

A Rising Tide:

New Orleans's Black Colleges and Their Efforts to Rebuild after Hurricane Katrina

by Marybeth Gasman and Noah D. Drezner

Water is the one substance from which the earth can conceal nothing; it sucks out its innermost secrets and brings them to our very lips. —Jean Giraudoux, 1946

A little over a year ago the predominantly Black city of New Orleans felt the wrath of Hurricane Katrina. The storm in all of her might destroyed homes, killed old and young citizens, and flooded many of the city's well known institutions, including three historically Black universities. For over a hundred years, these institutions have been serving the local, regional, and national community, providing our nation's African-American doctors, nurses, teachers, scientists, social workers and many other professionals. Now, in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, the work of these universities has been jeopardized. How will the Black colleges rebuild after disaster? The purpose of this article is to explore the rebuilding efforts of the three historically Black institutions in New Orleans: Dillard University, Xavier University of New Orleans, and Southern University of Louisiana.

After the damage of Hurricane Katrina settled, there was a sudden rush to explain the disaster. Academics, newspaper reporters, freelance writers, and politicians took turns lamenting the storm's devastation. The resulting books fall into several categories: those that offer broad coverage of the natural disaster and are written for a mainstream audience, those that focus specifically on the politics of the event, and those that speak to an African-American audience, as Blacks were the most visible casualty of the Hurricane and its resulting floods. Representative of the first category is New Orleans resident and Tulane history professor Douglas Brinkley's *The Great Deluge*.¹ Through illuminating oral history interviews, Brinkley tells the story of Katrina from myriad perspectives. However, much like the other books in this category, he neglects to discuss the city's black colleges and their plight.² Christopher Cooper and Robert Block's *Disaster: Hurricane Katrina and the Failure of Homeland Security* is illustrative of the second type of book, as it is deeply political in nature.³ Cooper and Block examine the role of the federal government in the disaster. Here, as in Brinkley's book, neither educational institutions nor colleges are mentioned.⁴ Due to the glaring impact of Hurricane Katrina on African Americans in New Orleans, several Black intellectuals were motivated to write books. University of Pennsylvania professor Michael Eric Dyson fired off his own response to the hurricane. *Come Hell or High Water: Hurricane Katrina and the Color of Disaster* explores the history of racism in New Orleans and how racial divisions magnified the impact of the natu-

ral disaster. The book takes to task leaders at all levels for their inattentiveness to poor Black citizens.⁵ Dyson's text is characteristic of the works contributed by Black intellectuals on this topic; although they highlight the African-American experience, even these books neglect to discuss the storm's toll on New Orleans's Black colleges.⁶ These Black colleges are vital to the future of New Orleans and the South. For this reason and others, an exploration of their rebuilding efforts is needed.

To craft this article, we conducted interviews with individuals at the center of the Hurricane Katrina disaster, especially those working at and leading the Black colleges in New Orleans. We examined institutional documents, photographs, and videos related to the event. We also consulted the emerging scholarship on natural catastrophes and disaster planning for colleges and universities.⁷ Lastly, we reviewed newspaper coverage pertaining to higher education and Hurricane Katrina.

History and Background of New Orleans's Black Colleges

Xavier University, established in 1915, is the nation's only historically Black and Catholic institution. Using money from her inheritance, Katherine Drexel (along with the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament) founded the institution as a teacher's college. Specifically, Sister Katherine wanted to educate Black and Native American students.⁸ The college differs from other institutions in the continuity of its leadership. Xavier's president Norman C. Francis has been at the helm for over three decades, far longer than the average college president, lending stability to the small university. He is the first African-American president of the institution. In addition to tripling the endowment to \$54 million (still meager in comparison to its predominantly White counterparts, but larger than that of many Black colleges), Francis has shaped the institution into a place that nurtures students in the sciences.⁹ According to the American Medical Association, Xavier University is responsible for sending more Blacks to medical school than any other institution in the country. And, even more importantly, 92 percent of these students complete medical school and pass board exams.¹⁰ With a pre-Katrina enrollment of 4,000, the university awarded more undergraduate degrees in biology and the life sciences to Blacks than any other college or university in the United States. Xavier

has graduated more than 25 percent of the 6,500 Black pharmacists in the United States, many of whom are committed to working in low-income neighborhoods.¹¹ Xavier's work is even more impressive when one considers that many of its students enter with weak preparation. The institution's 1991 incoming cohort had a meager average score of 464 on the quantitative portion of the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT).¹² The data suggest that Xavier empowers and educates its students far beyond what their original standardized test scores indicated. In the words of Xavier's president, the institution is "a model for destroying the myth that young people and minorities can't succeed in science."¹³

Dillard University was formed by the merger of Straight College and New Orleans College in 1930 with the philanthropic support of Edgar B. Stern. The American Missionary Association and the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church founded Straight and New Orleans Colleges, respectively, in 1869 to provide teacher training in elementary education. After the merger of these two colleges, Dillard University expanded to emphasize instruction in secondary and collegiate education as well. Although in its early days the institution was carefully watched by its philanthropic benefactor, the board of trustees eventually chose a Black president, William Stuart Nelson, in 1936, providing African-American leadership much earlier than at most Black colleges. Throughout its history, Dillard has had a strong relationship with the political leaders of the New Orleans community, inviting many



Campus entry, Xavier University. Photo by Irving Johnson III and Marion Bracy.

of them to be trustees of the institution.¹⁴ Prior to Hurricane Katrina, the Dillard campus was lush, with two rows of ancient trees lining the "Avenue of the Oaks" