **LeeAnn Hall**

LeeAnn Hall is the Executive Director of Just Strategy. A leader of social and racial justice movements for more than thirty-five years, Hall is on the board of Race Forward. A consummate organizer, LeeAnn has trained hundreds of organizers and led winning campaigns across



About **Libero Della Piana**

Libero Della Piana, the Senior Strategist at Just Strategy, has thirty years of experience as a writer and organizer for social movement organizations. Libero is an accomplished educator on organizing, racial justice, and social change.

A resurging union movement must reckon with anti-Blackness



<https://prismreports.org/2022/11/30/unions-must-reckon-anti-blackness/>

Black workers have always been part of the labor movement, but unions must prioritize anti-racist practices and make room for Black leadership. by [Brenton Zola](#) November 30th, 2022



NEW YORK, NEW YORK - NOVEMBER 30: Labor activist Chris Smalls joins members of the Amazon labor union and others for a protest outside of the New York Times DealBook Summit Nov. 30 in New York City. (Photo by Spencer Platt/Getty Images)

This past October, Los Angeles City Council President Nury Martinez [resigned over racist remarks](#) she made during an [October 2021 meeting](#) with other Latino leaders. Alberto Retana, the president of Community Coalition in southern Los Angeles, [called out the councilmembers](#) who “participate[d] in a back door deal to aggrandize the careers of 3 at the expense of

Black erasure and Black voter suppression.” As a bulwark of the LA labor movement, Martinez’s remarks dealt an especially painful blow to labor leaders by demonstrating how pervasive anti-Blackness remains within the larger struggle for workers’ rights.

Addressing anti-Blackness in the labor movement is more vital than ever. Unions have seen a fierce resurgence of unions in the U.S. in 2022. In the first half of the year alone, unions have won [641 elections](#)—the most in [nearly 20 years](#), according to data from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). But as unions fight for fair pay and better working conditions, advocates say that it’s past time for a critical reckoning with a long history of anti-Black sentiment within unionization efforts and the greater workers’ rights movement.

America itself was built on Black labor. In 1961, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke before the national AFL-CIO—the largest federation of trade unions in the nation, emphasizing the importance of unions to Black communities. He asserted that even though Black people had the most to gain from a successful labor movement, the labor movements, too, had everything to [gain from Black empowerment](#). He argued that they would be able to organize workers, unseat corrupt politicians, and enact major social reforms. But to do that, union leadership had to confront a well-documented history of excluding Black workers from general membership, apprenticeship programs, and from skilled job training.

King’s perspective was prescient. Since his speech, labor unions have become some of the largest civic organizations in the U.S., representing [14 million workers](#)—a little more than 10% of all U.S. wage and salary workers. Union approval is also at its [highest level since 1965](#). A majority of Americans have recognized the key role unions play for the American worker.

And yet, as the LA City Council scandal neatly illustrates, the current revitalization of unions has yet to fully contend with the extent of racism and anti-Blackness within the movement itself, especially among leadership. As a result, some union members are taking it upon themselves to tackle inequity and injustice in the labor movement.

“Change rooted in anti-racism [and] anti-oppression doesn’t live in the hands of elected officials ... True power always lives in the people,” [Retana tweeted](#).

Black workers are vital to union power

Unions have become some of the largest mass membership organizations of people of color writ large. Black workers make up a critical portion of this union membership, a fact that labor leaders [can’t afford to ignore](#). As more Black workers entered the workforce and protested for their rights in the mid-20th century, union leaders needed their support to pass agendas, reach collective bargaining agreements, and even elect preferred political candidates.

Unions also make a critical difference for Black workers. In 2020, Black workers were slightly overrepresented among union workers, making up 13.6% of the union workforce while only being 13% of the overall workforce. And the data shows that unions have become the single greatest force in accelerating economic equity for Black Americans. According to the Center for American Progress and the Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), Black Americans see gains across nearly every category of economic prosperity as part of a union.

Black households with a union member have a median wealth that is more than [three times the median wealth](#) of non-union Black households. Wealth benefits hold true even for Black workers with low-wage occupations and fewer years of formal education, taking home [18.9% higher pay](#) than their non-union counterparts.

Furthermore, Black union workers are much more likely to have employer-provided health insurance (71.4% of Black union workers vs. 47.7% of non-union Black workers). Black union workers are also 18.3 percentage points more likely to have an employer-sponsored retirement plan. Unions have also helped to [combat the Black-white wage gap](#) by standardizing pay rates among workers in similar positions.

It’s also critical to note that the makeup of the Black union workforce has shifted dramatically over the last several decades. CEPR data finds that today’s Black union workers are more likely to be women, older, immigrant, and have more years of formal education. Cathy Kennedy, a vice president of National Nurses United (NNU), the largest U.S. union and professional association of registered nurses, grounds her experience as a biracial Black and Asian woman and believes that having diverse leadership creates a positive cycle for workers looking to move up the ranks.

“It’s wonderful to see that within our organization, our top leadership consists of women of color,” Kennedy said. “It’s helpful because nurses see someone that looks like them in top leadership, and it’s important to recognize that.”

Anti-racism work requires constant effort

As unions become ever more diverse, confronting anti-Blackness and creating racial equity has become make-or-break to the success of workers’ rights movements. As a son of sharecroppers from the South, the issue is personal for AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Fred Redmond. After decades of helping to build labor solidarity, Redmond now holds the highest officer position for a Black leader in the history of America’s labor movement and said the AFL-CIO is working to link criminal justice reform to the greater labor movement.

“We have to stand with our Black and brown members no matter what,” Redmond said. “Our priorities include making sure that our federations and central labor councils educate union members and members of the public on racial justice, criminal justice reform, and opening pathways to young people of color to become leadership professionals.”

Redmond noted how Black citizens are locked out of many job opportunities and stripped of their right to fully contribute to society, hurting the labor movement. At the AFL-CIO, leaders have launched a Racial Justice Task Force that has not only facilitated external conversations around police and criminal legal reform but also internal discussions among the rank-and-file, many of whom have never had such a conversation. For advocates like Redmond, it's vital for workers' rights organizations to engage in restorative work to support those whom the system has entangled. In their view, the rights to vote and receive government benefits are irrevocably tied to the right to stable and well-paying jobs.

While some unions are exploring external partnerships to address racist inequities within their organizations, others are focused on using internal conversations to create anti-racist and equitable cultures. The NNU has a [racial justice curriculum](#) to educate nurses on gender justice and racial justice, as well as how to bring both principles to the bargaining table.

"Nobody wants to talk about a lack of inclusion, so we have to emphasize these issues to support our nurses of color," Kennedy said. "We have webinars, ongoing classes, and discussions on race, on the history of our Filipino nurses, our African-American nurses ... there was a lot of damage done [in the medical field]. So I think the timing is right."

Further, according to a study published in the [American Journal of Political Science](#) by Paul Frymer of Princeton University and Jacob Grumbach of the University of Washington, these efforts work. Union membership has been shown to increase support for issues affecting Black workers, which Frymer and Grumbach connect to unions encouraging political and anti-racist discussions among rank-and-file members.

The study demonstrated that white union members feel less racial resentment than non-union members by between 4.7% and 6.3%. The number is substantial—rivaling or surpassing other demographic variables, such as gender or education, that shape political views in the U.S. White members are also more likely to support policies that benefit Black workers even after union membership has ended.

However, Kennedy admits that there are some who resist this type of education. She's often heard naysayers claim that they don't need to know any anti-racist education because they're not prejudiced and "just want to take care of [their] patients."

"We all need to confront ourselves," Kennedy said. "I have my own prejudice, my own bias, but I have to be made aware of it so that I'm open to listening, because it is about listening and recognizing."

Workers rights don't exist in a vacuum

According to Redmond, the fight for Black workers requires solidarity on all fronts of injustice and inequity. He said it's important to the movement's success to recognize that labor touches everything from mental health and social isolation, to physical wellness, voting access, and, most critically, legal reform.

"One of the biggest threats to our members is legislation that supports union-busting," Redmond said. "We still have laws tilted toward corporations."

Redmond and his colleagues have worked to [support legislation](#) to empower unions, but progress is slow in a divided Congress. He also highlighted the need for police reform in particular, as there are 13 police unions in the AFL-CIO.

“Along with these unionized officers, we’ve been having some serious discussions about what police reform looks like,” Redmond said. “It’s a challenging issue, but the work is so important.”

There have also been calls and efforts from rank-and-file members within the AFL-CIO and [its affiliates](#) to oust police unions entirely, but executive leadership has failed to take meaningful steps in that direction, according to [The Real News Network](#).

Despite the needed work around anti-racism, the biggest threat to Black workers is the decline in the unions’ power. According to CEPR data, in 1983, 31.7% of Black workers were represented by a union. But Black unionization rates have fallen drastically since then, with only 14.2% of Black workers represented by a union in 2015. The data also indicates that the Black-white wage gap would be 13% lower if union membership had not fallen.

Advocates say that the progress of the labor movement for Black and brown workers hinges on leadership. It requires leaders committed to equity and anti-racism—both in public and behind closed doors. It also requires leaders to monitor what individual chapters are doing and to what extent they implement anti-racist practices.

But when the work is done, its potential is powerful. That is why this current resurgence in organized labor is so significant. It presents an opportunity to continue unions’ attempts to tackle both economic and racial justice that began in the [20th century](#).

“This is about humanity, respect, equality, inclusion, everything,” Kennedy said.

The Intersection of Our Core Values and Union Values

Core values are the fundamental beliefs of a person or an organization. These guiding principles dictate behavior and can help people understand the difference between right and wrong. These can often be expressed in one or two words. We are taking a moment to consider our core values because they can provide a basis for solidarity in the midst of struggles.

What are some of your core values expressed in one or two words?

<i>Your Personal Core Values</i>

Where do your core values intersect with some of the Union Core Values listed below?

<i>Union Core Values</i>
Fairness, honesty/integrity, responsibility, compassion/empathy, safety, health, generosity, hard work/responsibility, community, freedom, democracy, binding contracts, equality, opportunity, respect, stability/security, unity, quality work, justice, collective action, dignity/respect, charity/community service, and due process. <i>Ideally:</i> Unions advance the welfare of all workers. They are based on the idea of justice, progress, and betterment of self and of society. They embody the universal ideal of human rights and the need to aspire to become more complete human beings. By becoming an active participant in the labor movement, members become part of something larger than themselves.

Three Theories of Change

Organizing, Mobilizing, and Advocacy

BY ELENI SCHIRMER

Why have unions gotten so weak, and how can they strengthen? In her book *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age* (Oxford, 2016), labor organizer and strategist Jane McAlevey argues that a major factor in labor's decline has been that unions have abandoned the work of organizing, relying instead on the more superficial methods of building power, namely mobilizing and advocacy. What are these three different methods of union strength, and what path toward power does each build?

To organize is to build mass support and strength among ordinary people. Organizing draws its power from working people's biggest strength: our numbers. Working people may or may not see themselves as activists or politically active or even in political agreement, but through organizing, they come together to act in common cause. The work of organizing is systematic and rigorous: It requires connecting with every single worker in a shop, every educator in a building, every building in a district. At its core, it asks people to understand their own agency and to make choices about how they will exercise it. The work of organizing is difficult; ordinary people are seldom confronted by their own agency nor asked to make choices that recognize their own power. As McAlevey notes in her first book, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement* (Verso, 2012), a memoir of her organizing work: "In the normal course of human events, workers don't expect much from their jobs, government, or unions, because the reality is they don't get much. The job of the organizer is to fundamentally change this." The work of organizing is difficult, but as McAlevey argues, it is essential: There are no shortcuts.

Mobilizing, by contrast, activates an already-convinced membership. Mobilizing encourages those who already support a cause or a mission to take action to defend their belief—for example, by attending a protest, wearing a button, or signing a petition. Mobilizing is a very important step for building movements, but it is not the same thing as organizing. The crucial difference between mobilizing and organizing is that mobilizing relies on the actions of people who have already been brought on board; organizing is the work bringing ever more people on board, having a stake in the direction and outcomes of the actions (mobilizing can be an important component of organizing). McAlevey distinguishes mobilizing as



BRIAN STAUFFER

relying on the participation of a “self-selecting” group—people who have chosen to participate in something due to personal preferences or beliefs, such as environmental protection groups, the ACLU, or Planned Parenthood. Organizing, by contrast, relies on “structure-based” groups, groups determined by a predefined, often structural, relationship, such as working for the same employer, living in the same housing complex, or attending the same place of worship. Membership in a structure-based group, unlike a self-selecting group, is not a result of personal

affinity. In a structure-based group, the number of possible members—and therefore people to organize—is finite and knowable: the number of workers in a firm, residents in a housing building, or members in a church, for example. Whereas mobilizing relies on participation from a self-selecting group, organizing builds high participation among all eligible individuals.

Advocacy is the work of creating change through the actions of professionals or technical experts—lobbyists, pollsters, lawyers, communication specialists, researchers. Advocacy relies on the expertise, status, and know-how of these groups of people to make change. Advocacy usually happens in a closed-door room; ordinary people play a small to nonexistent role in its efficacy. Advocacy has become a dominant strategy for unions and liberals. But its efficiency comes at a cost; it disables the masses of ordinary people who have a stake in the issues under scrutiny by advocates.

These three forms of making change do not exist in isolation; a successful campaign may very well rely on all three strategies. Yet organizing, McAlevey argues, is the most fundamental: The base of any campaign should come from its organizational capacity above all. Yet in reality, according to McAlevey, it's often the strategy most avoided or shortchanged. After all, it is often hard, slow work that requires building connections with mass numbers of people. As a result, it's often sidestepped for quicker grabs for power—mobilizing or advocating support, rather than organizing for it.

McAlevey's framework rests on a more fundamental argument about power. In an age of massive inequality, many see power as the province of the elite—the small, powerful minority who run the courts, the banks, and the media in the U.S. and around the world. From this perspective, forging change is the process of altering who occupies those powerful institutions: voting in new leaders, appointing new judges, securing better regulators who can safeguard the system with an eye toward fairness. In McAlevey's words, this belief is little more than replacing one set of elites with another, better set of elites. It relies on advocacy and, to a certain extent, mobilizing to get the job done.

Yet exclusively focusing on the undemocratic hyper-concentration of elites obscures the power of ordinary people. Ordinary people have two major forms of power: our numbers—there are more of us than them—and our ability to withhold our participation in a system that denies us fairness, dignity, and health: They need us to keep working. Organizing, especially organizing with an eye toward building strikes, activates both forms of power. Successful labor movements and social movements often use a combination of advocacy, mobilizing, and organizing. But as McAlevey argues, organizing is the most important of those tasks—yet often the most overlooked. Her work aims to bring the movement back into labor, and winning back into the movement. 📖

Eleni Schirmer reads, writes, and teaches about labor movements and education. She has a PhD in Educational Policy Studies from the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

	ADVOCACY	MOBILIZING	ORGANIZING
Theory of Power	Elite. Advocacy groups tend to seek one-time wins or narrow policy changes, often through courts or backroom negotiations that do not permanently alter the relations of power. ☐	Primarily elites. Staff or activists set goals with low to medium concession costs or, more typically, set an ambitious goal and declare a win, even when the “win” has no, or only weak, enforcement provisions. Backroom, secret deal making by paid professionals is common. ☐	Mass, inclusive, and collective. Organizing groups transform the power structure to favor constituents and diminish the power of their opposition. Specific campaigns fit into a larger power-building strategy. They prioritize power analysis, involve ordinary people in it, and decipher the often hidden relationship between economic, social, and political power. Settlement typically comes from mass negotiations with large numbers involved. ☐
Strategy	Litigation; heavy spending on polling, advertising, and other paid media. ☐	Campaigns, run by professional staff, or volunteer activists with no base of actual, measurable supporters, that prioritize frames and messaging over base power. Staff-selected “authentic messengers” represent the constituency to the media and policymakers, but they have little or no real say in strategy or running the campaign. ☐	Recruitment and involvement of specific, large numbers of people whose power is derived from their ability to withdraw labor or other cooperation from those who rely on them. Majority strikes, sustained and strategic nonviolent direct action, electoral majorities. Frames matter, but the numbers involved are sufficiently compelling to create a significant earned media strategy. Mobilizing is seen as a tactic, not a strategy. ☐
People Focus	None	Grassroots activists. People already committed to the cause, who show up over and over. When they burn out, new, also previously committed activists are recruited. And so on. Social media are over-relied on. ☐	Organic leaders. The base is expanded through developing the skills of organic leaders who are key influencers of the constituency, and who can then, independent of staff, recruit new people never before involved. Individual, face-to-face interactions are key. ☐

Reprinted with permission of Jane McAlevey from her book No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age (Oxford University Press, reprint edition: April 1, 2018).

Ella Baker's Legacy: A Different Model of Leadership

As a community organizer, Ella Baker brought a different style of leadership to the civil rights movement—one that contrasted with the traditional model that celebrated a few charismatic individuals. Baker believed in deemphasizing top organizational figureheads and instead cultivating the abilities of everyday people to collectively join together and take action. She upheld the idea that organizations should be run by those most impacted by the problems the organization is trying to solve.

In a June 12, 2015 article in Colorlines, Barbara Ransby discussed Baker's approach to leadership:

Although she objected to the top-down, predominately male leadership structures that were typical of groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) and the NAACP in the 1950s and '60s, she realized the necessity for grounded, community-based leader-organizers such as sharecropper Fannie Lou Hamer and Cleveland, Mississippi-based local organizer Amzie Moore. Baker was not against leadership. She was opposed to hierarchical leadership that disempowered the masses and further privileged the already privileged.

When Oprah Winfrey complained that recent protests against police violence lack leadership, she was describing [Martin Luther King's] style of leading, or at least the way in which the King legacy has been most widely branded: the reverend as the strong, all-knowing, slightly imperfect but still not-like-us type of leader.

Baker represented a different leadership tradition altogether. She combined the generic concept of leadership—“a process of social influence in which a person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task”—and a confidence in the wisdom of ordinary people to define their problems and imagine solutions. Baker helped everyday people channel and congeal their collective power to resist oppression and fight for sustainable, transformative change....

That collective effort required leaders who were accountable to one another and were not singular. There were many organizers in groups such as SNCC who modeled Baker's brand of what sociologist Charles Payne has called “group-centered leadership.”

Rather than someone with a fancy title standing at a podium speaking for or to the people, group-centered leaders are at the center of many concentric circles. They strengthen the group, forge consensus and negotiate a way forward. That kind of leadership is impactful, democratic, and, I would argue, more radical and sustainable, than the alternatives.

<https://www.colorlines.com/articles/ella-taught-me-shattering-myth-leaderless-movement>

Another way in which Baker's leadership style contrasted with the norm within many civil rights organizations was her emphasis on valuing the contributions of women. Baker was opinionated and outspoken, even when social norms held that women should be quiet and deferential. At both the SCLC

and NAACP, she protested the fact that formal power rested in the hands of men, who almost exclusively were given top offices, while women were relegated to support roles.

Congressperson John Lewis, himself a prominent civil rights activist, wrote in his memoir *Walking with the Wind*: “Long before people began using the term ‘male chauvinism,’ Ella Baker was describing it and denouncing it in the civil rights movement, and she was right. There were very, very few women getting credit for their work, and even fewer emerged into leadership positions.”

In a January 16, 2017 article for *Time* magazine, journalist Julie Scelfo notes that the prevalence of sexism, even within the movement, may be one reason that Baker is less well-known today than she might be otherwise:

Despite her level of experience and proven track record, [Martin Luther King, Jr.] had difficulty allowing a woman’s decisions to trump his own, and her idea was that the organization should devote its resources more to promoting and enabling its overall mission rather than celebrating a charismatic leader. Wyatt Tee Walker, an early SCLC board member, told the filmmaker Joanne Grant that the ministers’ refusal to follow Baker’s advice was in practice with the era’s norms. “This was before the days of women’s liberation,” he says in the 1981 film [Fundi: The Story of Ella Baker....](#)

Despite Baker’s gifts for leadership and oratory, the SCLC pastors, intent on preserving their patriarchal hierarchy, refused to allow her to share in their prestige.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Scelfo goes on to discuss another reason why Ella Baker may be less well-known and widely celebrated today than some other civil rights activists:

Baker spent years of her life performing the essential—but far from glamorous—act of listening, a crucial first step in helping beleaguered Blacks develop enough self-worth to demand being treated with dignity in an environment where they had every reason to fear brutality and economic reprisal from their white neighbors. She also understood group dynamics and how to empower people to join forces, a delicate task that involves responding to a wide array of human feelings.

A narrative about this kind of work is inherently less dramatic and far more complicated than, say, the tale of a discreet act of bravery on a bus. But great leaders have recognized for centuries that high emotional intelligence, or the ability to recognize and respond to other people’s feelings, is central to successfully influencing them.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Baker possessed this type of intelligence and infused it into her approach to organizing. In doing so, she paved the way for many young people and women to grow in their own leadership.

Today, her legacy can be seen in organizations like Black Lives Matter, which promote a “leaderful” and feminist style of organizing. Because of this, Baker not only helped change the world, she changed how people went about changing the world.

Case 1: Faculty Union, a Rarity at HBCUs, Is Poised to Emerge at Howard U.

By [Peter Schmidt](#) April 30, 2022

Washington

Adjunct instructors at Howard University appear to be on the verge of unionizing, marking an unusual victory for faculty labor organizers at a historically black higher-education institution.

Leaders of the effort to organize Howard's roughly 130 part-time instructors expressed confidence this week in prevailing when ballots are counted, on Wednesday. The Service Employees International Union, which has mounted the unionization drive at Howard, [has already organized](#) at three of this city's largest universities, accounting for about 70 percent of its adjunct work force.

Howard's leadership has done nothing to oppose the union election. In a statement issued on Monday through Kerry-Ann Hamilton, a spokeswoman, Howard's administration said, "We greatly appreciate the invaluable contributions of our faculty, both adjunct and full time," and "will continue to negotiate in good faith with all represented employees to meet our mission."

The SEIU similarly is seeking to unionize more than 200 part-time faculty members at another historically black institution here, the University of the District of Columbia.

Although the UDC's tenure-track faculty members already are represented by an affiliate of the National Education Association, faculty collective-bargaining units, for the most part, are much less likely to exist at historically black colleges and universities than elsewhere in higher education. They have been established at fewer than a tenth of the nation's 105 historically black colleges and universities, compared with well over a third of all nonprofit public and private colleges in the United States.

The relative scarcity of faculty unions at HBCUs partly reflects such colleges' concentration in Southern states with laws unfriendly to organized labor. In addition, some experts on HBCUs say, the distinct cultures of such institutions often generate opposition to faculty unions.

Marybeth Gasman, a professor of education at the University of Pennsylvania who has studied HBCUs extensively, said last week in an interview that the formation of such a union at Howard would be "very, very meaningful" for other such institutions because "people in general really look up to Howard and see it as being a leader."

"Some HBCUs," Ms. Gasman said, "might get a little afraid that that is going happen on their campus."

Family Affairs

Most HBCUs with unionized faculty members are public institutions in Delaware, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, where the collective-bargaining units were established in the 1970s or 1980s, often as part of a broader unionization of public colleges.

An exception is Harris-Stowe State University, in St. Louis, where nearly 80 percent of full-time faculty members voted last fall to establish the first faculty collective-bargaining unit at any of Missouri's public universities. Contract negotiations between the union chapter, an affiliate of the NEA, and the administration have been contentious.

Gregory S. Carr, an assistant professor of speech, theater, and English at Harris-Stowe and vice president of its faculty union, said in an interview on Tuesday that the unionization effort there had been met by "a great deal of anger, and some people felt betrayed."

"HBCUs tend to be 'family,'" Mr. Carr said. "When someone in the family disagrees, often it is taken personally and not objectively."

Elizabeth K. Davenport, a professor of educational leadership at Florida A&M University who is researching unionization and shared governance at historically black colleges, said in an interview that the presidents of such institutions tend to be heavily supported by alumni and less tolerant of dissent on their faculties than those at other colleges.

Ms. Davenport, the president of her historically black university's faculty union, an affiliate of the United Faculty of Florida, said, "Unionizing—finding a voice—rests with the faculty. It doesn't come from outside forces."

Outside Pressures

The challenges involved in unionizing faculty members at HBCUs were the focus of a panel discussion in New York this month, at the [annual conference](#) of the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions.

Derryn Moten, an associate professor of humanities at Alabama State University and co-president of his institution's Faculty-Staff Alliance, which lacks collective-bargaining power, attributed much of historically black colleges' resistance to unionization to the political interference and neglect many have experienced.

"These schools," he said, "have always been left to wither on the vine."

Zillah Fluker, associate vice president for development at Alabama State, argued that many people at such institutions view labor unions as hostile to their colleges, as relics of the past, or as agents of past discrimination against black workers. She discussed the need for faculty members and administrators to work together and avoid being divided by such "haters."

Penn's Ms. Gasman said such institutions had been shaped by a time when the surrounding local community opposed the education of black people, and "the president really did have to protect the institution from the outside."

Such sensitivities appear to have played little role at Howard, where the SEIU has sought to unionize adjunct instructors as part of a broader campaign to organize such faculty members throughout [entire metropolitan areas](#).

Monique A. Peters, an adjunct professor of mathematics at Howard who has aided the union drive there, said not only has the administration offered no resistance, but tenured faculty members, for the most part, “have all shared encouragement toward the effort.”

Case 2: Maryland HBCUs awarded half a billion in racial discrimination compensation

After ‘historic’ \$577m settlement, historically black colleges and universities look to combat educational inequities

[Kenya Evelyn](#) in Washington

Thu 26 Mar 2020 10.33 EDT

Share

Maryland has voted in favor of awarding four state universities more than half a billion dollars in compensation for years of institutional racial discrimination, signaling the end of a long legal battle.

In a victory resulting from a [lawsuit filed](#) more than a decade ago, four historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) can expect a boost to their budgets of a total of \$577m after the Maryland senate, in a rare legislative resolution to legal action, gave bipartisan support to a landmark settlement.

“It’s been a long time coming,” said Michael Jones, partner with Kirkland & Ellis LLP and one of the lead attorneys with the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. “We’ve had four failed mediations under two governors since 2013.

“It was a historic moment. Listening to it was like listening to the passage of major civil rights legislation,” Jones added.

In 2006, the Coalition for Equity and Excellence in Maryland Higher Education [filed a lawsuit](#) alleging the state deliberately duplicated innovative educational programs created at black universities, luring would-be students to their white counterparts.

The coalition is composed of alumni of HBCUs. The more than 100 institutions were established before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mostly in the latter 19th century, to serve African Americans who were barred from predominantly white schools.

The suit alleged the state’s duplication of programs [exacerbated HBCUs’ existing funding inequities](#).

Earlier this month, the Maryland senate voted unanimously to pass the legislation authorizing the settlement, split between the University of Maryland Eastern Shore, as well as Bowie, Coppin and Morgan State Universities.

A United Negro College Fund 2014 report found that these colleges [produce more than 9,000 jobs](#), generating lifetime earnings of \$95bn. They also have an estimated \$1bn economic impact.

What makes the lawsuit especially rare is for it to be resolved by legislation. Similar suits have been litigated through the US justice department.

Speaking at [a committee hearing](#) on the bill, the Maryland state house speaker and lead sponsor, Adrienne Jones, called it necessary to mitigate “lost time for tens of thousands of students waiting.

“We [needed] to act now to level the playing field for all students regardless of background or race or college they attend,” she said.

Mickey Burnim, interim president at Coppin State said at the hearing that the bill, [known as HB1260](#), can begin to solve the problems discrimination has created.

“HB1260 affords the unique opportunity to address decades of previous untraceable and traceable state-supported inequities and the unnecessary duplication in programs at HBCUs in the state,” he said.

Attorney Michael Jones noted that African American consumers typically [pay more in interest rates](#) for mortgages, loans or cars” and that “societal challenges” add to what Maryland schools, HBCUs nationwide face “by virtue of being largely African American.

“HBCU students [pay more for student loans](#), and schools have to [pay more for bond issues](#) than non-HBCUs, particularly in the south, even accounting for various levels of credit worthiness,” he said.

A bipartisan understanding of that legacy is credited with the bill’s unanimous passage. The Democratic state senator Obie Patterson [told the Baltimore Sun](#) he was inspired to see every Republican vote in support.

“I have never been so pleased in all my life to see all green lights on that board,” he said. “We all can come together for a common cause and do what’s right.”

The bill permits Maryland’s HBCUs to use the additional funding to establish new degree programs, recruit faculty and marketing contractors, and invest in scholarships and financial aid.

Funding would be distributed proportional to enrollment at each institution.

The bill now goes to the desk of the Republican governor ,Larry Hogan. His [spokesperson confirmed](#) he will give the legislative resolution consideration. Due to “overwhelming support”, the Morgan State president, David Kwabena Wilson, is optimistic the governor will sign the legislation.

“It wasn’t passed with a razor-thin edge, it was almost unanimous if you take both houses of the legislature together,” he said.

While the bill is veto-proof, if the HBCU coalition and the state cannot formally accept the legislated agreement by 1 December, it becomes null and void.

The bill requires that attorney’s fees, about \$22m, be paid through a mandated \$10m increase for each campus in each fiscal year to help with long-term planning, scheduled to begin 2022.

As HBCUs grapple with [decreased federal funding](#) and struggling endowments, Kristen Clarke, Lawyers' Committee president and executive director, is confident in the precedent their settlement may have in addressing longstanding HBCU discrimination.

"We hope that an ultimate victory here might provide a pathway that can open up opportunities to achieve greater equity for HBCUS in other parts of the country," she said.

Case 3: Howard University students reach an agreement with officials after a month of protest

NOVEMBER 15, 2021 8:12 PM ET

By

Jonathan Franklin

Howard University students gathered on campus to protest poor housing conditions and what they said was mistreatment by the university administration in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 25.

Salwan Georges/The Washington Post via Getty Images

For more than a month, students at Howard University in Washington, D.C., have been fighting for answers from the school administration as they protested poor housing conditions on campus.

But on Monday, an agreement with protesters at one of the nation's top historically Black universities had been reached, the school announced in a tweet.

The specific details of the negotiations between students and administration were not immediately available. NPR reached out to Howard University; they did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

The university's president, Dr. Wayne A. I. Frederick, released a video message Monday addressing the end of campus protests and how the school will improve conditions for students.

Sponsor Message

"The health and well-being of our students is the most important part of my job as president," Frederick said. "As I have said before, even one issue in one of our dormitories is too many, and we will continue to remain vigilant in our pledge to maintain safe and high-end housing."

He also did not provide details but referenced the school's 2020 master plan to "grow and invest" in the university, which he said focuses on improving campus experiences for its students, faculty and staff.

During a news conference Monday, student protesters began to celebrate the agreement. "We spent 33 days saying that not only did our lives matter, that our voices mattered and our concerns mattered," said one student leader. "We came, we saw, we declared and we won."

Students at Howard University are protesting poor housing conditions on campus

Students had been sleeping in tents outside the Blackburn University Center since Oct. 12, protesting what they said were poor housing conditions and the lack of student representation on the Board of Trustees.

Since the start of the fall semester, students say they've raised concerns to campus administrators regarding mold in the walls of their dorms, the lack of COVID-19 testing for students and the overall safety on campus, according to DCist/WAMU.

In his State of the Union address on Nov. 5, Frederick stated that mold was discovered in 41 out of 2,700 rooms on campus, with some of the damage being the result of "accidental human error."

Sponsor Message

In 2018, students led a nine-day occupation of the campus administration building which resulted in an agreement between officials and students on several campus changes. The changes included a revision of the school's sexual assault policy, a review of policies allowing campus police officers to carry weapons and the creation of a food bank on campus for students.

Case 4: Human Rights Campaign HBCU Program Announces New Cohort of PrEP Ambassadors

by Jarred Keller • August 25, 2023

WASHINGTON — The Human Rights Campaign Foundation (HRCF), the educational arm of the nation's largest lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) civil rights organization, and the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) program is proud to announce its new PrEP (Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis) Ambassador cohort. This year, 12 students will serve as PrEP Peer Educators to eliminate HIV & AIDS-related stigma on HBCU campuses through public education regarding PrEP, HIV testing and treatment. Since its inception, this program has helped educate some of the most vulnerable communities, including college students, about preventative care and the continuing realities of the HIV epidemic.

Kynna Burney, North Carolina A&T State University

The 12-person cohort consists of students from HBCUs across the country, including: Gevon Finley, Dillard University; Maya Wilson, North Carolina A&T State University; Kalya Dudley, John Jay College of Criminal Justice; Ryan Lastie Jr., Dillard University; Shania Stowe, Winston-Salem State University; Amarachi Okafor, Stillman College; Cheyanne Harris, Spelman College; Korinne Seveur, Spelman College; Maya Hawkins, Winston-Salem State University; Jamal Carr, Bowie State University; Tyronae Smith, Dillard University; and Kynna Burney, North Carolina A&T State University.

"We are thrilled to welcome this dynamic cohort of HBCU students and take great pride in the work they're doing to continue spreading the message of HIV awareness on the respective campuses," said HBCU Director, Leslie Hall. "As a Black gay man and HBCU alumni, I'm aware of the hurdles college aged youth face when it comes to knowing their status and taking the appropriate measures to maintain their optimal health. The creation of this ambassadorship program serves as an outlet for those who may be unfamiliar with the nuances surrounding HIV, but want to take measures to ensure their community is educated on this impactful topic."

Currently, about 1.2 million people are living with HIV in the United States, but it is estimated that roughly 13% of this group are unaware of their status. HIV disproportionately impacts Black individuals (42.1% of all new diagnoses in 2019 were among Black people), followed by Hispanic people (21.7% of new diagnoses). and individuals aged 13-24 make up 1 out of every 5 new cases of HIV, but 44% of that demographic are unaware of their status—with only 24% of college students having been tested for HIV. Despite these alarming statistics, over half of HBCUs have no formal HIV prevention policies, fueling this program's mission of supporting those who are all too often left vulnerable to the HIV epidemic. Through this ambassadorship cohort, the HBCU program will work to ensure that PrEP is offered on or near HBCU campuses to further protect the communities most at risk.

The Human Rights Campaign Foundation is the educational arm of the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), America's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ+) people. Through its programs, the HRC Foundation seeks to make transformational change in the everyday lives of LGBTQ+ people, shedding light on inequity and

deepening the public's understanding of LGBTQ+ issues, with a clear focus on advancing transgender and racial justice. Its work has transformed the landscape for more than 15 million workers, 11 million students, 1 million clients in the adoption and foster care system and so much more. The HRC Foundation provides direct consultation and technical assistance to institutions and communities, driving the advancement of inclusive policies and practices; it builds the capacity of future leaders and allies through fellowship and training programs; and, with the firm belief that we are stronger working together, it forges partnerships with advocates in the U.S. and around the globe to increase our impact and shape the future of our work.

Case 5: ‘It’s about damn time’: College workers organize amid nationwide labor unrest

By [BIANCA QUILANTAN](#) and [BLAKE JONES](#)

02/04/2023 07:00 AM EST

Frustrated by low wages and new laws limiting what they can teach — and buoyed by President Joe Biden’s pro-union bent — campus workers across the country are moving with new urgency to organize.

A historic strike at the University of California kicked things off in November. And the six-week standoff among 48,000 campus workers, a [broader surge in labor strikes](#) across industries, a depleted pandemic workforce and a friendlier atmosphere in Washington has culminated in a wave of uprisings.

University of Illinois-Chicago faculty went on strike for four days last month. Hundreds of graduate students at Temple University in Philadelphia took to picket lines earlier this week. And the University of Washington averted a scheduled walkout by librarians and other campus employees in December just three hours before staff planned to hit the streets.

Workers are demanding increased wages, better health benefits, more job security and improved working conditions, and so far colleges are scrambling to meet them.

“We have seen the past two to three years a lot of interest from higher ed workers organizing in states that do not necessarily have the collective bargaining rights or the ability to bargain with their employer on their wages and benefits,” said Enida Shuku, an organizer with United Campus Workers who said the group is in discussions with several institutions about joining UCW.

Even in Southern states, including Tennessee, Arizona and Mississippi, organizers are pressing school leaders about pay and fights over free speech on college campuses.

“We’re all seeing it and experiencing it ... and it’s about damn time,” Shuku said.

Graduate students typically double as employees for their institutions, teaching general education classes and working as lab assistants while pursuing their degrees. Many workers say they make below a living wage. At Temple, for example, the average graduate student worker can expect to make around [\\$19,500 a year](#).

With union-friendly Biden in the White House, campus workers feel they have the extra leverage they need to unionize and strike.

Under President Donald Trump, campus organizers feared the Republican-majority on the National Labor Relations Board would use their cases to overturn a precedent that allowed graduate students at private universities to unionize, said Mark Gaston Pearce, who chaired the board under President Barack Obama.

“Anything that required having to go through the board processes was avoided because they did not want to put the board in the position to weigh in relative to that question,” said Pearce, who is now the

executive director of the Workers' Rights Institute at Georgetown University. "Now — that no longer being an obstacle — it's not surprising that there is a flurry of organizing going on."

In fact, Biden has been stocking the NLRB with commissioners who favor unionization among graduate students, something Trump administration appointees [once considered banning altogether](#).

Boston University graduate students had backed off a unionization drive during the Trump administration, fearing a rejection from the board. But workers regrouped last fall, encouraged by a Democratic majority on the NLRB, and eventually voted to unionize in December.

"With the shift in political landscape more recently, it kind of lightened the stressors of whether or not we'd be able to unionize to begin with and allowed us to have another go at it," said Alex Lion, a PhD candidate and organizer at the university.

UIC faculty almost went on strike in 2019, but the night before they were set to stop work, they agreed on a contract. Following "exhausting" semesters of online instruction, months of inflation chipping away at workers' earnings and a surge in labor action nationwide, faculty vacated lecture halls in January for four days before agreeing to a contract that will raise the lowest-paid employees' wages by \$9,000.

"Across the nation, faculty and students everywhere are pretty exhausted," said Charitianne Williams, a UIC English professor and a member of the union's bargaining team. "I think that whether you're faculty union at UIC or in a union at Starbucks, that's a really difficult space to live in."

Campus workers at the University of California got tens of thousands of dollars in raises, larger child care stipends and commuter benefits after weeks on the picket line. University of Washington's union was able to secure salary boosts and academic freedom protections in January, negating reason to strike.

Conservative critics, though, argue the successful labor wave could spread universities' resources thinner — forcing them to slash student worker positions or make other cuts — to afford the raises won during bargaining.

"The money has to come from somewhere," said Timothy Snowball, a civil rights attorney at the Freedom Foundation, a nonprofit organization that challenges labor unions, "and I think this is when ideology kind of comes up hard against basic economics."

Case 6: USC Workers to Call for Living Wages at Speak-Out on 10/26

Columbia, SC - The United Campus Workers union of South Carolina (UCW-CWA 3765) will hold a speak-out at the Russell House Patio on **Thursday, October 26 at 11:30am**. Staff, faculty, and student workers will join together to call on President Amiridis to raise wages for workers across the University of South Carolina.

In recent years, unionized workers fought for and won \$15/hour wages for full time staff at USC, but inflation and rising cost of living has left workers still struggling to make ends meet. "We've come too far to turn back now," said Ben Brown, a groundskeeper and union member at USC.

Workers are organizing to win the demands of their new living wage campaign, which are listed in a [petition](#) launched earlier in August. These demands include a minimum wage of \$20/hour for all hourly workers, a minimum of \$40,000/year for salaried workers, and a minimum annual stipend of \$20,000/year for graduate workers. Workers are also calling for increases to reflect the rising cost of living, increases based on years of service, and living wages for contract workers.

USC prides itself on excellence and integrity. However, the state's flagship institution does not currently pay workers living wages that reflect their contributions and dedication to our community. Of approximately 9,900 full-time employees at USC, nearly 1,000 currently make less than \$20 an hour. Notably, this does not include contract (food service, custodial, grounds and maintenance, etc.) and graduate workers, who make some of the lowest wages on campus.

According to the MIT Living Wage Calculator, the cost of living in Columbia, SC has increased 33% in just four years. This extreme increase in the cost of living has not been reflected in workers' paychecks. **In 1963, Rev. Dr. MLK Jr. called for a \$2 minimum wage. This would be \$20 today, adjusted for inflation. We echo this call for economic and racial justice for all.**

"All campus workers need and deserve a living wage," said Jaimee Wishon, a Graduate Teaching Assistant and Chair of United Campus Workers at USC, "but we will only get what we are organized to take."

The speak-out will be held on the patio of the Russell House on the stage across from the Center for Health and Well-Being (1409 Devine St, Columbia, SC 29208).

Possible Case: Q&A: What does political engagement look like at an HBCU?

by [Skyler Winston](#) February 21, 2024

Students from historically Black colleges and universities have long played a role in shaping social and political movements, and 2024 is no exception. Across the country, HBCU students are [organizing pro-Palestine activism](#) efforts on their campuses. They're struggling with complicated feelings [about who to vote for](#) in November.

To learn more about what political engagement looks like at an HBCU versus a predominantly white institution (PWI), Open Campus spoke with [Princess Williams](#), an HBCU graduate and professor of political science at Washington University in St. Louis.

This conversation has been lightly edited for clarity and length.

Q: Having earned your Bachelor's in Political Science from Jackson State University and completed your Master's at the University of Michigan, did you observe any contrasts in political involvement among students at these universities? If so, what were they like?

Princess Williams: I started at Jackson State in 2010, and I would say students were engaged in local and state politics. In terms of national issues, when Trayvon Martin was murdered, there were protests, and people were engaged on campus. In general, Jackson State students have a history of being involved in politics, dating back to the 1970s when there was [a shooting on campus](#) during the Vietnam War protests. So, students have always been engaged. During my four years at Jackson State, I would say they were engaged. However, just from observing on social media after I left, it seems like engagement increased because more salient issues were happening in the country — such as police brutality and very consequential presidential elections. In the years 2010 to 2014, there were things happening, but they were not as public-facing, and there were more local issues.

For example, there was a Black man running for governor, and it was a very popular election. We also had a highly contested mayoral election, so the focus was more on local issues when I was there. Upon moving to Michigan in 2014, right before Michael Brown was murdered, it was a strange time to start grad school. I was accustomed to being in a Black enclave in the South at an HBCU, where race wasn't a constant consideration — you were just living and existing. Then, I moved to a place where the majority was white, with only four percent Black students. Witnessing the shooting unfold during that time was a profound experience.

But there was a lot of engagement. I wouldn't say that it was just political science or social science students; it was across the board. I would also say that Michigan fostered an environment where students felt comfortable expressing themselves and addressing the issues they cared about.

In 2016, there was an incident on campus where someone posted offensive posters about Black people, leading to campus protests and community demonstrations. Perhaps the issues at Michigan were different, which is why I often mention that there was more engagement at Michigan compared to Texas State. However, both HBCU and PWI students, particularly Black students, are engaging in response to the various issues in the country. With so many challenges, Black people, in general, have always had to go out and advocate to ensure that our needs are understood and addressed.

Q: In your experience as a political science professor, have you noticed any notable trends or shifts in the political participation of young people?

From my point of view, I would say that your generation is way more informed on politics than mine. I also think you all are more engaged, particularly with the use of social media. For instance, you're constantly having dialogues on TikTok, Twitter, and other platforms. When my generation started on social media, it was mainly for jokes and fun, and at some point, everything became politicized. However, I believe that your generation is more informed on issues, and you are not necessarily loyal to a specific political party or candidate.

When I was in college, my generation tended to automatically align with a party, regardless of personal feelings towards the candidate. It was like, "Okay, I'm a Democrat" or "I'm a Republican," so I'm just going to support the party. In contrast, I see that your generation is more critical of political leaders. However, I also feel that you all are more disillusioned with politics. This is one of my concerns about the younger generation. While you are more aware, there is also a belief that you can make a difference, that you should be out there protesting, and that you should not get tired of doing it.

I believe that your generation is way smarter, more informed, more savvy, and more creative than our generation was. However, at the same time, I'm hoping that information and understanding the political landscape in this country do not discourage you all from actually voting, running for office, and engaging in other activities later down the line.

Q: How might political involvement on HBCU campuses differ from that at predominantly white institutions (PWIs)?

Based on my experience at Jackson State as a student, Michigan, and Amherst (where I previously worked, and now I'm at Wash U), I would say they are not similar. For example, at Michigan, students had a more radical approach in terms of expressing themselves. When Charles Murray, who wrote the book "The Bell Curve," was invited by the Republican student group on campus, students hijacked the room and projected an arrow pointing at him, labeling him as a white supremacist. They engaged in more outspoken actions, different from what I observed at other institutions.

There were strikes and protests on campus, particularly by grad students and undergrads, with students of color, especially Black women, taking leadership roles in diversity, equity, and inclusion work. There were instances where students planned strikes, like withholding lectures, demanding payment for

diversity work. This led to the university implementing an initiative to pay students for diversity work through stipends. The approach at Michigan was more radical.

At Jackson State, I'm not entirely familiar with current events, but historically, the issues revolved around local and state politics. Even campus issues were approached with an eye on future engagement beyond the university. The concerns were different, such as disputes over meal plans, but not as intense as those at Michigan. Jackson State students had to care about different things, and there was a certain luxury at Michigan in not having to deal with some of the issues faced at an institution like Jackson State. Of course, both institutions had their own set of challenges, like housing, but the required actions and engagement were not the same.

Q: Many Black students may harbor distrust toward politicians and other public institutions. How do you believe this distrust might impact their participation in the political process?

If you feel like they don't keep their word, you are less likely to participate in politics, because you may not see the political process as a viable vehicle to make changes or maximize your own interests. If you do participate, you might vote third party or, over time, become an independent voter. I believe that this distrust leads to a decrease in turnout over time.

Going back to the concern that younger voters are more aware and critical, my hope is that they don't lose hope and interest in the process. Voting matters; you may not think it will impact you immediately, but at some point, it will influence the policies that are passed or impact your life. Understanding that change is slow but continuous and crucial. You have to have faith that it will work out at some point.

However, I can also understand the discouragement when you see issues persisting for decades. Overall, this distrust will impact turnout and political participation.

Q: What do you think politicians can do in efforts to build trust with Black students?

I think one very simple solution is to have town hall meetings where you invite young voters to come and talk directly to you, providing access to political candidates. A lot of the time, I believe this is one thing that has changed their minds. In the past, presidential candidates and even local candidates were more accessible 10 or 20 years ago. Now, it seems like they rely more on social media to spread the word about their campaigns and express their platforms. However, voters, especially younger ones, feel a bit out of reach, both literally and figuratively. Therefore, engaging with voters in person and in public is crucial.

I also think political parties could do better with outreach, specifically targeting younger voters who are already politically inclined. This involves having them run for offices so they can speak to the issues and bring the voices of youth voters to the table when creating party platforms or passing laws in Congress. In terms of parties and candidates, actively reaching out and mobilizing voters through face-to-face

interactions, as well as appointing younger voters to offices and positions in the party, would ensure representation. When you see someone around your age, you're more likely to listen to them. Therefore, having representation matters and can make a difference.

Skyler Winston is a fellow with the [HBCU Student Journalism Network](#), a project of [Open Campus](#).



Possible Case: Lacking Collective Bargaining Rights, but Organizing Anyway.

By [Ryan Quinn](#)

Public university employees in states lacking collective bargaining rights aren't letting that exclude them from the current wave of union organizing and action in higher education.

Their efforts to build faculty-staff coalitions and improve working conditions despite lacking university recognition or contracts harkens back to higher education organizing before the Cold War.

"What's happening now is a new regeneration of that concept, that wall-to-wall organizing," said William A. Herbert, executive director of the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions.

Unlike for private employers, which are regulated by the National Labor Relations Board, states decide whether to offer public university workers collective bargaining rights.

"Wall-to-wall" means trying to unite all workers into a single bargaining unit, even or especially when collective bargaining—the officially sanctioned bargaining process leading to an officially recognized contract—isn't available.

"It's literally an old-school form of labor organizing," said Herbert, whose center is at Hunter College, part of the City University of New York. In [a 2017 history](#) published in the *Journal of Collective Bargaining in the Academy*, he wrote about what he calls "the little-remembered United Public Workers of America."

"UPWA and its predecessor unions played important roles in advancing collective bargaining in education and other fields in the 1940s," he wrote. "They sought to organize wall-to-wall educational units that included faculty and staff for purposes of collective bargaining, and they successfully negotiated some of the first contracts covering teachers and faculty."

"The successful anti-communist attacks on UPWA, and the demise of the [New School for Social Research's unionized] Dramatic Workshop, lowered the curtain on faculty collective bargaining in higher education, which did not resume until decades later when the AFT [American Federation of Teachers], the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) began organizing faculty for purposes of collective bargaining in the late 1960s and 1970s," he wrote.

"A union is fundamentally an organization of people," said Melanie Barron, a senior campaign lead for [United Campus Workers](#), "and we have the freedom of assembly, the right of association with any group we choose. And so we can exercise those rights at the workplace, whether we have this one particular tactic available to us or not. Like, collective bargaining wasn't always a thing."

United Campus Workers, affiliated with the Communications Workers of America and the AFL-CIO umbrella union organization, is a prominent organizer in non-collective bargaining states.

“Tenure fights are a huge part of what people are talking about right now, almost everywhere,” Barron said. “And then also staff issues. People think of universities mainly as faculty, graduate student types of organizing, but there are also enormous workforces of staff that play a critical role in making universities function, and usually they are pretty underpaid and have a lot of issues.”

Barron said UCW works to unite these different constituencies.

“And we do so without waiting for the legal framework to catch up with the idea that workers need unions in this country,” she said.

UCW says it formed in 2000 at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, where Barron was a graduate worker, out of [campaign for a living wage for staff](#).

Since 2017, Barron said, UCW has expanded into 10 new states in the South and West. Of those, only two allow collective bargaining at public universities: Florida and Colorado, and the latter for staff only.

The UCW Florida chapter opened in 2021, but UCW isn’t officially recognized there yet, Barron said.

“There are places where collective bargaining is a part of the conversation, and we want to see that,” she said. She said part of what UCW does is organize workers “to have an impact at the Legislature, because we elect our bosses—we elect the people who make a lot of decisions about higher education funding and how money is spent and all of those things and, yeah, the future of collective bargaining—should we ever have it.”

Over the past five years, according to Barron’s figures, the number of dues-paying UCW members nationally has grown from about 2,550 to 6,950. The largest net membership growth over those past five years came in the first two years of the pandemic, when membership grew by 2,960 and chapters opened at 19 universities in six new states.

Arizona was among those. Alex Young said the UCW chapter at Arizona State University grew out of activism in the pandemic’s early days, when employees felt in-person teaching and deficient COVID-19 mitigation threatened themselves and their disabled colleagues.

Young, a nontenured associate teaching professor at Barrett, the ASU Honors College, said he thinks being in a union helped engage members in political canvassing—he canvassed for Katie Hobbs, the Democrat who won the governorship in 2022.

“In the political realm like that, it’s gotten us more representation that we could have possibly had just sort of working as individual faculty or staff members,” he said.

“The path to collective bargaining is very long here and would mean flipping the state Legislature,” Young said. “But, you know, flipping the governor’s office seemed like a pretty distant goal two years ago.”

But Young said wall-to-wall organizing also creates an imperative to unite workers who may have different political beliefs—by using common labor concerns.

“A staff member working for \$40,000 a year, whatever it might be, all year long isn’t going to be particularly moved by contingent faculty members’ desire for a research sabbatical,” Young said, “so when the shop isn’t just kind of strictly defined by a working role as it would be in an NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] situation, that creates the necessity of really kind of broadening your perspective on what the sort of labor struggles are on campus. For me, personally, it’s made me focus more on some people who are facing more dire situations than the one I’m in.”

Wendy Goldberg, a nontenured lecturer in writing at the University of Mississippi, said she’s been with UCW since a chapter opened on her campus in 2018.

“I think the most important thing in this phenomenon is—the biggest challenge is to help people understand that they can join the union and that we are guaranteed the right to organize even if we don’t have collective bargaining,” Goldberg said.

“A lot of things that we can do in a non–collective bargaining union is to educate people about their rights, to inform the public about our positions, to have petitions and [teach-ins](#),” she said. “There’s a lot of things in our, quote, arsenal to do that can be successful.”

Barron said an inspiring example of making change without collective bargaining came from West Virginia’s statewide public school worker strikes in 2018 and 2019.

Teachers, bus drivers and other workers—who are represented by unions including the AFT and NEA, but don’t have collective bargaining rights—banded together to shut down every public school statewide and flood the state capitol building with protestors. They halted cuts to their health coverage and won pay raises.

“They didn’t have the legal right to strike,” Barron said, “but they made it impossible for anyone to ignore them or just punish them all outright. They won.”

West Virginia Campus Workers, a non-UCW group, is organizing at West Virginia University. It’s affiliated with AFT Academics.

Leslie Wilber, a member and graduate student who teaches English classes, said WVCW went public as a union in spring 2022 but had been organizing as far back as 2020. At a demonstration last week, WVU graduate workers [publicly signed up for food stamps](#) and demanded pay increases and fee eliminations.

“West Virginia in particular has this really powerful labor history, and we’re proud to be a part of it,” she said. “But we also know ... because of that history, you only win these rights by fighting for them.”

“We become a union by acting like one,” she said.

Unions for Private University Grad Students

Under federal law, private university employees can unionize—except, generally, tenured and tenure-track faculty, following a [1980 U.S. Supreme Court ruling](#).

But Matthew Thomas, a Duke University Ph.D. student who teaches and assists in teaching classes there, said organizing in a Southern, right-to-work state still presents added challenges.

Right-to-work laws mean that even when a union earns official recognition and negotiates a contract with the employer, the workers the union is supposed to represent still don't have to pay dues supporting it. The Service Employees International Union-affiliated Duke Graduate Students Union, which Thomas co-chairs, is currently trying to earn recognition after a failed attempt in 2016–17.

"It adds another job for us—to organize folks to bring them into membership—whereas, you know, in another place, they would automatically be a member," Thomas said. He said other, already recognized Duke unions face this issue.

"I think it's a resource limitation, and it also undercuts sort of the organizing culture on campus," he said.

Like the public university employees who don't have collective bargaining rights, Thomas said his organization has still achieved progress without that imprimatur.

He pointed to U.S. Bureau of Labor Statics data showing that North Carolina has the second-lowest union membership rate among wage and salaried workers over all, at just 2.8 percent. South Carolina has the lowest, at 1.7 percent. The highest percentages were just over 20 percent in New York and Hawaii.

"I think it just creates more of an uphill battle," he said of the low Southern unionization rates, "but I think one thing about the prevailing culture of organizing here is that it makes the work feel a lot more significant."



Intentional Power Building Analysis

Case:

What are the core issues in this case?

What might be demands in this case?

Who has the power to grant the demand?	What actions influence the target?
Who influences your target?	Who do you want to join you in support of your campaign?
What might be a member, leader, or staff person's role in a case like this? You will have to infer as it is not overtly stated in any of the cases.	

Do This; Don't Do That

For Organizers in Black-Led Spaces

DO:

Before you visit

- Plan realistically with your manager for the time and focus this work will take. You will need significant time to build relationships before and between tasks directly relating to campaign goals. The success of your work may look different and be measured differently during this time.
- Build relationships with the appropriate level of worksite admin, related organizations (Alumni, Divine Nine, etc.), and with trusted and respected leaders. Work with staff, governance, Aspiring Ed, or others to identify any engaged members or union-friendly faces with whom you can connect and begin introductions.
- Develop skills in coaching through questioning. The HBCU community protects and promotes shared values of Black excellence and the understanding that within itself, the community has what the community needs to succeed. Your role will be to ask questions leading them to discover their own goals, resources, assumptions, and power; not to tell them your assessment of those things. While always best practice, in this setting it will make or break your efforts and impact future relationships between the HBCU community and the union.
- Get to know local favorite spots, black-owned businesses, and other community hubs. If you go to SUBR and suggest meeting at Starbucks instead of Southern Grind, you will miss an opportunity to establish trust, demonstrate community support and understanding, and will likely reinforce “otherness”.
- Learn the relationships between other nearby HBCUs and other influential relationships and engage accordingly. Avoid foot-in-mouth disease.

DO:

During your visit

- Be respectful. HBCUs are a sacred cultural space. There will be similar customs and practices. Watch, listen, and approach with humility for learning. When possible, get to know the campus and workers with a trusted and respected member of the community.
- Take in the joy! These are also celebratory, uniquely supportive spaces. This is intentionally developed through a history of work and sacrifice. Appreciate it and let it impact you.
- Engage intentionally in activities and spaces that prioritize community interest, not union interest. There is a history of trauma around exploitation and transactional

interactions. Establish trust by being of service to the community and experiencing day-to-day life without an external agenda before making requests of any kind.

- Use 1:1 best practice. Listen for issue organizing potential and lean hard into learning who they trust and respect. Be sure to talk to different constituencies (Aspiring Ed and education faculty are a good starting place, but they are not the whole universe).
- Invest in worksite mapping geographically relationally. Be sure you know who influences whom, and look for blind spots in your maps (demographics, departments, etc.)
- Ask the workers where they want to meet. Use spaces that are comfortable, convenient, and central to worksite culture, not what is familiar to you. While public spaces tend to feel like neutral spaces in the world at large for white organizers, this isn't everyone's experience. Spaces are intentionally cultivated at and around HBCUs to reflect community values. Support those spaces and worker preferences.
- Lean hard into best practices of teaching workers to organize themselves. This is not the space to center yourself.

Don't:

- Don't take the low hanging fruit for relatability. Stay authentic, stay humble, and stay in your role. For example: If your group is engaging in joking about another HBCU, that does not mean you can join in. You are a guest, not a part of the community. You may not speak disparagingly of another HBCU, even in jest. I can talk about my family, but you can't talk about my family. Be relaxed but be respectful.
- Don't approach this work with a savior or missionary mindset. This kind of condescension, even accidental, will invoke historical and lived trauma, sever your relationships and destroy your credibility. It is not tolerated in this setting. Even when asked for advice, be honored, but return to your coaching through questioning. Stay in line with the shared values that people in the HBCU community, like any community, can solve their own problems with their own power, experience, and resources. You do not have the lived experience to develop solutions for someone else's lived experience, and your blind spots can unintentionally create deeply flawed advice. The workers living with the problem create the best solutions.
- Don't make assumptions. Ask questions. There are a lot of unspoken expectations and cultural standards. You won't be expected to know them without being taught, but you will be expected to be teachable. No railroading. The more you learn about the context of your organizing, the better your organizing is.

****Compiled by organizer Yvie Johnson while working in Louisiana**

Building Relationships

Key Concepts

- The **1:1 meeting** is a key tool for establishing and maintaining relationships; there are three types of 1:1s – recruitment, maintenance, and escalation.
- A **“hard ask”** is an effective way to ask for a commitment to establish a relationship.
- **Recruitment and retention best practices** can significantly increase the rate at which new people join and stay on your team.

Why Build Relationships?

Again, we define organizing as leadership that enables people to turn the resources they have into the power they need to make the change they want. Power comes from our **commitment** to work together to achieve common purpose, and commitment is developed through relationships.

“Organizing is a fancy word for relationship-building.”

– Mary Beth Rogers

Building Intentional Relationships

Relationships are rooted in shared values. We can identify values that we share by learning each other’s stories, especially “choice points” in our life journeys. The key is asking each other “why?”

Relationships are long term. Organizing relationships are not simply transactional. We’re not simply looking for someone to meet our ask at the end of a 1:1 meeting (read on for what this means) or house meeting. We’re looking for people to join with us in sustained, long-term growth and action.

Relationships are created by mutual commitment. An exchange becomes a relationship only when each party commits a portion of their most valuable resource to it: time. Because we can all grow and change, the purposes that led us to form the relationship may change as well, offering possibilities for deeper relationships or more enriched exchange. The relationship itself becomes a valued resource.

Relationships involve consistent attention and work. When nurtured over time, relationships sustain motivation and inspiration and become an important source of continual learning and development for the individuals and communities that make up your organizing campaigns.

The 1:1 Meeting

The 1:1 meeting is a tool to establish, maintain, and grow relationships in organizing. Each 1:1 meeting has four key pieces:

Purpose – Be up front in establishing why you are meeting in order to make sure you are both on the same page. If you plan to ask the person you're meeting with to make a commitment at the end of your 1:1, it is appropriate to let them know when you set up the meeting and remind them at the beginning of your meeting, so that they aren't caught off guard.

Exploration – Most of the 1:1 is devoted to exploration by asking probing questions. If you are meeting a person for the first time, ask questions that help you understand their story, values, and resources that may be relevant to your shared purpose (e.g. knowledge or skills they may have). If you already have a relationship, ask questions that help you understand what's going on in their life, or the challenges or success they are experiencing in their organizing.

Exchange – We exchange resources in the meeting such as information, support, and insight; you may connect your stories or provide coaching on a challenge. This creates the foundation for future exchanges.

Commitment – A successful 1:1 meeting ends with a commitment to start working together or continue working together.

Three Types of 1:1 Meetings

There are three types of 1:1s that you will use or engage in in your organizing relationships.

1. Recruitment 1:1

These meetings happen at the start of a relationship to connect you and a new organizer and establish a connection based on shared goals and values. The goals of the recruitment 1:1 are to make a personal connection, use your personal story to identify and gauge potential and interests, probe for a shared experience and connect on values, and lastly, pivot to engagement – that is, move the volunteer to action based on what you've discussed. Think about the volunteer's aptitude, skills, and connections when considering how to best engage them.

See page 18 later in this section for a sample recruitment 1:1 meeting agenda.

2. Maintenance 1:1

These meetings should occur regularly between you and each of your organizers (assuming that you are in a leadership role in your team or snowflake). This is an opportunity to catch up on a personal level, debrief recent actions taken by the organizer and their team, and offer coaching. Maintenance 1:1s should be scheduled regularly and proactively: do not wait for a problem to occur to schedule one. A good guideline is to schedule a maintenance 1:1 every two weeks.

3. Escalation 1:1

These meetings are for organizers who are ready to take the next step on the "ladder of engagement" in assuming more responsibility and taking on ownership of goals (see the Structuring Teams section for more information on the "ladder of engagement"). First, recognize the accomplishments the organizer has already made, then propose the idea of taking on this new leadership role. If all goes as planned and the organizer accepts, take the time to clearly lay out the responsibilities and expectations for this new role.

Because every organizer has a limited amount of time, and maintenance 1:1s need to happen regularly, each organizer has a limit to how many relationships they can maintain. See the Structuring Teams section for information on "sustainable relationship ratios."

Maintenance 1:1s are the primary opportunity to coach an organizer. See the Coaching section for more information on how to approach coaching.

Hard Asks

When you ask someone to make a commitment – for instance, attend an event or take on a new role – it's important to make an effective ask, or what we call a "hard ask." A hard ask is an ask that results in a commitment to a specific action. Here are some best practices for a hard ask:

- Ask in **concise, plain, and specific language**.
 - » Example of an effective hard ask:
"Can you come to our team meeting next Wednesday at 6pm at Alisha's house?"
 - » Example of an ineffective ask:
"Would you be interested in coming to a meeting at some point to meet the team and talk about how you might want to get involved?"
- Never apologize for asking: organizing is an opportunity, not a favour. Sometimes we feel badly for asking someone to take action because we feel it is an inconvenience, when really, we're providing the person we're asking with an **opportunity** to take action.
- Don't ask them to commit to something general; instead, **have a specific event or role in mind**. If it's an event (e.g. a canvassing event or house meeting), include the date, time, and location in your ask.
- **Convey urgency**: Describe an urgent problem and how the person you are asking is the solution to the problem.

Three Types of No

When securing commitment, it's inevitable that our hard asks will sometimes be met with "no." In organizing, there are **three types of "nos"** that you will encounter – "**not now**," "**not that**," and "**not ever**" – and being attuned to the difference will dictate how you proceed with the person you're asking.

If someone says "no" they might mean "not that time," so try offering another time or date. For example:

"Can you come to our next team meeting on Monday at 5PM?"

"No, I have to work then."

"No problem, we have another meeting next Sunday at 1PM, can you come to that?"

If someone says "No, I don't want to do that," it probably means "not that." Try asking them to commit to something else. For example:

"Can you come door-to-door canvassing with us on Tuesday at 5PM?"

"I don't know if I feel comfortable going door-to-door, I've tried it before and found it really intimidating."

"That's okay! We are also planning an event to recruit new volunteers for the end of the month. Will you come to the planning meeting for that on Sunday at 1PM?"

If someone says definitively “No, I’m not interested in doing more” or “No, I don’t want to join the team,” then don’t worry about it! Thank them and move on. For example:

“Can you come door-to-door canvassing with us on Tuesday at 5pm?”

“No, I am too busy right now to take on anything else, I’m sorry!”

“That’s okay, thanks for taking some time to talk with me. Have a great day!”

Sample Recruitment 1:1 Agenda

The following is a sample recruitment 1:1 meeting agenda. Reminder here that this is a framework you can follow, not an exact formula for what you must do in a 1:1.

Purpose (2 minutes) – Be up front about your purpose for the meeting (e.g. “Our team needs a new canvass lead.”), but that first, you’d like to take a few moments to get acquainted.

Exploration, Connection, and Exchange (20 minutes) – Most of the 1:1 is devoted to exploration by asking probing questions to learn about the other person’s values and interests, as well as resources they might hold. In response, it’s up to you to share enough about your own values, interests, and resources so that it can be a reciprocal exchange. Start by asking questions like:

“Why is this issue important enough for you to act?”

“Can you remember the first time you stood up for something you believed in?”

“Did you always feel strongly about this issue? Why / why not and what changed that?”

Once you have an understanding of their story and motivations, share yours. Wherever you find similarities between their story and yours, make a connection.

Commitment: A Hard Ask (10 minutes) – A successful 1:1 meeting ends with a commitment to work together. This commitment is best secured through a hard ask:

- Stress the urgency of the commitment you are asking for:
“We need another canvass lead to enable our team to meet our target.”
- Emphasize the values you have in common:
“To achieve the change we want we need to meet our targets.”
- Frame it so that it seems the person you’re asking is the solution to the problem:
“Will you take on the role of canvass lead?”
- Be specific, make sure they understand what it is you are asking them. Provide time and space for them to ask questions until they’re clear.
- End the meeting with an understanding of next steps – that is, they should leave knowing the next time you will meet or how and when they will hear from you.

In this portion of the 1:1, you are trying to get them to share their Story of Self with you, and then to share your story to build a Story of Us. See the Telling Stories section for what this means.

Best Practices for a 1:1

Do	Don't
Schedule a time to have this conversation (usually 30-60 minutes)	Be unclear about purpose and length of conversation
Plan to listen and ask questions	Try to persuade rather than listen and ask questions
Have a plan for your meeting – give context or purpose, connect with one another, and secure commitment	Chit chat about your interests
Share experiences and motivations	Skip stories to 'get to the point'
Illustrate a vision that articulates a shared set of interests for change	Miss the opportunity to share ideas about how things can change
Be clear about your next steps together	End the conversation without a clear plan for next steps
Split the bill if you meet in a coffee shop or restaurant	Pay for the whole bill (note: it can make the relationship feel transactional and can get expensive in the long run!)
Meet in public unless you know them well (e.g. a coffee shop or public park)	

Recruitment & Retention Best Practices

Employing best practices can significantly increase the rate at which new people join and stay on your team. Here are some key best practices to keep in mind when building and maintaining relationships:

- Don't be apologetic: organizing is an opportunity, not a favour. When asking for commitment, be enthusiastic.
- Always Follow-Up: When someone offers to get more involved, ask for their contact information and give them yours. Follow up with them as soon as possible, ideally within 48 hours.
- Always schedule for the next time: don't let anyone leave without asking when they'll be coming back.
- Confirm commitment: use a hard ask and make sure your people understand that you are counting on them.
- Plan for no-shows: assume that half of your people will turn up. For example, if you need four people for a successful event, plan on scheduling eight.
- Design actions that are empowering to participate in.

Designing actions so that they are inherently motivational is a key way to keep people engaged. See the Acting: Targets & Timelines section for information on "motivational engagement."

In organizing, it's up to us to create welcoming, organized spaces and engage volunteers so that they keep coming back. The following is a list of top reasons why volunteers don't return:

- They don't feel it is worth their time
- Atmosphere is disorganized and they don't feel they're receiving attention or direction
- No one explained why the work they are doing is important
- They are uncomfortable doing what they have been asked to do
- They feel overwhelmed by tasks and goals
- The volunteer environment is unwelcoming
- No one recognizes their contribution
- No one asked them

To summarize, building strong, resilient relationships is critical for effective community organizing. Our power stems from our commitment to one another and to taking action together, and the hard ask, the 1:1 meeting, and best practices for recruitment and retention are key ways we can secure commitment in our work.

Vignette #1: A Day in the Life of Markus

Introduction

Meet Markus, a 21-year-old junior majoring in Middle Level Math Education at a Historically Black College and University (HBCU). He recently pledged Iota Phi Theta Fraternity, Incorporated, a historically African American fraternity known for its commitment to scholarship, leadership, and service. Markus is the first member of his family to attend college and he has taken on quite a bit of student debt to achieve his dream of graduation. While Markus excels academically and socially, he has little knowledge about labor unions and their significance.

Morning

Markus wakes up at 7:00 AM to the sound of his fraternity brother's cheerful greeting. Living in the Iota Phi Theta Fraternity, Incorporated house has its perks, including a strong sense of brotherhood and support. Another benefit is that the housing provides security and shelter that other off campus solutions in the pricey housing market just can't offer. He gets ready quickly, donning his fraternity apparel proudly, and heads to the dining hall for breakfast.

Over breakfast, Markus chats with his fraternity brothers about their plans for the day. He's particularly excited about today's math education seminar, where he'll be presenting a lesson plan he's been working on for weeks.

Classes and Campus Life

Markus's first class is Calculus II, taught by Dr. Johnson, a professor who has become a mentor to him. This is the first time that Markus has had a teacher AND mentor that look like him. Dr. Johnson's teaching style is engaging and interactive, which reaffirms Markus' decision to pursue a career in education. Today, they dive into complex integrals, and Markus participates actively, asking questions and solving problems on the board. Between classes, Markus heads to the student center, a bustling hub of activity. He bumps into a friend who's involved in the campus student union, and they talk about the upcoming career fair. Top of Markus' mind is to make this investment translate into economic stability after graduation. Markus' friend, who attends the 10-minute meetings at the public elementary school that they both attend for their practicum course, mentions the importance of understanding workers' rights and suggests going together next week. Markus is intrigued but realizes he knows little about unions.

Late Afternoon

After his seminar, Markus heads to the Iota Phi Theta Fraternity, Incorporated house for a chapter meeting. They discuss their upcoming community service project and events promoting academic excellence. Later, Markus has a tutoring session at a nearby middle school, where he assists students in math. The experience is both challenging and rewarding, as he helps students grasp difficult concepts and sees their confidence grow. He realizes the importance of supporting aspiring black male educators and providing them with the resources they need.

Vignette #2: Dr. Arthur Johnson's Story**Introduction**

Meet Dr. Arthur Johnson, a dedicated math professor at a Historically Black College and University (HBCU). He has been teaching at the university for over fifteen years and is highly respected by both his colleagues and students. One of his students is Markus, a junior majoring in Middle Level Math Education taking Dr. Johnson's Calculus II course. Despite his passion for teaching and his commitment to his students, Dr. Johnson is grappling with an overwhelming course load imposed by the administration. Additionally, he just had a pre-retirement meeting with his financial planner and is learning that because he does not have a pension plan other than is 403 B with the University, his dreams of retiring in good health and comfortably are slipping away.

Morning

Dr. Johnson starts his day at 5:00 AM, preparing for his classes with meticulous care. He reviews his lecture notes and ensures that the day's material is clear and engaging. Teaching Calculus II is one of his favorite parts of the job, especially with students like Markus, who are eager to learn and participate actively in class discussions.

As he heads to his first class, Dr. Johnson feels a familiar sense of exhaustion. The projector connecting his well prepared materials to the worn smart board is broken again. There are no white erase markers to use as a plan B, and even if they were – the finish on the 30 year old white boards makes them nearly unreadable. The heavy course load and lack of materials is taking a toll on him. He has asked for a Graduate Student to support the added work load, but the department chair said that there is no money in the budget for that. He is teaching five courses, advising several students, and serving on multiple committees. Despite his dedication, the strain is evident.

Teaching and Campus Life

In Calculus II, Dr. Johnson works hard to maintain his energy and enthusiasm. Today's topic is complex integrals, and he uses real-world examples to make the material relatable. Markus and his classmates are engaged, asking questions and solving problems on the board. Dr. Johnson's passion for math and teaching shines through, even as fatigue lingers in the background.

Between classes, Dr. Johnson attends a departmental meeting. The department chairs and deans reiterate the need for faculty to take on larger course loads and do more with less. They emphasize that this is a necessary sacrifice for the benefit of Black students who have historically been marginalized and underserved. "We are family," they say, justifying the overwhelming demands placed on faculty in the name of community and solidarity.

Afternoon

After the meeting, Dr. Johnson returns to his office to catch up on grading, student advising, and office hours. Dr. Johnson is always willing to help his students, but he can't help but feel stretched thin. He wants to give each student the attention they deserve, but the sheer volume of his responsibilities makes it difficult. As the afternoon progresses, Dr. Johnson receives emails from several colleagues expressing similar concerns about their workloads. Several of them attended a professional forum at a well-endowed and well-funded state university nearby. There has been some talk of seeking employment elsewhere amongst the group. They feel the pressure of the administration's expectations and are struggling to balance their professional and personal lives. The "we are family" mantra starts to feel more like a burden, another micro-aggression, than a supportive sentiment.

Vignette #3: Maya's Story

Introduction

Meet Maya, a 21-year-old junior majoring in Middle Level Math Education at a prestigious Historically Black College and University (HBCU). Maya is not only a dedicated student but also an active member of the campus student union. She is well-versed in workers' rights and passionate about advocacy, often attending meetings and events that focus on improving conditions for both students and staff. Her parents worry that her open activism will put her at risk in her studies and her future. Showing up and showing out comes with risks. Her commitment and leadership have earned her the trust and respect of her classmates, including her good friend Markus.

Morning

Maya starts her day at 6:00 AM with a quick workout at the campus gym. After a refreshing run, she heads to the dining hall for breakfast. She spots Markus at a table in between classes, already deep in his textbooks. She grabs her meal and joins him, greeting him with a warm smile.

"Ready for another busy day?" she asks, knowing that both of them have a packed schedule of classes, practicum sessions, and extracurricular activities.

Classes and Campus Life

Maya and Markus walk together to their first class, Calculus II, taught by the esteemed Dr. Arthur Johnson. Both students admire Dr. Johnson's dedication, despite knowing about the overwhelming workload he carries. During the lecture, Maya actively participates, solving problems on the board and engaging in discussions. Maya was asked by the Math Department to serve as a Graduate Student instructor, but the position was without pay. It was pitched as "a great opportunity to round out a resume." She is already doing her teaching practicum and that is a huge unpaid load of work already.

After class, they head to the student center, where Maya has a brief meeting with the student union. She's organizing an information booth for the upcoming career fair and is excited to share the details with Markus.

"Hey, Markus, are you coming to the career fair?" she asks as they leave the meeting room. "We're going to have a lot of great organizations, and I'll be at the student union booth discussing workers' rights and union benefits."

Afternoon

In the afternoon, Maya and Markus head to their practicum session at a local middle school. Maya is particularly excited about today's lesson plan, which focuses on making math fun and accessible for their students. During a break, she takes the opportunity to talk to Markus about the importance of understanding workers' rights.

"You know, Markus, I've been attending these 10-minute meetings that my coaching teacher has in her room," she begins. "It's really eye-opening. I think it's something we should all be aware of, especially as future educators."

Markus listens intently as Maya explains how labor unions advocate for fair wages, better working conditions, and professional development opportunities. She shares how these meetings have helped her understand the power of collective action and the importance of standing up for one's rights.

Vignette #4: Alex's Story

Introduction

Meet Alex, a two-spirited Indigenous person working as a cafeteria employee at an Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI). Alex is known for their dedication, hard work, and the respect they command among their colleagues. Despite working in a right-to-work state where collective bargaining is illegal, Alex has always advocated for fair treatment and solidarity among the staff. Recently, a new manager has started to micromanage the employees and is attempting to introduce mandatory overtime, creating tension and uncertainty in the workplace.

Morning

Alex starts their day at 5:30 AM, preparing for another busy shift at the college cafeteria. They take pride in their work, knowing that their efforts help provide nutritious meals to students and staff. Alex arrives early to ensure everything is set up for breakfast, greeting their coworkers with a warm smile and a few encouraging words. As the cafeteria doors open, Alex seamlessly coordinates the morning rush, serving students with efficiency and care. Despite the fast pace, they always find time to check in on their colleagues, making sure everyone is managing well and offering support where needed.

Mid-Morning Break

During a mid-morning break, Alex gathers with a few colleagues in the staff room. The conversation quickly turns to the new manager's recent actions. The manager has been micromanaging every aspect of their work, from how they arrange the food stations to how quickly they complete their tasks. This has led to a noticeable drop in morale.

"I heard they're planning to introduce mandatory overtime," says one colleague, worry evident in their voice. "I can't afford to spend more time here; I have a family to take care of." A number of others also talk about their need to get to their second or third jobs. The cost of health insurance, inflation, safe transportation, and housing rise in the room.

Alex listens attentively, feeling a growing sense of responsibility. They know that without the ability to engage in collective bargaining, organizing the staff to stand together is more important than ever.

Afternoon

As the lunch rush begins, Alex remains a pillar of strength for their team. They continue to provide excellent service while discreetly discussing the manager's new policies with their coworkers. Alex emphasizes the importance of unity and standing up for their rights, even in a right-to-work state.

Later, Alex notices the manager scrutinizing every detail of their work, causing additional stress. During this time, the manager continually refers to Alex using "he" and "him". Despite the pressure and the manager continuously ignoring their pronoun corrections, Alex maintains their composure and silently resolves to address the situation constructively.

Vignette #5: Professor Riley's Story

Introduction

Meet Professor Riley, an adjunct professor at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Professor Riley is a white person who has been teaching at the university for three years without any raise in pay despite taking on more and more responsibilities traditionally handled by the tenure track professors. Raised in an anti-union household, they have always been skeptical about unions and their role in the workplace. Riley is known for their kindness and friendliness toward students, faculty, and staff. However, their lack of cultural competency sometimes hinders their effectiveness in engaging with the predominantly Hispanic student body. Riley dreams of becoming a full-time faculty member at the university.

Morning

Professor Riley begins their day at 7:00 AM, preparing for the first lecture of the day. They take great care in crafting their lesson plans, eager to deliver engaging and informative classes. On the way to campus, Riley greets the cafeteria staff and janitors warmly, exchanging pleasantries and smiles.

As Riley enters the classroom, they are greeted by a sea of eager faces. Many of their students are first-generation college students from Hispanic backgrounds. While Riley's lectures are well-organized and thorough, they sometimes miss the mark in connecting with their students' cultural experiences and perspectives. Adjuncts like Professors have a high percentage of their employee evaluations tied to student surveys. Without any clear employee protections, these evaluations are a barrier to Riley's dreams.

Classes and Campus Life

In today's Sociology 101 class, Riley discusses social stratification. They use examples and references that are more familiar to their own upbringing and cultural background, inadvertently alienating some of their students. Despite this, Riley's approachable demeanor encourages students to participate and ask questions. After class, a few students stay behind to seek additional help. One student, Maria, expresses her confusion about a concept that was discussed. Riley patiently explains it again but misses an opportunity to relate it to Maria's cultural context.

Afternoon

During lunch, Riley joins a group of colleagues in the faculty lounge. The conversation shifts to the ongoing discussions about forming an adjunct faculty union. Some of the adjunct professors express their frustrations with job insecurity, low pay, and lack of benefits. Riley listens but remains silent.

A colleague, Professor Martinez, notices Riley's hesitation and strikes up a conversation. "You know, Riley, I was skeptical about unions too, but I've seen how they can advocate for fair treatment and better conditions for everyone, especially for adjuncts like us."

Riley nods politely but remains unconvinced. They change the subject to their aspirations of becoming a full-time faculty member, expressing hope that their dedication and hard work will eventually be recognized.

Issues and Opportunities

Background:

An HBCU, established through a historically Black land-grant, is navigating severe underfunding from the state legislature, leading to deteriorating campus conditions and diminished resources. Compounding the situation, the state governor has enacted anti-DEI (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion) laws that target the university's efforts to promote inclusivity. Additionally, some faculty members are undocumented, making them particularly vulnerable in this hostile environment. The university's faculty union, which has been advocating for better working conditions and protecting faculty rights, recently lost its recognition by the university administration. The administration cited a religious exemption to justify its decision, a move seen by many as a direct attack on labor rights. Despite this setback, there is an active union-supported aspiring educator chapter on campus, where students passionate about education and unionism are organizing and advocating for their future careers. However, the number of students enrolling in education majors has been steadily declining over the past three years, raising concerns about the program's sustainability. Despite these challenges, members of the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) and the Alumni Association remain deeply engaged with the university, providing vital support to students and faculty.

Vignettes:

1. Dr. Evelyn Moore, University President:

Dr. Evelyn Moore, a respected academic and a proud member of Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., has been the university president for the past five years. While Dr. Moore is deeply committed to the legacy and mission of the HBCU, she holds a strong anti-union stance, believing that unions can interfere with the university's ability to operate efficiently. She supported the administration's decision to revoke the faculty union's recognition, citing the religious exemption as a necessary measure to maintain the institution's values and autonomy. Dr. Moore is also a staunch supporter of the governor's anti-DEI laws, seeing them as aligned with her vision of a more streamlined and politically neutral university. However, she is concerned about the declining enrollment in the education program and recognizes the need to address this issue to sustain the university's academic offerings.

2. Jasmine Carter, Aspiring Educator Chapter President:

Jasmine Carter is a senior education major and the president of the aspiring educator chapter on campus. She is deeply committed to teaching and believes in the power of unionism to protect the rights of educators and ensure quality education for all. Jasmine has been a vocal critic of the university administration's decision to revoke union recognition, seeing it as an attack on the faculty's rights and a betrayal of the university's mission to serve its community. She is also concerned about the declining interest in the education program, which she attributes to the hostile political

environment and the lack of support from the administration. Jasmine is determined to rally her fellow students, faculty, and community allies to fight for the reinstatement of the faculty union and to push back against the anti-DEI laws that she believes are harming the university's inclusive mission.

3. Dr. Marcus Thompson, History Professor and Faculty Union President:

Dr. Marcus Thompson, a tenured history professor specializing in African American history, has been the faculty union president for three years. He has dedicated his career to teaching students about the struggles and triumphs of the Black community, and he sees the faculty union as an extension of that legacy. Dr. Thompson was deeply disheartened by the university administration's decision to revoke the union's recognition, especially under the pretext of a religious exemption. He views this as a direct attack on the rights of faculty members, particularly those who are undocumented and now face even greater insecurity. Dr. Thompson is determined to regain union recognition and is working to mobilize support from both the campus community and external allies. He also sees the decline in education majors as a symptom of the broader political attacks on the university and is committed to reversing this trend by advocating for stronger union support and more inclusive policies.

4. Robert "Bobby" Anderson, Alumni Association President:

Robert "Bobby" Anderson, the president of the university's Alumni Association, is a successful entrepreneur and a proud graduate of the HBCU. Bobby has always been a passionate advocate for the university, using his position to raise funds, support student scholarships, host a tent at homecoming each year, and lobby for better state funding. He is deeply concerned about the recent political developments and the administration's decision to revoke union recognition. Although he respects Dr. Moore's leadership, he is unsure if the recent revoke of faculty union recognition maintains the university's integrity and mission. Bobby is committed to leveraging the resources and influence of the Alumni Association to support the faculty, students, and the broader university community. He is limited in his knowledge of unionism but is eternally grateful to the faculty, many of whom still work there, who supported him through his time at the university.

Issues and Opportunities Activity

What problem(s) exists within this worksite?

<i>The problem(s) in this worksite is...</i>

What is the issue you will organize around?

<i>Our issue is...</i>

Who is the target? Remember the target has a name and face.

<i>Our target is...</i>

What would it look like if you achieved positive change on this issue? It is a concrete goal that will directly address the issue and make a significant, visible change in the lives of your people.

<i>Our demand is...</i>

Who are the People?

Constituency -People who care about this issue and may take action to work towards the win		
Support - Individuals and organizations who support the win but may not be a part of the actions	Opposition - Individuals and organizations who are against the win you are seeking to achieve	Competition - Individuals and organizations who are working towards similar wins but in their own way; competing for people, resources, time, space, or a process to achieve that win
May not know yet		

What would be your immediate next step? Why?

<https://forgeorganizing.org/article/power-control-and-trust-coalitions>

Centering Equity in your Campaigns

What does it mean to center equity in your campaign?

Race, class, and gender dynamics, disparities, and divisions permeate our society, communities, schools, and classrooms. Systemic oppression is so deeply rooted in our history, culture, and institutions that there is no escaping it. Visible or not, the impacts are ever-present. Race, class, and gender justice is the systematic fair treatment of all people resulting in equitable opportunities and outcomes for all. Justice, or equity goes beyond being against the systematic use of oppressions like misogyny, racism, and classism. It is not just the absence of discrimination and inequities, but also the presence of deliberate systems and supports to achieve and sustain equity through proactive and preventative measures.

To engage in a systems analysis of a racial issue and develop solutions or to test if the campaign demands center race, class, and gender justice, **good discussion questions to have with partners and union members include:**

Problems: What inequities are you noticing or experiencing? What are the impacts on different groups? Who benefits most and who is hurt most?

Causes: What institutions, policies, or practices are causing or contributing to the inequities? What social norms, popular myths, or cultural biases may be contributing?

History: How did things get this way and are things worsening or improving?

Solutions: What solutions could address the root causes and eliminate the inequities? How would different racial groups be impacted by the proposed solutions?

Strategies: What strategies and actions could be used to advance the solutions?

Leadership: Who are the stakeholders most affected by the inequities? Are they involved in naming the issues and solutions? What kinds of active leadership roles could they take to advance the proposed solution?

Additional Equity Tool Questions:
Who is most directly impacted?
Who has been left out?
How can they be directly engaged?
How do our demands center race, class, and gender justice?

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How do our demands center race, class, and gender justice?

Racial Equity Tool

Introduction: A Racial Equity Tool is used for making decisions with deliberate attention to racial justice, equity, and inclusion. It provides a guide and protocol for race- and equity-conscious decision-making that is thoughtful, transparent, participatory and systematic. It can be used for a variety of decisions, such as assessing existing or proposed policies, practices, plans, programs, budgets, etc.

Why use this tool? This tool can help us to align our words and actions with our values, priorities and aspirations, and to:

- Consciously, actively, and continually prioritize racial justice,
- Eliminate, reduce, and prevent harm, exclusion, inequities, and bias,
- Ensure that stakeholders, especially those most marginalized, are actively and authentically engaged in needed change efforts, and
- Build practice and organizational culture that advances racial justice, social justice, equity, and inclusion.

Who uses this tool? This tool is best used by a diverse team of people from different parts of the organization, that can also include external stakeholders and partners. For each specific use of the tool, the team will identify and engage the most relevant stakeholders, especially those most marginalized, under-represented and directly affected by the decision under consideration. When using equity tools, *who* is doing the assessment is as important as *what* you are assessing. An inclusive process will yield more inclusive results.

How do you use the tool? The tool involves a series of steps that can be followed sequentially. The process is also iterative so, with new information, you may need to jump back to a previous step to revise your findings. Each step provides questions for consideration by relevant stakeholders. Be sure to allow ample time to thoughtfully and inclusively address each step. It is not meant to be used and completed in one sitting. It often requires time to gather information and consult with various stakeholders over a series of meetings or engagements. The tool is designed to be widely applicable to many different kinds of decisions. Every question may not be relevant for every decision. Feel free to tailor add other helpful questions to inform your decision. For more significant or controversial decisions, you can address all of the steps and questions for a robust analysis. For less consequential decisions, you can select the most relevant questions and do a simpler and shorter analysis. While this tool foregrounds race as a central focus, please address other relevant or intersecting power dynamics.

Racial Equity Tool

Step	Questions to Consider	Findings / Notes
1. Clarify Goals	• What kind of decision is under consideration (e.g. policy, program, budget, working conditions)? • What results or changes are you seeking to advance racial/social justice?	
2: Engage Stakeholders	• Who is most directly impacted, especially those most marginalized under-represented (e.g. staff of color, lowest paid workers) • How can they be meaningfully engaged, and empowered in this process?	
3. Analyze Data	• What is the relevant history and current context? • What data do we have and what do we need? Is it disaggregated by race? • Who benefits and who is most burdened? How are different racial/ethnic groups affected differently? • What are the root causes of the problem? Are there intersecting dynamics?	
4. Generate Options	• What proposed solutions can address the root causes and change systems? • How will this proposal advance racial justice, equity, and inclusion?	
5. Assess Impacts	• What are the positive & negative impacts on different racial communities? • How will communities of color benefit from each option? • How can this help counteract dominant patterns of white supremacy? • What positive values, norms, and narratives can we affirm and project? • How does this align with our values, vision, mission and priorities?	
6. Decide Solution	• What are the pros and cons of each option? • Are there ways to revise the options to prevent adverse consequences? • Which option best advances equity?	
7: Develop Implementation Plan	• What strategies, staffing, and funding are needed to ensure success? • What is the implementation plan & timetable? Who will move it forward? • How will we document & measure progress? What are success indicators? • How can we ensure ample communication, participation & accountability?	
Step 8: Operationalizing Equitable Change	• How can we operationalize equity practices to sustain success? • How do we institute these changes so they become ongoing practices, protocols, habits – a part of our organizational culture?	

Worksheet for Comparing Racial Impacts of Different Proposed Solutions

1. Use this worksheet for Steps 5 and 6 of the Racial Equity Tool. List the different proposed solution options to assess in the top shaded row.
2. For each option, list potential positive impacts and negative impacts for different racial groups. In the bottom row, list other noteworthy factors or findings, such as intersecting dynamics (e.g. gender, class), geographic or generational differences, etc.

	Solution Option 1: _____	Solution Option 2: _____	Solution Option 3: _____
Potential Positive Racial Impacts			
Potential Negative Racial Impacts			
Other Notes & Considerations			

(Adapted from Race Forward, Revised 1/31/21)

Racial Equity Impact Assessment

What are Racial Equity Impact Assessments?

A Racial Equity Impact Assessment (REIA) is a systematic examination of how different racial and ethnic groups will likely be affected by a proposed action or decision. REIAs are used to minimize unanticipated adverse consequences in a variety of contexts, including the analysis of proposed policies, institutional practices, programs, plans and budgetary decisions. The REIA can be a vital tool for preventing institutional racism and for identifying new options to remedy long-standing inequities.

Why are they needed?

REIAs are used to reduce, eliminate and prevent racial discrimination and inequities. The persistence of deep racial disparities and divisions across society is evidence of institutional racism--the routine, often invisible and unintentional, production of inequitable social opportunities and outcomes. When racial equity is not consciously addressed, racial inequality is often unconsciously replicated.

When should it be conducted?

REIAs are best conducted during the decision-making process, prior to enacting new proposals. They are used to inform decisions, much like environmental impact statements, fiscal impact reports and workplace risk assessments.

Where are they in use?

The use of REIAs in the U.S. is relatively new and still somewhat limited, but new interest and initiatives are on the rise. The United Kingdom has been using them with success for nearly a decade.

EXAMPLES OF RACIAL JUSTICE EQUITY IMPACTS

Equity and Social Justice Initiative

King County, WA

The county government is using an Equity Impact Review Tool to intentionally consider the promotion of equity in the development and implementation of key policies, programs and funding decisions.

Race and Social Justice Initiative

Seattle, WA

City Departments are using a set of Racial Equity Analysis questions as filters for policy development and budget making.

Minority Impact Statements

Iowa and Connecticut

Both states have passed legislation which requires the examination of the racial and ethnic impacts of all new sentencing laws prior to passage. Commissions have been created in Illinois and Wisconsin to consider adopting a similar review process. Related measures are being proposed in other states, based on a model developed by the Sentencing Project.

Proposed Racial Equity Impact Policy

St. Paul, MN

If approved by the city council, a Racial Equity Impact Policy would require city staff and developers to compile a "Racial Equity Impact Report" for all development projects that receive a public subsidy of \$100,000 or more.

Race Equality Impact Assessments

United Kingdom

Since 2000, all public authorities required to develop and publish race equality plans must assess proposed policies using a Race Equality Impact Assessment, a systematic process for analysis.

Racial Equity Impact Assessment **GUIDE**

Below are sample questions to use to anticipate, assess and prevent potential adverse consequences of proposed actions on different racial groups.

1. IDENTIFYING STAKEHOLDERS

Which racial/ethnic groups may be most affected by and concerned with the issues related to this proposal?

2. ENGAGING STAKEHOLDERS

Have stakeholders from different racial/ethnic groups—especially those most adversely affected—been informed, meaningfully involved and authentically represented in the development of this proposal? Who's missing and how can they be engaged?

3. IDENTIFYING AND DOCUMENTING RACIAL INEQUITIES

Which racial/ethnic groups are currently most advantaged and most disadvantaged by the issues this proposal seeks to address? How are they affected differently? What quantitative and qualitative evidence of inequality exists? What evidence is missing or needed?

4. EXAMINING THE CAUSES

What factors may be producing and perpetuating racial inequities associated with this issue? How did the inequities arise? Are they expanding or narrowing? Does the proposal address root causes? If not, how could it?

5. CLARIFYING THE PURPOSE

What does the proposal seek to accomplish? Will it reduce disparities or discrimination?

6. CONSIDERING ADVERSE IMPACTS

What adverse impacts or unintended consequences could result from this policy? Which racial/ethnic groups could be negatively affected? How could adverse impacts be prevented or minimized?

7. ADVANCING EQUITABLE IMPACTS

What positive impacts on equality and inclusion, if any, could result from this proposal? Which racial/ethnic groups could benefit? Are there further ways to maximize equitable opportunities and impacts?

8. EXAMINING ALTERNATIVES OR IMPROVEMENTS

Are there better ways to reduce racial disparities and advance racial equity? What provisions could be changed or added to ensure positive impacts on racial equity and inclusion?

9. ENSURING VIABILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

Is the proposal realistic, adequately funded, with mechanisms to ensure successful implementation and enforcement. Are there provisions to ensure ongoing data collection, public reporting, stakeholder participation and public accountability?

10. IDENTIFYING SUCCESS INDICATORS

What are the success indicators and progress benchmarks? How will impacts be documented and evaluated? How will the level, diversity and quality of ongoing stakeholder engagement be assessed?

**BARGAINING
FOR THE
COMMON GOOD
RACIAL
JUSTICE GUIDE**

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The National Education Association is the nation's largest professional employee organization, representing more than 3 million elementary and secondary school teachers, higher education faculty, education support professionals, school administrators, retired educators, and students preparing to become teachers.

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New Jersey

NEA OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Kim A. Anderson
Executive Director

Karen M. White
Deputy Executive Director

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For more information:

Mary Kusler,
Senior Director for Center for Political Action and Advocacy
mkusler@nea.org

Ashley Powell
Creative Services Specialist
apowell@nea.org

Dale Templeton,
Director of Collective Bargaining and Member Advocacy
dtempleton@nea.org

CONTENTS

1

**PRINCIPLES
AND VALUES**

2

**ELEMENTS OF
A BARGAINING
FOR THE
COMMON
GOOD
CAMPAIGN**

3

**SUCCESS
STORIES**

4

RESOURCES



Since the 17th Century, our nation's system of public education has been the undisputed foundation of an inclusive democracy, economy, and society. Public school classrooms are where our students first learn how democratic systems of government work, and where they develop an understanding of the principles and practices that will allow them to participate in the operation of the U.S. government.

Unfortunately, when they should be working to strengthen our democracy, some far-right politicians, policymakers and pundits are actively working to dismantle it. Their weapon? Escalated attacks against public education. From attempting to whitewash the nation's history to eliminating the contributions and lived experiences of Black people and communities of color, to maligning and marginalizing LGBTQ+ students and educators, these attacks are only intended to fulfill the self-serving desires of the attackers and their wealthy donors.

Their efforts are rooted in the fertile ground of this sad truth: Inequity is sewn into every social system in our nation. These inequities make their presence known at every schoolhouse door, and in every other element of far too many communities.

With 3 million members, NEA is the nation's largest labor union. As education professionals devoted to ensuring that the nation's 50 million public school students receive the support, access, and opportunities they all need and deserve, we have not—and we will never—allow these unfounded and harmful attacks to go unanswered. We will continue to follow the North Star of our shared vision: to unite not just our members, but the nation to reclaim public education as a common good, as the foundation of our democracy, and then transform it into something it was never designed to be—a racially and socially just and equitable system that prepares every student, every one, to succeed in this diverse and interdependent world.

This Bargaining for the Common Good Racial Justice Guide represents a critical step toward the achievement of that vision.

The principles of Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG) are fastened to the belief that just as inequity is woven through the fabric of many communities, the collective bargaining process must have woven through it the unique needs and aspirations of the community that encircles the educators and students whose needs are represented at the bargaining table.

In addition to examples of how NEA state affiliates have bargained for the common good in schools and communities nationwide, this guide contains a roadmap for creating campaigns built from intentional, long-term partnerships between unions and community organizations. It also provides information about how those relationships can help to facilitate bargaining proposals designed to end the systemic patterns of racial inequity and injustice that hamper the progress of far too many students, educators, and public schools.

As parents, educators, and communities, we have a shared responsibility to ensure that every student—Black, White, Brown, Indigenous, or AAPI; students from underserved neighborhoods, LGBTQ+ students, and students who are disabled—all of our students—have the joy, justice and excellence they all need and deserve. Through bargaining for the common good, NEA is transforming that desire into a reality for students, educators, and communities across our nation.



Rebecca S. Pringle

President

National Education Association

PURPOSE OF THE RESOURCE GUIDE



INTRODUCTION TO RACIAL JUSTICE CENTERED EDUCATION

National Education Association (NEA) locals across the country are at the forefront of moving strategic demands grounded in racial justice that dismantle historical and pervasive racist structures in education. Locals are building with parents, students, and community partners to fight for a system where all students can thrive no matter their race, gender, or immigration status.

But for years, corporate actors and political players have stood in the way by defunding public schools and privatizing education, disproportionately impacting communities of color and low-income neighborhoods, implementing hurtful discipline policies that predominantly target students of color, and more recently censoring teachings about racial justice and the histories of Native People, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Black, Latino/a/x, Middle Eastern and North African populations.

We must unite to take on these challenges. Union members are recognizing their dual roles as both workers and key leaders in their communities. In a changing and stratified economy, we are expanding collective bargaining, policy fights, and corporate campaigns to address the challenges we face as workers, neighbors, and families. **Labor and community organizations are collaborating to advance unified demands that are relevant to both workers and the broader community.** This way of coming together is called Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG).

In 2022 and 2023, we saw the power and energy of BCG in Oakland, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and in growing numbers of states. These campaigns brought community members to the bargaining table with unions and thousands into the streets to take on corporate power and fight for the schools, housing, and cities we all deserve.

How are unions and community groups Bargaining for the Common Good?

At the center of BCG campaigns are intentional, long-term alignments between unions and community organizations advancing racial justice demands. Connecting at all levels starting with membership, they build strong, lasting partnerships based on trust and a shared analysis of the systemic problems we are confronting and the solutions necessary to transform our communities. BCG campaigns are centered around joint community-labor planning that brings diverse partners to the table in union bargaining, policy fights, and corporate campaigns that build power and address the crises we all face. BCG work centers racial justice because we must collectively confront structural racism to create a powerful, unified movement.

Building strong, sustainable relationships is not easy. **Effective BCG campaigns require unions to use the bargaining process as a tool to engage members in their dual identities as workers and community members. Community organizations must also educate its members about unions and how they can bargain together.** Both groups must work to overcome any historic animosity or mistrust to develop a shared framework, from membership to leadership, that sees corporations and the wealthy elite as the perpetrators of injustice in our communities and workplaces.

In this resource guide, you will learn more about what makes a Bargaining for the Common Good campaign, along with tools and resources that your local can use to work with partners in your area to run a BCG campaign.

THE RESOURCE GUIDE IS BROKEN UP INTO THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS WITH KEY TAKEAWAYS



SECTION 1: PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

Explains Bargaining for the Common Good and the framework principles that are essential to accomplishing our vision of racially equitable and just schools.

Takeaways:

- We need to run Bargaining for the Common Good racial justice centered campaigns because class and race are not separate.
- If we want to win real people power, we have to build campaigns that include racial justice.

SECTION 2: ELEMENTS OF A BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAMPAIGN

Provides tools and resources to run a Bargaining for the Common Good campaign through the lens of the five elements of BCG.

Takeaways:

- Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns are rooted in building power in our local unions and communities.
- The five elements of a BCG campaign are:
 - Center racial justice in demands
 - Engage community allies as partners in issue development and the bargaining campaign
 - Expand the scope of the bargaining beyond wages and benefits
 - Expose bad actors
 - Strengthen internal organizing, membership, and member engagement
- Community building is an integral part of the strategy and tactics, which means it takes time to develop, create and build, and move forward. To build a BCG campaign, planning begins two years in advance.
- We need to clearly express who the bad actors—the real decision-makers that affect our workplaces and our communities—are and ensure there is a clear connection between the bad actors and the demands.
- Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns require ongoing organizing, base-building, and leadership development.

SECTION 3: SUCCESS STORIES

Shares stories of locals succeeding in building people power in their area.

Takeaways:

- Victories are feasible in different political conditions.
- Organizing doesn't end when we settle the contract or win the campaign. These victories are possible only if organizing is ongoing.

SECTION 4: RESOURCES

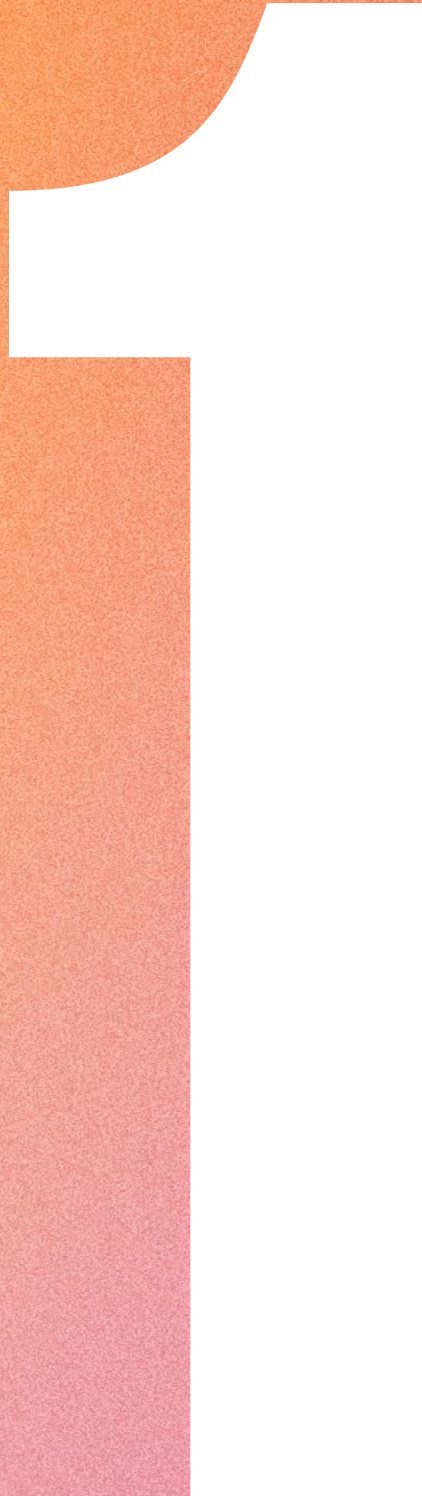
Shares links to tools and resources provided in Sections 1-3.

Takeaways:

- A compilation of BCG tools and resources developed by NEA locals.
- Includes a glossary of racial justice language.



PRINCIPLES AND VALUES



BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

With Bargaining for the Common Good, union members partner with the community around a long-term vision for the structural changes they want to see in their communities. Together, they use collective bargaining and advocacy as critical components in a broader campaign to win that change, advance racial equity, and build people power.

Educators partner with parents and community members in order to identify issues and utilize bargaining, or other forms of advocacy, as a vehicle to make demands for the entire community.

In states with collective bargaining, contract negotiations provide an opportunity for educators and their unions to involve the larger school community in the vision they want for their school and neighborhood. Instead of going to the bargaining table alone and isolated in negotiations, unions join together with parents and the community, which builds our power. In states without collective bargaining, unions and community groups align to push for policy changes that require school districts and corporate actors to meet the demands of the community.

When we expand the continuum of bargaining, we build power and go on the offense in order to fight for social and racial justice for our students, schools, communities, and the future.

With Bargaining for the Common Good, we not only fight for better pay and benefits for educators, we also fight for students and communities. When stakeholders come together, they can determine what their community needs. NEA members have successfully used the Bargaining for the Common Good strategy to win:

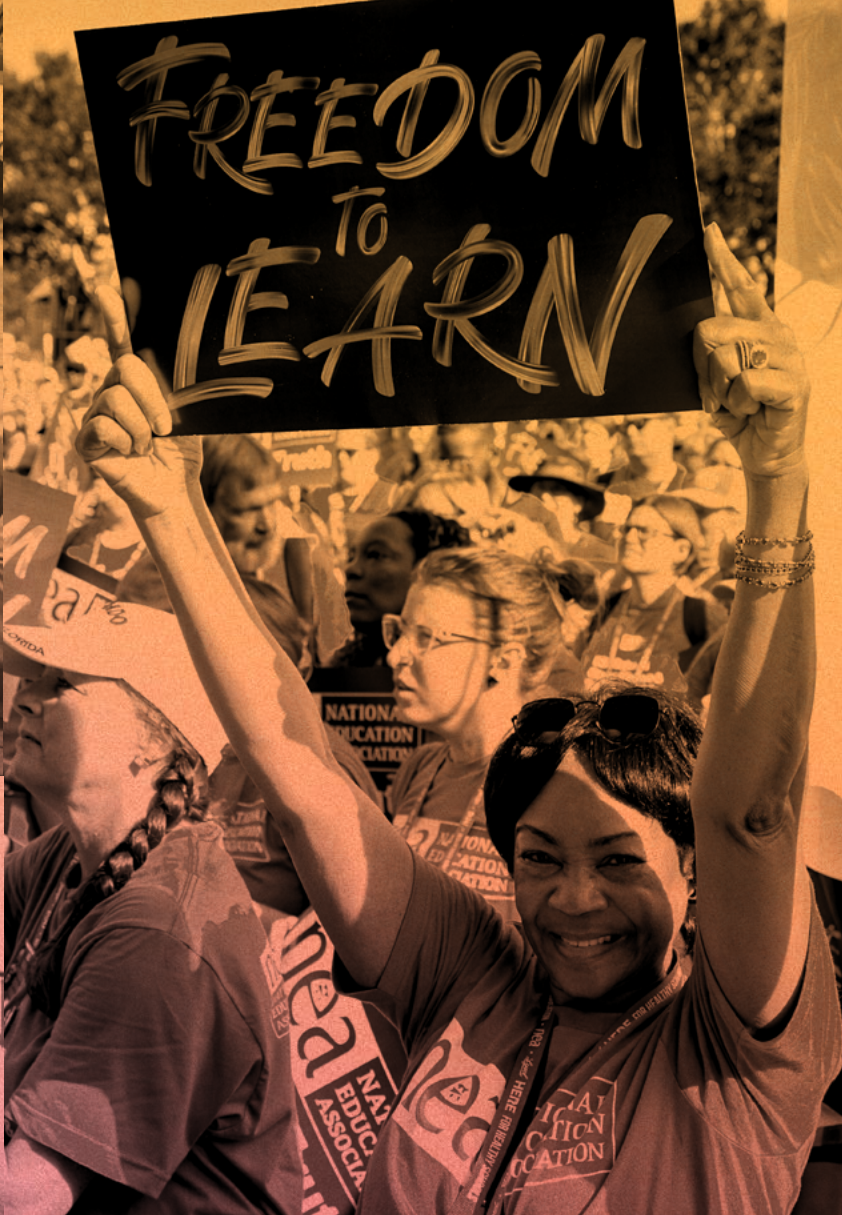
- Less testing
- Smaller class sizes
- Educator recruitment and retention programs
- Equitable school discipline policies
- Mental health support
- More nurses and counselors
- No ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) collaborations
- Implementation of restorative justice
- End random backpack checks
- Institute and/or expand ethnic studies for students

Bargaining for the Common Good works in both areas that have collective bargaining and areas that do not. The mechanics may differ, but the fundamentals are the same.



"In addition to salaries that keep up with inflation and smaller class sizes, Oakland educators held the line for almost seven days on what are known as, 'common good demands'. Common-good bargaining refers to agreements that go beyond issues of wages and benefits in an attempt to have a positive impact on the broader community. Under the new tentative contract, the Oakland Unified School District agreed to educators' demands to utilize unused school buildings for nonprofit housing developments, provide resources for unhoused students, and fund programs such as the Black Thriving Community Schools that would empower Black students with leadership opportunities . . . The groundbreaking common-good demands won in Los Angeles and Oakland are proof that by standing together, educators have the power to effect change outside of normal bread-and-butter issues. Now, students and communities will benefit from the hard work that educators have put in to achieve these victories.

- Cecily Myart-Cruz, President of UTLA and Bargaining for the Common Good Advisory Committee member, "The California Teachers' Strikes Have a Vital Lesson for the Labor Movement," The Nation, May 19, 2023.



RACIAL JUSTICE IN EDUCATION FRAMEWORK PRINCIPLES

NEA has a vision for quality public education for every student. We know that institutional and structural racism are barriers to achieving our vision. We will leverage the power and collective voice of our members to end the systematic patterns of racial inequity and injustice that affect our Association, schools, students, and education communities.

It is our belief that these Framework principles are essential to accomplishing our vision of racially equitable and just schools:

- Our collective work promotes a vision for public education that advances inclusion, equity, and racial and social justice in our schools, Association, and society.
- Our collective work must dismantle white supremacy, and ensure that bigotry and discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, disability, or national origin is not part of our Association, classrooms, educational curricula, classroom management, school policies, and discipline practices.
- Our Association and schools must be safe for all students, and free from state-sanctioned, racialized, and gender-based violence. Our work must actively divest from prison cultivation and invest in counselors and positive discipline practices.
- Our work must result in action—programs, campaigns, policies, and capacity-building efforts for local NEA members that dismantle institutional racism now and into the future. Initiatives should create sustainable infrastructures that can continue to create systemic change and hold decision-makers, elected officials, and institutions accountable.
- Our current governance leaders must recruit, engage, and promote leadership by educators of color to share the ladder of opportunity because we are stronger together.
- Programs, campaigns, and projects must be driven by goals that are clearly outlined, tracked, and measured, and that have accountability systems that explicitly promote racial justice.
- Our work must promote education policies, professional practices, and curricula that highlight and honor the histories and cultures of Native People and People of Color.
- We must work to ensure that all students have access to a safe and quality education, regardless of their country of origin or immigration status.
- Our work must promote and support the engagement of students of color and LGBTQ students in shaping policies that directly impact their educational experience and foster safe and inclusive schools.
- We must work to dismantle discipline systems that create the School-to-Prison Pipeline and replace them with practices that encourage inclusion and are free from racial and ethnic bias.

CONNECTING FRAMEWORK ELEMENTS

Throughout our history, the NEA has joined in partnership to move policies that would address inequities in education, but we understand now that racial justice in education requires movement beyond racial equity. A lack of movement will keep us at the precipice of doing a lot with limited ability to sustain it.

It will require that:

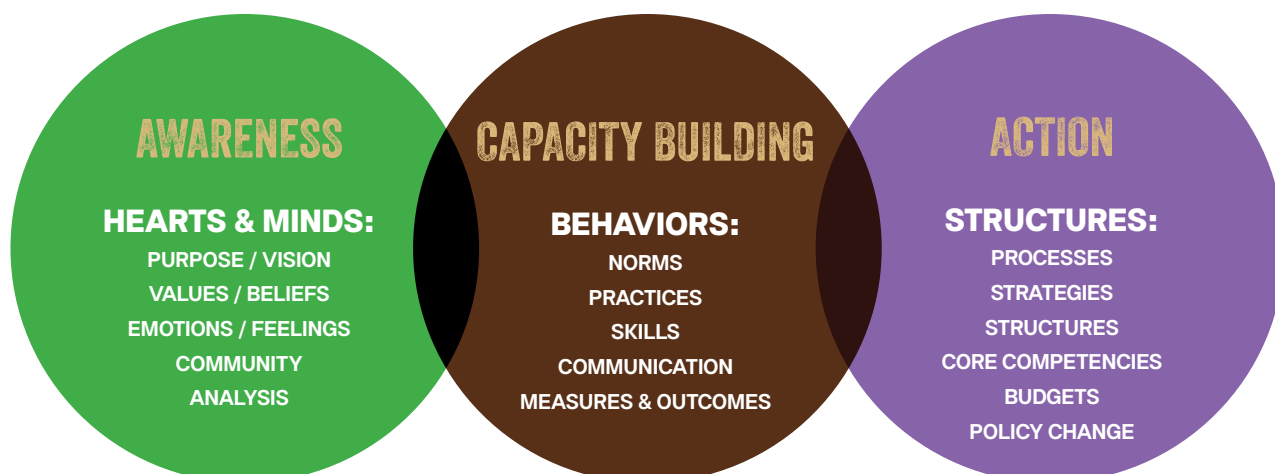
- We have a deep understanding of racial history and the associated trauma and are able to acknowledge the presence of this trauma within current systems, norms, practices, and policies.
- We focus on solutions that will build power (e.g., political, economic, civic, community) for the most sharply impacted communities and people.
- We effectively use racial impact assessment tools and develop racial justice action plans.
- We shift and share power, programs, and resources.
- We adopt anti-racist and racial justice protocols and practices.
- We shift culture and narrative.
- We use data to drive results/impacts.

The NEA Racial Justice in Education Framework was developed in conjunction with the principles and concepts embedded in the “Wheel of Change” model (adapted from the Rockwood Wheel of Change). This Framework centers and guides our systems change work, including our approach and implementation of Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns.

AWARENESS

Goal: Develop and strengthen our collective awareness and understanding of the causes and impacts of systemic (i.e., institutional and structural) racism in education and both the necessity and centrality of racial justice in achieving NEA’s mission.

- Build racial equity awareness and analytical capacity across our Association.
- Foster understanding of key concepts such as systemic (institutional and structural) racism, implicit bias, racial equity, and multiracial systemic solutions.
- Develop shared knowledge and conceptual clarity that supports normalizing explicit and constructive conversations about race.



CAPACITY BUILDING

Goal: Equip and prepare members and leaders with skills to use the strategies to take action to advance racial justice.

- Equip members, leaders, staff, and partners with the skills, tools, strategies, resources and relationships to be effective leaders and advocates in the fight for racial justice in education.
- Develop tools and resources to support organizational and cultural change through policy, practice, and behavior changes.

ACTION

Goal: Equip members and stakeholders with tools and skills to advocate, organize, and mobilize to disrupt institutional racism and advance racial justice in education.

- Engage and activate members, leaders, and stakeholders in on-the-ground efforts to combat institutional racism and advance racial justice.
- Support external organizing efforts to advance changes in our schools and communities.
- Support internal opportunities to implement equitable practices that positively impact the Association's work and promote culture change.

SECTION 1: PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

TAKEAWAYS:

- We need to run Bargaining for the Common Good racial justice centered campaigns because class and race are not separate.
- If we want to win real people power, we have to build campaigns that include racial justice.

ELEMENTS OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

2

CENTER RACIAL JUSTICE IN YOUR DEMANDS

Campaign demands should address the role that employers play in creating and exacerbating structural racism in our communities.

What does it mean to center racial justice demands?

Racial dynamics, disparities, and divisions permeate our society, communities, schools, and classrooms. Systemic racism is so deeply rooted in our history, culture, and institutions that there is no escaping it. Visible or not, the impacts are ever-present. Racial justice is the systematic fair treatment of people of all races, resulting in equitable opportunities and outcomes for all. Racial justice (or racial equity) goes beyond “anti-racism.” It is not just the absence of discrimination and inequities, but also the presence of deliberate systems and supports to achieve and sustain racial equity through proactive and preventative measures.



To engage in a systems analysis of a racial issue and develop solutions or to test if the campaign demands center racial justice, good discussion questions to have with partners and union members include:

- **Problems:** What racial inequities are you noticing or experiencing? What are the impacts on different racial groups? Who benefits most and who is hurt most?
- **Causes:** What institutions, policies, or practices are causing or contributing to the inequities? What social norms, popular myths, or cultural biases may be contributing?
- **History:** How did things get this way and are things worsening or improving?
- **Solutions:** What solutions could address the root causes and eliminate the inequities? How would different racial groups be impacted by the proposed solutions?
- **Strategies:** What strategies and actions could be used to advance the solutions?
- **Leadership:** Who are the stakeholders most affected by the inequities? Are they involved in naming the issues and solutions? What kinds of active leadership roles could they take to advance the proposed solution?

Source: <https://neaedjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Racial-Justice-in-Education.pdf>



OTHER TOOLS YOU CAN USE TO ENSURE A DELIBERATE ANTI-RACIST CAMPAIGN

RACIAL EQUITY IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

A racial equity impact assessment is used for making decisions with deliberate attention to racial justice, social justice, equity, and inclusion. It provides a guide and protocol for race- and equity-conscious decision-making that is thoughtful, transparent, participatory, and systematic. This type of tool can be used to analyze policies and contract language, institutional practices, programs, plans, and budgetary decisions.

Fix L.A. was a community-labor partnership that fought successfully for:

1. The creation of 5,000 jobs, with a commitment to increase access to jobs for Black and Latino/a/x workers.
2. The defeat of proposed concessions for city workers.
3. A commitment from the city to review why it was prioritizing payment of bank fees over funding for critical services.

“Bargaining for racial justice is a radical idea and will not be easily won. It will require concerted direct action targeting the real decision makers in both the public and private sectors that have a vested interest in keeping racial inequities in place.”

- Maurice Weeks and Marilyn Sneiderman, In These Times, “Why Labor and the Movement for Racial Justice Should Work Together”, September 02, 2016.

BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD DEMANDS:

Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns are rooted in winning racial justice demands. Many have generated amazing wins and demands across the country.

This booklet provides concrete examples of common good demands that unions and community groups have bargained for across the country. Some of these demands have been won in bargaining or outside the negotiations table, and some are still being fought for.

NEA locals have been at the forefront of winning BCG campaigns. They have identified and won racial justice demands across the country. Demands can be about a range of issues from public health and safety, safe working and learning conditions, academic success, and social and emotional well-being. The list of sample demands includes:

- Acknowledge the pandemic was not experienced equally by all communities and populations, particularly in rural areas and communities of color. Listen and learn how different families handled virtual learning.
- Provide and prioritize housing, food, health, dental, and job services in neighborhood schools because it is a common-sense way to begin to address racial justice issues and the racial inequities they create and exacerbate.
- End attempts to re-segregate our school communities with charters, vouchers, and other privatization schemes that funnel resources away from public schools.
- Ensure school plans for in-person instruction are inclusive and equitable for all educators and students by humanizing learning environments and designing spaces that are situated in the experiences of communities of color, not just through white, cis-hetero, and ableist lenses.
- Ensure adequate time is provided for classroom community-building activities and consider additional staff to allow for the development of restorative practices in schools.
- Prioritize hiring, retaining, and promoting educators of color.

BUILDING YOUR RACIAL JUSTICE TEAM:

Building the right team to make decisions and move this work is critical. Your racial justice campaign team should include a leadership team, organizing/mobilizing team, communications team, political team, and in a collective bargaining campaign, a bargaining team. There should also be team members who lead the research work and legislative/policy development.

- The **leadership team** will direct and oversee the entire campaign. They have a bird's eye view and focus on advancing the campaign forward. They provide the vision and make the tough decisions with input from the rest of the team.
- The **organizing and mobilizing team** is responsible for recruiting impacted people and new partners and mobilizing members and activists. They communicate frequently and engage members and activists in two-way conversations about the campaign's vision, strategy, and action plan.
- The **communications team** drives the internal and external communications. They educate and agitate activists and members, work with the media and develop social media to define the narrative, and build public support.
- The **political team** leads the efforts to build support from elected officials, work with political partners who support the campaign, and hold those who do not accountable.
- The **research team** is responsible for pulling together information, data, and facts to support the campaign. They ensure that any data being shared is sourced legitimately and correctly. They are critical in identifying and building a case around the bad actors.

None of these teams work in silos, they work together. They can be a combination of staff, paid release members, and/or volunteer teams. It may be that the political team is from a community partner group and the research team is from the local union. Either way, the teams should understand their roles and how they interact with each other.

It is important to note that sometimes a team is one or two people depending on resources, size of the local, and staffing capacity. The different teams should develop the racial justice demands and be able to drive the campaign forward through a racial justice lens.

CENTERING LEADERSHIP OF NATIVE PEOPLE AND PEOPLE OF COLOR:

The term Native People recognizes the first people of this land, having sovereign national and tribal status, as well as a racialized identity. The term People of Color refers to Asian American and Pacific Islander, Black, Latino/a/x, Middle Eastern and North African, and Multiracial populations. It isn't enough to have Native People and People of Color activists in the campaigns. Centering means Native People and People of Color have a leading voice, are listened to, trusted, and have decision-making power within the partnership.

ENGAGE COMMUNITY ALLIES AS PARTNERS IN ISSUE DEVELOPMENT AND THE BARGAINING CAMPAIGN:

Bring in community partners on the ground floor and develop issues, goals, and strategies together. Common good is about building long-term community-labor power.



BUILDING LONG-TERM COMMUNITY-LABOR POWER TAKES TIME.

Community building is an integral part of a Bargaining for the Common Good campaign, which means it takes time to develop, create, build, and move demands forward. It is important to remember that organizing does not end when the contract is settled or the campaign demands are met or won. As shown in the timeline below, before the launch of a campaign, there are a few steps that can take anywhere between six months to a year or more.

COMMUNITY BUILDING IS THE FIRST STEP:

Whether you live in a big city, a suburban town, or a rural community, there are people who care about the same issues and share your values. But to build a sustainable, long-term relationship, work is required upfront. This may include many 1-on-1 meetings, group presentations, follow-up calls, and more follow-up calls, Zoom calls, emails and more follow-up calls. It is not just about building your member list, but also building relationships. What do the leaders care about? Why do they do this work? What problems are their communities facing? What solutions do they see? Where do you share common ground and where do you have differences in your organization?

BASIC STEPS TO A BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAMPAIGN:

This outlines steps starting about 1.5 years before bargaining to after settling the contract. Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns are about building long-term power and changing the power dynamics in our communities, so it is important to think about the work as multi-year that continues after the contract campaign ends.

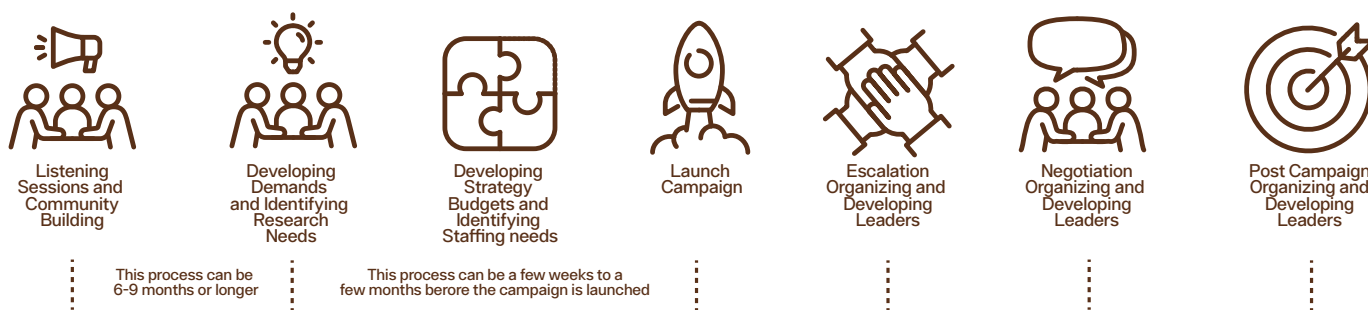
BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD ASSESSMENT TOOL:

This tool is to help reflect on how to build and strengthen a Common Good strategy for your organization or union. This will help you assess where to focus your time and resources to build towards developing transformational relationships, running strong campaigns, and winning Common Good demands!

COMMUNITY MAPPING:

Community mapping is about learning about your community and identifying resources and important networks and relationships. Community mapping includes:

- Surveying your membership and identifying where you have existing relationships and connections to community leaders, organizations, and networks.
- Developing lists of key contacts/social networks—this is the organizer's network of power.
- Proactively developing relationships with these existing networks and organizations makes it possible to mobilize their resources around a shared campaign.
- Prioritizing and focusing outreach to build relationships with the networks that most deeply represent the community, not just those that are familiar and comfortable.



COMMUNITY LISTENING TOURS:

Listening sessions are helpful to build relationships and understand partners' interests, the problems they see in the community, and potential solutions. Listening sessions can be conducted through one-on-one meetings, community meetings, or surveys.

- **Community Listening Session:** Sample list of questions developed by the Saint Paul Federation of Educators (SPFE) to learn more about the community interests and concerns.
- **Community Survey - Family Version:** Survey for families and parents about their interests and concerns.
- **Community Survey - Community Version:** Survey for community members about their issues and concerns.
- **Community Survey:** Sample survey developed by the Fix L.A. coalition.
- **Parent Interviewing:** A sample video of a meeting with parents to better understand their needs opinions, and resolutions.
- **Parent + Small Biz Organizing Conversation:** Sample conversation with questions to engage parents and small businesses.

ENGAGING COMMUNITY LEADERS AND RANK AND FILE MEMBERS:

These are not transactional “we do this for you and you do that for me” relationships. These are sustainable relationships built on trust, respect, and a shared analysis of the conditions and mutual goals to build people power. It is critical that community and labor develop and build the campaign together from the beginning. These relationships will continue after the campaign, so it is important to start with a solid foundation and build with intentionality. This includes:

CREATING A SHARED VISION:

Working with union and community partners to identify priority issues, solutions, and a vision for the campaign is crucial in creating a shared vision. Union members and community partners understand the problems that they are facing in their workplace and communities and have ideas for solutions. It is important for rank and file members and community activists to assist in identifying priority issues and solutions, including why and how it will benefit workers and the community at large, and the vision for building long-term power.

Watch a webinar that shows how a strong community-labor partnership works in action and wins people power! United Teachers Los Angeles former President Alex Caputo-Pearl; Ruby Gordillo, Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) Parent, Rudy Gonzalves of the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE); Amy Schur of the Alliance of Californians for Community Engagement (ACCE), and other community leaders and parents discuss the strategies and lessons learned from the recent victorious Bargaining for the Common Good campaign and strike.

<https://vimeo.com/319978916>

DEVELOPING A JOINT STRATEGY:

The strategy is your guiding star of how to win the demands. You may choose to launch a corporate campaign, or push the school board to change a policy or a town council to pass legislation, or fight for state funding. All partners must be clear about the pathway to winning and decisions stemming from the strategy. Strategies may need to change if an assessment is made that they are not effective or a campaign may have multiple strategies. For example, a campaign may call on the state legislature to fulfill its constitutional funding requirement for public education and target the corporations that do not pay taxes.

Developing a plan in partnership takes time. There are many decisions to make such as assessments, organizing plans, communications strategies, and more. A written plan is critical to ensure that all stakeholders understand the decisions made, what is happening next, and the campaign progress. Review the following to help develop your campaign plan:

- **Local campaign plan:** A comprehensive campaign planning tool for locals and partners.
- **Power Mapping Activity:** Sample exercise developed by the Colorado Education Association to analyze the power structures, influencers, and stakeholders in your community.

DEVELOPING AN ORGANIZING PLAN:

Organizing gets people fired up (agitated) and identifies what is at stake so that participants understand how the cause is personally relevant to them and take action. At the beginning of a campaign plan, start with mild actions and escalate. Examples of mild forms of action are collecting petition signatures or wearing a union button at the workplace. Strikes or civil disobedience are bold actions.

- Use the issues that are happening in the BCG campaign to motivate members to take collective action.
- During the life of a BCG campaign, members should be able to articulate why they are taking action and what they hope to achieve before taking action.
- Different tactics will be required to move different targets.
- Evaluate in real time if the actions are helping, hindering, or not effective and why.

Escalation tactics or direct actions are important to any campaign that is designed to build long-term power. The goal of escalation tactics or direct actions goes beyond highlighting the problem and getting media attention. Escalation tactics or direct actions have four key elements:

- **ESCALATE THE CRISIS:** Deliver a message that exposes the crisis. Create the narrative about who is responsible for that crisis—target.
- **ESCALATE THE TARGET:** Expose the target; turn the target toxic. Cost the target resources—votes, money, time, influence, etc.
- **ESCALATE YOUR VOICE:** If the target ignores the tactics/actions, escalate the tension on a specific demand. Force the target to choose between ongoing direct action or meeting the demand.
- **ESCALATE YOUR BASE:** Develop and energize your leaders and base.

“Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue.”

- Martin Luther King, Jr., *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*

Possible actions may include:

- Walking out of a meeting en masse
- Speaking to the media
- Calling a meeting of supporters
- Reaching out to parents
- Meeting as a small group
- Striking
- Running a social media profile picture campaign
- Wearing red on Thursdays
- Stickering up
- Circulating a public petition and deliver it to the school board
- Rallying, for example, have staff rally outside school before the start of the school day and walk in together
- Presenting signage and/or protesting in a high-visibility public space
- Red out: staff decorating their rooms in union colors
- Distributing flyers to parents at the school choice fair
- Informational picketing
- Open bargaining
- Setting up lawn signs
- Visiting corporate actors defunding public schools/ supporting charter schools

IDENTIFYING CLEAR ASKS:

Not many people spontaneously get involved. It takes an invitation to participate or an ask for people to take action. Most people will volunteer or donate to a cause that shares their values when asked. In campaigns, the same principles apply. If you can connect to their value systems and the ask is clear and concise, people will get involved. Recruiting activists, rank and file members, and members of the public to join the campaign means having a clear ask and showing why their involvement matters.

Affirm, Answer, and Redirect is a useful organizing tactic when faced with an individual who blocks or objects to the vision of the campaign or action plan.

1. Affirm:

Although you may disagree with the person, or not share their experience, it is important to show that you hear their frustration, and try to understand where they are coming from.

2. Answer:

It is very important to give an honest answer. If you can give them information that responds to their question, or helps them see the issue differently, do it. If you made a mistake, own it. If there is information that you do not know, tell them you will research it and get back to them (and make sure you do).

3. Re-direct:

At the end of the day, the power to win depends on one thing: the involvement of the people—union members and community partners. So look for ways to re-direct their frustration towards participating in a collective project that will help them see that the campaign is powerful (like the next action). Then repeat your ask.

EXPAND THE SCOPE OF BARGAINING BEYOND WAGES AND BENEFITS:

Identify issues that resonate with members, partners, and allies and that impact our communities. Put forth demands that address structural issues, not just symptoms of the problem.

DEVELOP AND DEEPEN LEADERS' SHARED POLITICAL ANALYSIS:

With an intentional approach to developing and deepening leaders' shared political analysis, BCG campaigns move away from short-term mobilization efforts that develop little to no power and instead harness collective power to develop long term and major wins for our schools and communities. This can take form in different ways like short workshops, training sessions, organizing conversations, and more.

Political education should:

- Be grounded in the racial justice demands and explain the racial dynamics that the demands are addressing.
- Articulate a clear connection between Bargaining for the Common Good demands and the problems workers and communities are facing.
- Include space for labor and community partners to share their stories, interests, and lived experiences that build trust and connections across all participants.
- Build activists' confidence and effectiveness in engaging hesitant colleagues and recruiting members of the public to join the campaign.
- Make it clear what is at stake, who the bad actors are, why the target has power, and how the campaign plan will motivate the targets to meet demands.
- Meet people's education level, literacy proficiency, and language needs. It may mean investing in translators and interpreters and/or an experienced popular educator.

EXPOSE THE BAD ACTORS:

Go on offense in your campaign by identifying, exposing, and challenging the real villains; the financial and corporate actors who profit from and increasingly drive policies and actions.

DO THE RESEARCH:

Scarcity politics and financialization of the economy have devastated our communities and schools for decades and driven funding to the one percent. Research to identify who and how divestment happened in your community is key. Groups like LittleSis and Hedge Clippers are good sources to help map out the financial and corporate actors.

Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA) called on state and federal elected officials to fund public education through progressive revenue. The MTA and its partners identified 19 billionaires in Massachusetts whose wealth grew while state coffers were depleted during the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak. They used the data to agitate and gain the public in support of the campaign's three key demands.

source:

<https://massteacher.org/-/media/massteacher/files/initiatives/education-funding/now-more-than-ever/net-worth-of-massachusetts-billionaires.pdf?la=en>

source:

https://massteacher.org/-/media/massteacher/files/initiatives/education-funding/now-more-than-ever/mta_tax_flyer.pdf?la=en

TARGET THE POWER BROKER:

Identify the decision-makers who can meet the demands. Power mapping can help identify and map the power relationships, who influences power brokers, and your groups' relationships to them. Some general questions to start the identification process include:

- Is it a corporate entity and who in the corporation has the power? Is it the CEO of the bank?
- Is it a government entity? Is it one person or a group of decision-makers? Is it the mayor or city council? Is it the school board?
- Where do they get their power? Who is in their circle of influence?
- What do they care about?

POWER MAPPING:

The Power Mapping tool can help the campaign identify the power dynamics within your community, including allies, opposition, decision-makers, and influencers.



GENERATE PUBLIC SUPPORT:

Building public support is about agitating the public against the bad actors. Be clear in your messaging as to why the bad actor is responsible. Your communications team can help generate stories for traditional outlets like radio and newspaper. Rank and file members and activists can use social media to build up the campaign. The message and narrative should be clear, concise, and consistent across platforms. The following are samples and guidelines for effective messaging:

- Social media posts and news story highlighting the same message:
 - Seattle Education Association
 - Recess, it's important, does your child get enough of it?
- Campaign websites:
 - San Antonio Alliance, Local 67
 - Reclaim Our Schools LA
 - Higher Education Labor United (HELU).
- Messaging and Media Relations Toolkit: Helps develop an effective messaging strategy and build relationships with different news sources
- Digital Best Practices: For Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other social media outlets

STRENGTHEN INTERNAL ORGANIZING, MEMBERSHIP, AND MEMBER ENGAGEMENT:

These campaigns must deeply engage the memberships of both unions and community organizations, and there must be opportunities for deep relationship building and joint visioning among the members of the different organizations.

Engaged groups produce transparent, useful, relevant, and frequent member communications, such as printed or electronic newsletters. Most importantly, leaders should be open and transparent, which means producing relevant and frequent updates to keep members engaged and active. You should feel comfortable contacting your state/national affiliate communications department for assistance and best practices.

CONTRACT ACTION TEAM (CAT):

Establish a new internal union network of member activists to engage and activate members using a two-way pipeline of communication. The union's ability to successfully win demands for members and the community depends upon the union's strength and power. Strength and power derive from a solid foundation of organizing union members and community stakeholders that increases activism, engagement, and solidarity.

By creating vital new roles and delegating responsibilities, your local can position itself to build capacity and develop enough power to win demands. It also enables your local to identify new activists and leaders to continue to build on its successes for the future along with a strong and sustainable democratic movement.

STEWARD/MOBILIZER:

Your members, especially your stewards or mobilizers, are crucial to the success of the campaign. This requires continually building the team and communicating with them frequently, so they can organize at their workplace and in their communities. Stewards should have a WhatsApp or Signal group and an email list for their building. They should have a weekly plan of how they will communicate with other members, updates and an action plan for the day or week and an explanation of why the action is important, and a role for the members.

1-ON-1 ORGANIZING MEETINGS:

The heart of organizing is about building relationships, which means 1-on-1 organizing conversations. A strong organizing conversation is not like a chat with a friend or loved one. It's a guided conversation that builds connection, engages people in collective action, and helps develop leaders. When a worksite has good, strong leaders who can educate and move their co-workers into action, it's harder for the boss to pit workers against each other.

10-MINUTE MEETINGS:

A fundamental way to disseminate information and empower leaders at the worksite level is to develop a 10-minute meeting system. Short, concise, and frequent meetings increase attendance. Be sure your 10-minute meetings make time for two-way communication. Campaign updates can easily be broken into basic 10-minute meeting agendas. You can break up complex topics related to contract proposals, legislative initiatives, or policy demands into bite-sized pieces within these meetings. Plus, it allows decentralized conversations and a place for local action-taking/planning for early tactics such as button wearing, petition circulation, etc.

GROUP TEXTS:

Texting is an immediate communication tool for quick updates, reminders, and time-sensitive information sharing, but it does not replace the face time necessary for developing relationships and trust with members and community allies.

Before you send your first text message—remember that there are federal laws that prohibit bulk text messaging. Contact your attorney, as well as your state affiliate or NEA, to learn more about different texting platforms you can use to reach our members and supporters within the law.

WEBSITE/ONLINE RESOURCE:

Creating a landing place for members and allies to reference information can be important for the campaign, but it isn't always necessary. Only use a website if your campaign would benefit from a landing page to publicly post resources or documents. Always add a link or directions for how to take action.

SOCIAL MEDIA:

Use social media platforms that make sense to our audience—members/potential-members and community supporters. It is also a great tool for producing media during various parts of the campaign. NEA offers local leaders and staff a variety of additional [social media best practices](#).

Tools and Materials:

- [Sample 10-minute meeting agenda](#)
- [1-on-1 Organizing Conversation Guide](#)
- [Build the CAT structure](#)

SECTION 2: ELEMENTS OF A BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAMPAIGN

TAKEAWAYS:

- **Bargaining for the Common Good Campaigns are rooted in building people power in our local unions and communities.**
- **The five elements of a BCG campaign are:**
 - **Center racial justice in your demands**
 - **Engage community allies as partners in issue development and the bargaining campaign**
 - **Expand the scope of the bargaining beyond wages and benefits**
 - **Expose bad actors**
 - **Strengthen internal organizing, membership, and member engagement**
- **Community building is an integral part of the strategy and tactics, which means it takes time to develop, create, build, and move forward. To build a BCG campaign, planning begins two years in advance.**
- **We need to clearly express who the bad actors are and ensure there is a clear connection between the bad actors and the demands.**
- **Bargaining for the Common Good campaigns require ongoing organizing, base-building, and leadership development.**



SUCCESS STORIES

3

SUCCESS STORIES

Columbus, Ohio

The Columbus Education Association (CEA) won an agreement to help address racism and racial disparity. As part of their newest contract, CEA earned professional development opportunities for bargaining unit members in the school board's ongoing Strategic Plan.

Source: <http://www.ceaoio.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/MOU-Re-2021-2022-School-Year-Final-Signed.pdf>

Jefferson County, Colorado

The Jefferson County Education Association fought successfully to implement a staffing and classroom diversity program, including recruiting and retaining staff that reflects the racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of the student body, and a mentorship program for staff of color. In addition, they formed an Equity Accountability Committee responsible for addressing equity in the district, which would engage the school community.

Source: https://cdns5-ss12.sharpschool.com/UserFiles/Servers/Server_627881/File/Print%20Agreement%20JCEA%20Final%2007.2023%20Website.pdf

Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT) established the Anti-Bias Anti-Racist Educator Development and Support Council, which set up sub-committees specifically tasked with recommending establishing initiatives for recruitment, retention, and development of educators of color and the improvement of district-wide climate and culture. These sub-committees will continue to work to instill a sense of permanency in anti-bias anti-racist initiatives and development.

Source: https://www.mft59.org/files/ugd/bf7435_4a4f8e-50f33e4777a22b23c598e1641e.pdf

St. Paul, Minnesota

Read about how St. Paul teachers, parents, and students organized for the schools their students deserved and won: "Teacher-Community Unionism: A Lesson from St. Paul: How one teachers union brought parents and students into the bargaining process—and won."

Source: <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/teacher-community-unionism-lesson-st-paul>

Seattle, Washington

Following a weeklong strike by more than 6,000 educators of the SEA, a new three-year contract was settled with major wins for both the students and educators of Seattle Public Schools (SPS). Seattle was facing a multitude of systemic problems such as increased class sizes, workload, and staffing cuts; racial inequality of resources and services; unsafe learning and working conditions; unaffordable cost of living for many lower-wage staff; and a looming educator shortage crisis. They established a Joint Task Force for multilingual education and language immersion to improve inclusionary services and student equity and create incentives for teaching.

Source: <https://vimeo.com/208734309>

Sacramento, California

The Sacramento City Teachers Association included parents, business leaders, and community members in their contract negotiations in their bid to make Sac City the destination district in California for students and educators.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBPNX-tajjO>

San Diego, California

In coordination with community partners, parents, and students, the San Diego Education Association (SDEA) identified several bargaining goals with a heavy emphasis on racial justice. To address historical divestment across districts in schools located within communities of color, demands will focus on curriculum, ethnic studies, allocation of resources, educator pipelines, restorative practices, and support for educators and students of color. All these issues run parallel to their advocacy for community schools, staffing, and class size. Bargaining by the local is underway as of summer 2023.

Source: <https://www.sdea.net/2023/04/san-diego-community-schools-coalition-demands-more-after-school-opportunities-in-san-diego-unified/>



SECTION 3: SUCCESS STORIES

TAKEAWAYS:

- Victories are feasible in different political conditions but we have to plan and organize.
- Organizing doesn't end when we settle the contract or win the campaign. These victories are possible only if organizing is ongoing.

RESOURCES

4

RESOURCES

ASSESSMENT TOOL FOR RACIAL EQUITY:

Provides discussion questions to have with partners and union members.

RACIAL EQUITY IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

Is used for making decisions with deliberate attention to racial justice, social justice, equity, and inclusion. A guide and protocol for race- and equity-conscious decision-making that is thoughtful, transparent, participatory, and systematic.

BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD DEMANDS:

Concrete examples of common good demands that unions and community groups have bargained for across the country. Some of these demands have been won in bargaining or outside the negotiations table, and some have only been introduced.

RACIAL JUSTICE DEMANDS:

List of racial justice demands that local unions and community partners can develop together.

BASIC STEPS TO A BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAMPAIGN:

Outlines steps starting about 1.5 years before bargaining to after settling the contract.

BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD ASSESSMENT TOOL:

This tool helps organizations or unions reflect on how to build and strengthen a Common Good strategy.

COMMUNITY MAPPING:

Worksheet to map out the community networks of members and activists.

COMMUNITY LISTENING SESSION:

Sample list of questions developed by the Saint Paul Federation of Educators (SPFE) to learn about community interests and concerns.

COMMUNITY SURVEY - FAMILY VERSION:

Survey for families and parents about their interests and concerns.

COMMUNITY SURVEY - COMMUNITY VERSION:

Survey for community members about their issues and concerns.

FIX L.A. COMMUNITY SURVEY:

Sample survey to gather information about the community.

PARENT INTERVIEWING:

A sample video of a meeting with parents to better understand their needs, opinions, and resolutions.

PARENT (AND SMALL BUSINESS) ORGANIZING CONVERSATION - GUIDE:

Sample conversation with questions to engage parents and small businesses.

LOCAL CAMPAIGN PLAN:

A comprehensive campaign planning tool for locals and partners.

COLORADO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION POWER MAPPING ACTIVITY:

Sample exercise developed by the Colorado Education Association, which can be used to analyze the power structures, influencers, and stakeholders in your community.

POWER MAPPING TOOL:

Can help the campaign identify the power dynamics within your community, including the allies, opposition, decision-makers, and influencers.

MESSAGING AND MEDIA RELATIONS TOOLKIT:

Designed to help develop an effective messaging strategy and build relationships with different news sources.

DIGITAL BEST PRACTICES:

For Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other social media outlets.

NEA GUIDE TO TRANSFORMATIONAL

ORGANIZING CONVERSATIONS:

1-on-1 organizing conversations guide to help you start recruitment conversations and navigate the tough questions that members and non-members raise.

SAMPLE 10-MINUTE MEETING AGENDA:

Sample worksite meeting agenda to help disseminate information and mobilize workers quickly.

BUILD THE CAT STRUCTURE:

Internal union network of member activists.

SECTION 4: RESOURCES**TAKEAWAYS:**

- A compilation of BCG tools and resources developed by NEA locals.
- Includes a glossary of racial justice language. See next page.



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Glossary of racial justice language

Understanding the context and historical background that many terms convey is essential to encouraging usage that reflects cultural and racial awareness. Using shared language builds a strong foundation among campaign partners, helps prevent translation issues, and empowers workers and activists to speak with confidence and knowledge.

Sources: [Equity in the Center](#) and [Dismantling Racism Works](#)

Affirmative action – This term describes policies adopted since the 1960s that require “affirmative” (or positive) actions to ensure people of color and women have opportunities equal to those of white men in promotions, salary increases, school admissions, financial aid, scholarships, and representation among vendors in government contracts. Although they have been effective in redressing injustice and discrimination that persisted in spite of civil rights laws and constitutional guarantees, these policies have been attacked because of perceived “reverse discrimination.” The Supreme Court has not ruled all affirmative action unconstitutional, but it has limited the use and ways in which policies can be written and applied. See “Reverse Racism.”

Anti-racism – The work of actively opposing racism by advocating for changes in political, economic, and social life. Anti-racism tends to be an individualized approach to oppose individual racist behaviors and impacts.

Civil rights – A group of laws designed to protect various groups against discrimination based on race, sex, religion, age, national origin, and other characteristics. Often used in connection to the civil rights movement, widely recognized as taking place from 1954 to 1968, which included issues and practices such as school desegregation, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, voter registration campaigns, and acts of civil disobedience to protest racial discrimination.

Class – Classism is the systematic oppression of subordinated class groups, held in place by attitudes that rank people according to economic status, family lineage, job status, level of education, and other divisions. One’s race can be a major determinant of one’s social or economic class. The variables of race and class, though closely connected, each need distinct attention.

“Colorblind” – A term used to describe the act or practice of disregarding or ignoring racial characteristics, or being uninfluenced by racial prejudice. The concept of colorblindness is often promoted by those who dismiss the importance of race in order to proclaim the end of racism. It presents challenges when discussing diversity, which requires being racially aware, and equity that is focused on fairness for people of all races.

Colorism – Discrimination based on skin color, which often privileges lighter-skinned people within a racial group, positioning people with darker complexions at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. It is an example of how white supremacy can operate amongst the members of a single racial or ethnic group. This form of prejudice often results in reduced opportunities for those who are discriminated against, and numerous studies have revealed differences in life outcomes by complexion.

Cultural appropriation or “misappropriation” – Adoption of elements of a culture that has been subordinated in social, political, and economic status by a different cultural group. It may rely on offensive stereotypes and is insensitive to how the culture of a group has been exploited by the culture in power, often for profit.

Discrimination – Treatment of an individual or group based on their actual or perceived membership in a social category, usually used to describe unjust or prejudicial treatment on the grounds of race, age, sex, gender, ability, socioeconomic class, immigration status, national origin, or religion.

Diversity – There are many kinds of diversity, based on race, gender, sexual orientation, class, age, country of origin, education, religion, geography, and physical or cognitive abilities. Valuing diversity means recognizing differences between people, acknowledging that these differences are a valued asset, and striving for diverse representation as a critical step towards equity. See “Equity.”

Equity – Equity means fairness and justice and focuses on outcomes that are most appropriate for a given group, recognizing different challenges, needs, and histories. It is distinct from diversity, which can simply mean variety (the presence of individuals with various identities). It is also not equality, or “same treatment,” which doesn’t take differing needs or disparate outcomes into account. Systemic equity involves a robust system and dynamic process consciously designed to create, support, and sustain social justice. See “Racial justice.”

Ethnicity – A socially constructed grouping of people based on culture, tribe, language, national heritage, and/or religion. It is often used interchangeably with race and/or national origin but should be considered an overlapping, rather than identical, category. See “Racial and ethnic categories.”

Hate crime – Criminal acts, motivated by bias, that target victims based on their perceived membership in a certain social group. Incidents may involve physical assault, damage to property, bullying, harassment, verbal abuse, offensive graffiti, letters, or email. Hate crime laws enhance the penalties associated with conduct that is criminal under other laws.

Implicit bias/unconscious bias – Attitudes that unconsciously affect our decisions and actions. People often think of bias as intentional, i.e., someone wanted to say something racist. However, brain science has shown that people are often unaware of their bias, and the concept of implicit bias helps describe a lot of contemporary racist acts that may not be overt or intentional. Implicit bias is just as harmful, so it is important to talk about race explicitly and to take steps to address it. Institutions are composed of individuals whose biases are replicated and then produce systemic inequities. It is possible to interrupt implicit bias by adding steps to decision-making processes that thoughtfully consider and address racial impacts.

Minority/minorities – A term that has historically referred to non-white racial groups, indicating that they were numerically smaller than the dominant white majority. Defining people of color as “minorities” is not recommended because of changing demographics and how it reinforces ideas of inferiority and marginalization of a group of people. Defining people by how they self-identify is often preferable and more respectful. The term “minority” may be needed in specific cases (such as “minority contracting” and “minority-owned businesses”) to reflect data that is collected using those categories. See the term “People of color.”

Mixed race, biracial, multiracial – Generally accepted terms to describe a person who has mixed ancestry of two or more races. Many terms for people of various multiracial backgrounds exist, some of which are pejorative or are no longer used. The U.S. Census first gave the option for a person to identify as belonging to more than one race in 2000, at which time approximately 9 million individuals, or 2.9 percent of the population, self-identified as multiracial.

Multicultural – Involving various cultures in a society, usually with the intent to promote tolerance, inclusion, and equal respect for cultural diversity. Does not include an explicit racial lens. Multiculturalism often focuses on interpersonal interaction and communication between people of different cultures rather than a systemic approach to advance equity.

People of color – Often the preferred collective term for referring to non-white racial groups, rather than “minorities.” Racial justice advocates have been using the term “people of color” (not to be confused with the pejorative “colored people”) since the late 1970s as an inclusive and unifying frame across different racial groups that are not white to address racial inequities. While “people of color” can be a politically useful term, and describes people with their own attributes (as opposed to what they are not, e.g., “non-white”), it is also important whenever possible to identify people through their own racial/ethnic group, as each has its own distinct experience and meaning and may be more appropriate.

“Post-racial” – A term used to describe a time in which racial prejudice and discrimination no longer exist. Deep racial disparities and divisions exist across our society, and some are even widening. Much like the notion of “colorblindness,” the idea of a “post-racial” society does not acknowledge that racism and inequity sit at the core of many of our nation’s deepest challenges. See “Colorblind.”

Privilege – A set of advantages systemically conferred on a particular person or group of people. White people are racially privileged, even when they are economically underprivileged. Privilege and oppression go hand-in-hand: They are two sides of the same power relationship, and both sides of the equation must be understood and addressed. People can be disadvantaged by one identity and privileged by another. See “Intersectionality” and “White supremacy.”

Race – While often assumed to be a biological classification, based on physical and genetic variation, racial categories do not have a scientific basis. However, the consequences of racial categorization are real, as the ideology of race has become embedded in our identities, institutions, and culture, and is used as a basis for discrimination and racial profiling. How one is racialized is a major determinant of one’s socioeconomic status and life opportunities. See “Racial and ethnic categories.”

Racial and ethnic categories – System of organizing people into groups based on their identified race and ethnicity, with categories that may change over time. Data is derived from self-identification questions; however, people often do not get to select the categories from which they must choose, making most methods of categorizing and counting highly political and often problematic.

Racial hierarchy – Ranking of different races/ethnic groups, based on physical and perceived characteristics. Racial hierarchy is not a binary of white vs. non-white, but rather a complex system where groups occupy different rungs of political, economic, and cultural power. Racist ideology relies on maintaining hierarchies, even among racial groups.

Racial justice – The systematic fair treatment of people of all races, resulting in equitable opportunities and outcomes for all. Racial justice—or racial equity—goes beyond “anti-racism.” It is not just the absence of discrimination and inequities but also the presence of deliberate systems and supports to achieve and sustain racial equity through proactive and preventative measures.

Racial profiling – The discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting people of color for suspicion of crime without evidence of criminal activity, based on their perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, or religion (e.g., “stop-and-frisk”). Racial profiling is ineffective, damages community-police relationships, and is being litigated around the country as a violation of constitutional rights. However, law enforcement authorities at the federal, state, and local levels continue to use racial profiling.

Racial slur – Derogatory, pejorative, or insulting terms for members of a racial or ethnic group. While some slurs, like the “n-word,” are understood as such and are avoided, some slurs are still used in everyday speech, with little understanding of their harm.

Racism – A historically-rooted system of power hierarchies based on race—infused in our institutions, policies, and culture—that benefits white people and hurts people of color. Racism isn’t limited to individual acts of prejudice, either deliberate or accidental. Rather, the most damaging racism is built into systems and institutions that shape our lives. Most coverage of race and racism is not “systematically aware,” meaning that it either focuses on racism at the level of an individuals’ speech or actions (individual-level racism), dismisses systemic racism, or refers to racism in the past tense.

Racist – Describes a person, behavior, or incident that perpetuates racism. Stories of race and racism that focus on personal prejudice (“who’s a racist?”) get a disproportionate share of attention in the media. This reinforces the message that racism is primarily a phenomenon of overt, intentional acts carried out by prejudiced individuals who need correcting and/or shaming and tends to spark debates of limited value about that individual’s character. Media and racial justice advocates should use a systemic lens when producing race-related stories and topics to examine systems, institutional practices, policies, and outcomes.

“Reverse racism” – A concept based on a misunderstanding of what racism is, often used to accuse and attack efforts made to rectify systemic injustices. Every individual can be prejudiced and biased at one time or another toward various people and behaviors, but racism is based on power and systematic oppression. Individual prejudice and systemic racism cannot be equated. Even though some people of color hold powerful positions, white people overwhelmingly hold the most systemic power. The concept of “reverse racism” ignores structural racism, which permeates all dimensions of our society, routinely advantaging white people and disadvantageous to people of color. Structural racism is deeply entrenched and in no danger of being dismantled or “reversed” any time soon.

Stereotype – Characteristics ascribed to a person or groups of people based on generalization and oversimplification that may result in stigmatization and discrimination. Even so-called positive stereotypes (e.g., Asian Americans as “model minorities”) can be harmful due to their limiting nature.

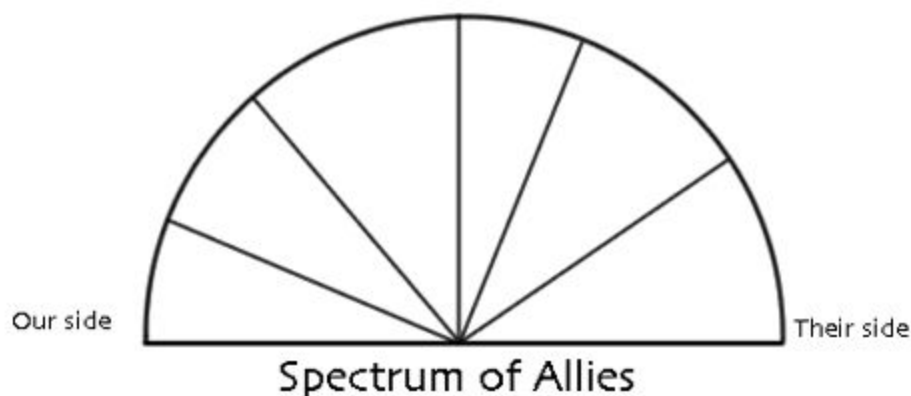
Systemic analysis – A comprehensive examination of the root causes and mechanisms at play that result in patterns. It involves looking beyond individual speech, acts, and practices to the larger structures—organizations, institutions, traditions, and systems of knowledge.

White supremacy – A form of racism centered upon the belief that white people are superior to people of other racial backgrounds and that white people should politically, economically, and socially dominate non-white people. While often associated with violence perpetrated by the KKK and other white supremacist groups, it also describes a political ideology and systemic oppression that perpetuates and maintains social, political, historical, and/or industrial white domination.

White supremacy culture – Characteristics of white supremacy that manifest in organizational culture and are used as norms and standards without being proactively named or chosen by the full group. The characteristics are damaging to both people of color and white people in that they elevate the values, preferences, and experiences of one racial group above all others. Organizations that are led by people of color or have a majority of people of color can also demonstrate characteristics of white supremacy culture.



Spectrum of Allies Workshop



Activism is about using your power and voice to make change. Organizing is about that, too, but it's also about activating and empowering others. It helps to think in terms of groups. Successful movement-building hinges on being able to see a society in terms of specific blocks or networks, some of which are institutions (unions, churches, schools), others of which are less visible or cohesive, like youth subcultures or demographic groupings.

Analyzing your spectrum of allies can help you to identify and mobilize the networks around you. A spectrum-of-allies analysis can be used to map out a local campaign or to strategize for a whole social movement.

Here's how a spectrum-of-allies analysis works: in each wedge you can place different individuals (be specific: name them!), groups, or institutions. Moving from left to right, identify your active allies: people who agree with you and are fighting alongside you; your passive allies: folks who agree with you but aren't doing anything about it; neutrals: fence-sitters, the unengaged; passive opposition: people who disagree with you but aren't trying to stop you; and finally your active opposition.

Some activist groups only speak or work with those in the first wedge (active allies), building insular, self-referential, marginal subcultures that are incomprehensible to everyone else. Others behave as if everyone is in the last wedge (active opposition), playing out the "story of the righteous few," acting as if the whole world is against them. Yet movements win not by overpowering their active opposition, but by shifting the support out from under them.

For example, in 1964, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a major driver of the civil rights movement in the U.S. South, conducted a "spectrum-of-allies style" analysis. They determined that they had a lot of passive allies who were students in the North: these students were sympathetic, but had no entry point into the movement. They didn't need to be "educated" or convinced, they needed an invitation to enter.

To shift these allies from "passive" to "active," SNCC sent buses north to bring folks down to participate in the struggle under the banner "Freedom Summer." Students came in droves, and many were deeply radicalized in the process, witnessing lynching, violent police abuse, and angry white mobs, all simply as a result of black people trying to vote.

Many wrote letters home to their parents, who suddenly had a personal connection to the struggle. This triggered

another shift: their families became passive allies, often bringing their workplaces and social networks with them. The students, meanwhile, went back to school in the fall and proceeded to organize their campuses. More shifts. The result: a profound transformation of the political landscape of the U.S. This cascading shift of support, it's important to emphasize, wasn't spontaneous; it was part of a deliberate movement strategy that, to this day, carries profound lessons for other movements.

Here is an account from SNCC organizer, Bernard Lafayette, who describes identifying allies in their efforts to register voters in Selma, Alabama, in 1965:

We tried to get people around the city to come, but it was slow. So we went out in the rural [areas]. The people out there are close to the earth, they're very religious and warm and friendly. And mostly they're unafraid. They own most of their own property and their little stores. So we got these people to go and try to register to vote. Then we used this as a leverage to try to embarrass many of the people in the city. City folks are sometimes critical and skeptical about country people. So we pointed that these people were really getting ahead. When these city people began to go down it was really sort of a birth of a movement. (Story from Candie Carawan, ed., *Sing for Freedom: the story of the Civil Rights Movement through its songs*)

In this case, going after a group that was easier to reach (rural folks) made it more possible to mobilize a harder group (city folks). At other times, one might choose to reach out to harder-to-mobilize groups first.

Remember: in most social change campaigns it's not necessary to win the active opponents over to your point of view, even if the opponent is the target. It's only necessary to move each of the pie wedges one step in your direction. If you can make your passive allies become active, and the neutrals become your passive allies, and the passive opponents act neutrally – **you can win**.

Written by Joshua Kahn Russell for Beautiful Trouble (<http://beautifultrouble.org/principle/shift-the-spectrum-of-allies/>). Tool adapted by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).

Let's Dive Deeper!

Issue you are focusing on: _____

Goal (s) of your campaign: _____

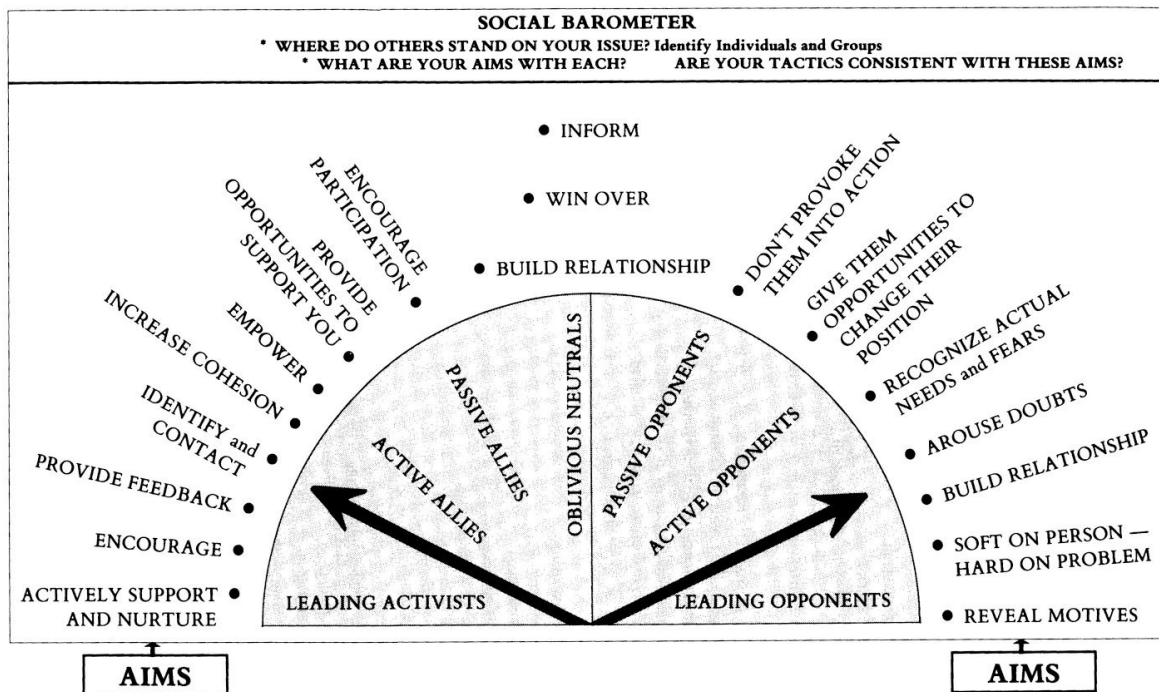
Step 1: Rough completion of your Spectrum of Allies. Bear in mind, some groups may fall between different groups, this is ok! As you go through the process, you may decide that some groups are actually in a different category, be flexible.

Step 2: Identify what makes different groups fall into your categories. This may require some research and thought. Take your time to make sure you are being thorough.

Step 3: Choose a slice! Decide which slice of the pie you are going to tackle first. It is important to remember that although some actions may work across groups, frequently it is more effective to develop tactics and actions based on influencing specific groups. "Which slice do we want to target in our next action and assist the people in it to move one step toward us?"

Step 4: Break your pie into target market/constituent personas! Just because different people fall into the same spectrum on your issues, does not make them all alike. They may have very different opinions about why they agree/disagree with your issue. Create a persona for your target market/constituent personas!

Step 5: Develop an action!



54 • IN THE TIGER'S MOUTH

I wish to acknowledge inspiration from David H. Albert: "People Power — Applying Non Violence Theory" New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, PA, 1985.

Spectrum Breakdown

Group	Why are they in this category?	Develop opinion statement	Who are their key influencers?
Leading Activists			
Active Allies			
Passive Allies			
Neutral			
Passive Opponents			
Active Opponents			
Leading Opponents			

CONSTITUENT PERSONA DEVELOPMENT

Target Audience	What are their priorities/values?	How do they get their information?	What would inhibit them from joining you /influences them against you?	Other

Things to consider for Constituent Personas/Target Markets:

Demographic information: Demographic information involves statistical aspects of consumers such as gender, ethnicity, income, qualification and marital status.

Psychographic information: Psychographics is the use of sociological, psychological and anthropological factors, as well as consumer behaviour, style of living and self-concept to determine how different market segment groups make decisions about a philosophy, person or issue.

Behavioural information: Consumer behaviour is the purchase decision process, what influences their purchase decision, what purposes they use the purchased good for, and their responses and attitudes

Geographic information: Geographic information is essentially where the individual is located, and is vital to the organization when they are determining their target audience.

Lifestyle: A lifestyle is defined as “a person's pattern of behaviour” which is closely related to consumer’s personality and values

Constituent Audiences: More Things to Consider

1. What is the desired action of your target audience?

- Donating to your organization
- Volunteer for an event
- Advocate by spreading the word and educating others
- Attending an event or rally
- Lobbying elected officials
- Voting on an issue

2. What demographic groups are most likely to take the desired action?

Figure out not only who has a need for your product or service, but also who is most likely to take action (buy, donate, volunteer). Consider the following factors but be cautious not to whittle things down too far.

- Age Group
- Gender (M, F, both)
- Location (local, regional, national &/or urban, suburban, rural)
- Marital/Family Status
- Income Level
- Education Level
- Occupation

Note: Though you may want to consider things like “race” I advise against it. In most cases, openly targeting a particular race sets you up for more pitfalls than benefits.

3. How do they think?

- Personality types
- Attitudes
- Values
- Interest/Hobbies
- Lifestyles
- Behaviors

4. What needs, challenges and frustrations do they have?

5. How does your idea, service, or product help your target audience?

What problem does it solve? How does it make their lives easier? better? What would motivate them to pay for it?

6. What drives them to make decisions? (or donating, volunteering, sharing, etc)

What influences them to take that final step? What obstacles might be in their way?

7. Do they currently use (or support) a product or service of your organization or that of a similar organization?

If so, this means that they have shown an active interest in your type of service (good) but may be open to new opportunities or may be satisfied with the way things are.

8. What media do they currently use?

Consider the magazines they read, tv & movies they watch, websites they visit, social media sites they frequent. For social media, consider the times they are most active and what types of content they engage with (follows, clicks, comments, mentions, likes, and shares)

9. How can you best reach your target audience?

10. Are you confident you picked the right target audience?

Local Team Event Planning Checklist!

So you want to plan an event for your local community? Awesome! Please use this document to help you organize and maximize attendance. Although we recognize many of our events are reactive, we suggest for pro-active 2-3 months of planning time (if possible). If you are on a shorter time limit, I suggest using the same steps, but doing them faster! Please take this sheet and write out a step-by-step event plan using these prompts.

Step 1: Identify the Objectives

- Are you trying to educate your community about an issue? Are you trying to recruit more members? Want to protest something? Pressure your elected officials? Facilitate Team Bonding? Trying to get massive media coverage on an issue?
- These are all important questions to ask, create an objective statement that is 1-2 sentences long.
- Talk with your team members, does this make sense, does it align with our current campaigns or movement building goals?
- Check to see if there are any other groups doing similar events

Step 2: Identify Goals

- Are there specific goals within your objective? What is the desired outcome of the event?
 - How many people would you like to attend?
 - Who do you want to attend? (**See more at Step 3**)
 - What do you want them to leave with? (education, resources, toolkits, inspiration?)

Step 3: Identifying and Expanding on your Target Audiences

- Deciding who you want to attend is crucial for picking a time and location of your event along with other details and should be done as early as possible! This step is crucial if you are trying to reach people “outside the choir”. For this exercise, don’t feel uncomfortable using some stereotypes, they are necessary for building a persona.
- For each target audience, be as specific as possible (ex. young business professionals, CU boulder students, latino populations in Weld county)
- Three important questions to ask for each of these audiences: “What are their priorities/values? How do they get their information? What would prevent them from attending?”
- Once you have brainstormed multiple points for each of these questions, take a look at the priorities and what would prevent them from attending. Use these to help you plan a location and time for your event. For example, if you are trying to engage young business professionals you might want to plan an event outside of work hours that has a professional development aspect. Please be sure to consider any accessibility needs, child care, proximity to public transportation, etc.
- <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/blog/segment-your-event-audience-ds0c/>

Step 4: Identify Date, Time and Venue

- Do your research! Is the location near public transportation? Is it accessible to your target audience? How much does it cost? What is the capacity? Does it have the necessary materials for your event or would you need to provide those (i.e. projector, PA system, chairs, etc.) If it is outside, is there a back-up option for rain or snow?

- Check local event calendars and reach out to other groups to ensure your event does not conflict with others if possible!
- Book it early! Venues fill up quick!

Step 5: Create Timeline (This should be done at least 1-2 months in advance if possible)

- Timelines help us check things off the to-do list so we don't forget and rush last minute
- Leave at least one month to market your event to maximize attendance
- Stick to your timeline! Being proactive will make this a much less stressful experience and allow you to delegate to others!

EXAMPLE TIMELINE: (This is purely meant as an example, you may identify more/less steps for your event)

2 months in advance

- Write out full event plan (Objective, goal(s), tactics, timeline)
- Choose date/time based on event plan
- Book venue
- research and select potential speakers/panel members or choose documentary
- Create Facebook event (just basic details, you can add more details later)
- Create Action Network Page
- Put event on 350 Colorado website (just basic details, you can add more details later)
- Create check list for needed materials and budget
- Begin recruitment of volunteers to help you run the event
- Outreach to potential sponsors or donors

1 month in advance

- Create an eventbrite or other ticketing website if you have limited capacity and expect large amount of interest
- Begin social media marketing (1-2 posts a week)
- Put up flyers in local coffee shops
- Add to community calendars send to newspapers and radio stations
- Use identified communication strategies from Target Audience exercise
- Create a press list and identify a few reporters to send direct pitches to (Do not send yet)
- Send info about event to other local groups and leaders

2 Weeks

- Obtain materials (projector, PA system, etc.) make sure they work
- Tour event venue and check for outlets, seats, tables, etc. make sure you have everything you need and troubleshoot any issues
- Put together info and share about how to get to event (public transport, bikeways, driving directions, etc.)
- Social media (2-3 Posts a week)
- Attend other local group's meetings and talk about the event
- Send invitation email to members

1 Week

- Social media countdown to event (if small event cut down to 4 posts during the week with 3 right before event)

- Send reminder email to attendees
- Continue marketing such as radio, local calendars, etc.
- Ask members
- Create post-event survey for attendees
- Create and send media alert (also referred to as media advisory), send direct pitches to few select members of the press
- Prep press release (details can be completed following event)

Day-Of

- Re-send media alert early in the morning and do press calls
- Message attendees via Facebook or post in event page with updates and reminders
- Get there early! Make sure everything works and set up venue
- Have fun and relax!
- Introduce yourself to as many attendees as possible. Have volunteers ready to chat it up with attendees and tell them about 350 Colorado.
- Take pictures and video! Maybe Facebook live video
- Live tweet the event

Post Event:

- Send press release as soon after the event as possible
- Distribute survey and review answers
- Send thank you email and follow up (perhaps video of event or slides from presentation)
- Inventory any leftover supplies
- Debrief with your team
- Create a blog post or post press release on website
- Post photos and updates on social media

PRO TIPS:

- People love free food/drinks/stuff! Try and get some donations from local restaurants or grocery stores
- Make the event unique, why should they attend this event and not something else?
- What can they leave your event with, that they won't get elsewhere?
- How will this event benefit you?
- Make it convenient!
- Stay within your budget! Keep it cheap
- Keep it simple. Depending on the size of your event, too many great ideas can lead to the necessary steps being forgotten. Identify necessary aspects, lock those down, then you can expand.

MORE TIPS:

<https://www.wildapricot.com/articles/event-checklist>

HSI

https://www.hacu.net/hacu/About_HSIs.asp

<https://www.edexcelencia.org/research/publications/hsis-factsheet-2022-23#:~:text=Overview,gHSIs%20also%20continues%20to%20increase.>

https://www.hacu.net/hacu/hsi_definition1.asp

<https://www.hacu.net/NewsBot.asp?MODE=VIEW&ID=4597#:~:text=In%202022%2D23%2C%20there%20were,and%20universities%20across%20the%20country.>

[https://www.hacu.net/images/hacu/OPAI/2024_HSI_FactSheet%20\(2\).pdf](https://www.hacu.net/images/hacu/OPAI/2024_HSI_FactSheet%20(2).pdf)

HBCU

[Opportunities, challenges specific to **HBCUs** highlighted during inaugural **HBCU** Advance - National Association for College Admission Counseling \(NACAC\)](#)

[Challenges and Possibilities at **HBCUs** after the COVID-19 Pandemic | AAUP](#)

<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/10/02/a-look-at-historically-black-colleges-and-universities-in-the-u-s/>

<https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=667>

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/05/16/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-announces-record-over-16-billion-in-support-for-historically-black-colleges-and-universities-hbcus/>

https://uncf.org/wp-content/uploads/2023-Fact-Sheet-Myriad_08-23-1.pdf

[What Are **HBCU** Colleges? Facts About Historically...](#)

TSU

[Tribal Colleges and Universities Offer Affordable, Quality Higher Education | Bureau of Indian Education](#)

[Tribal Colleges | American Indian College Fund](#)

<https://www.aihec.org/tribal-colleges-universities/>

<https://pnpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Tribal-Colleges-and-Universities.pdf>

[Tribal Colleges Map | Native American Colleges | U.S. Canada](#)

AANHPI

[AANAPISI | Thriving](#)

https://educationusa.state.gov/sites/default/files/20220816_aanapisi_information_sheet_digital_final.pdf

<https://diversity.ucsd.edu/initiatives/aanapisi/index.html>

<https://pnpi.org/issue-primers/asian-american-and-native-american-pacific-islander-serving-institutions/>

https://www.unlv.edu/sites/default/files/page_files/3/UNLV-AANAPISI-fact-sheet.pdf

Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) & HBCUs

FACT SHEET

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

- HBCUs were established before 1964 with the mission of educating Black Americans when predominantly white institutions (PWIs) excluded them.
- Many began as colleges of education to train teachers for Black communities.
- Founded during segregation, HBCUs provided critical access to higher education, significantly contributing to Black Americans' progress.
- As of 2024, there are 101 HBCUs in the U.S.
- Though originally founded for Black students, 24% of HBCU enrollees in 2022 were non-Black.
- HBCUs have 1/8th the average endowment size compared to historically white institutions.
- HBCUs have educated the majority of America's Black teachers, doctors, judges, engineers, and STEM professionals.
- Black students report higher satisfaction rates at HBCUs than at non-HBCUs, reflecting the positive experiences and pride they foster. ile preserving Native languages and promoting tribal sovereignty.

Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs)

- Defined by the Higher Education Act of 1992 as degree-granting institutions with at least 25% Hispanic Full-Time Equivalent undergraduate enrollment.
- HSIs enroll 31.7% of all undergraduates in nonprofit postsecondary education.
- In 2022-23, there were 600 HSIs, up from 572 in 2021-22.
- HSIs serve 5.2 million students, including two-thirds of all Hispanic undergraduates.
- 9 out of the top 10 institutions on the 2022 Social Mobility Index (SMI) were HSIs.
- 82% of HSIs are in seven states and Puerto Rico: CA, TX, NY, IL, FL, NJ, NM, and PR.
- California and Texas account for 47% of all HSIs



MSIs & HBCUs

FACT SHEET

Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs)

- TCUs, also known as tribally controlled colleges, are governed by Native American tribes, promoting Native culture, language, and traditions.
- They emerged from the self-determination movement in the 1960s, starting with Dine College, founded by the Navajo Nation in 1968.
- As of 2022, 35 accredited TCUs operate over 90 campuses across 15 states, serving students from over 250 federally recognized tribes.
- State governments provide no financial support, and local property taxes are not collected due to their location on reservations with high poverty rates.
- TCUs partner with organizations like the U.S. Department of the Interior, NASA, and others to support research and education on topics such as climate change, agriculture, and diabetes prevention.
- TCUs offer support services like counseling, mentoring, tutoring, wellness programs, child care, and assistance with laptops, transportation, and housing.
- TCUs serve 100,000 community members through academic and community-based programs while preserving Native languages and promoting tribal sovereignty.

Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs)

- AANAPISIs are institutions with at least 10% of undergraduate enrollment consisting of Asian American or Native American Pacific Islander students
- Created to combat harmful stereotypes and allocate resources to support low-income AAPI students, recognizing their need for higher education support.
- Recognized with federal funding in 2007-2008, AANAPISIs serve students historically marginalized in U.S. higher education.
- The AANAPISI community's diversity is often overlooked, leading to a lack of resources for AAPI students.
- In the fall of 2020, AANAPISIs educated 33% of all AAPI students, primarily at public two- and four-year institutions.
- AANAPISIs are located in 27 states and territories, mainly on the West Coast, in Hawaii, Pacific territories, and New York.

FUNDING INEQUITIES IN HIGHER ED

HBCUs & MSIs vs PWIs

OVER

3

DECADES

OF
UNDERFUNDING

HBCUs and MSIs were founded to provide educational access for minorities

Federal Funding

- HBCUs receive just **0.5% of federal education funding**
- In 2020, HBCUs received an average of **\$3,927 per student** in federal funding
- Top PWIs received **over \$13,000 per student**, nearly three times the funding HBCUs received.

State Level

- Land-grant institutions, created by the **Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890**, aimed to provide access for all communities
- 16 states** have collectively underfunded their land-grant HBCUs by **over \$13 billion in the past 30 years**.

Research Grants

- From 2010 to 2020, HBCUs received just **0.4% of NIH research grants**.
- Majority of NIH and other federal research grants went to PWIs, allowing them to **build robust research infrastructures**.

Student Outcomes

HBCUs and MSIs have a **35% graduation rate**, compared to **60% at PWIs**

This reflects the challenges faced by students who often come from **low-income backgrounds** and receive less financial aid

Student Loan Debts

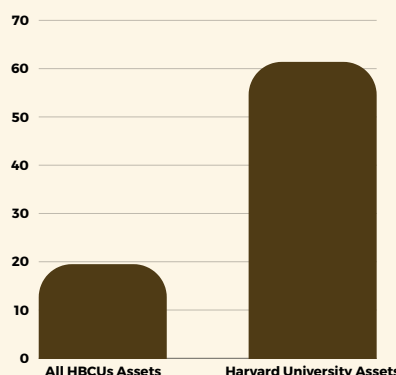
African American students **graduate with \$7,400 more debt** than white peers, with HBCU and MSI students especially impacted.

25% of HBCU students borrow \$40,000 or more, compared to **6% at non-HBCUs**. This is also **common at MSIs**

Endowment Gaps

The combined endowment of **all 101 HBCUs** is approximately **\$2 billion**

Ivy League PWIs, like Harvard University, have endowments exceeding **\$40 billion**—more than **20 times the combined endowment** of all HBCUs.



Actionable Solutions

Direct resources to institutions serving **low-income and minority students**

Involve affected communities in designing funding policies to ensure they **address real needs and inequities**.

Tie funding to outcomes that are **transparent and measurable**, ensuring **accountability and continuous improvement**.

1. "Historically Black Colleges Are Critical for Equality and Need More Funding." Goldman Sachs, June 2023. Accessed 27 Oct. 2024.
 2. Mendez-Carballo, Diego. "Neighborhood Redlining, Racial Segregation, and Homeownership." Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, Sept. 2021.
 3. "New Report Outlines How 'Equity-Based' Funding Could Close Higher Education Achievement Gaps." School of Education, UW-Madison, 2024. Accessed 27 Oct. 2024.
 4. "The Economics of HBCUs | CEA." The White House, May 2024.
 5. "UNCF Unveils 2024 HBCU Economic Impact Report Highlighting the Unmatched Contributions and Urgent Funding Needs of HBCUs." UNCF, Sept. 2024. Accessed 27 Oct. 2024.
 6. "Where Is the Equity? How States Have Disproportionately Underfunded Historically Black Colleges and Universities." UAB Institute for Human Rights Blog, Oct. 2023.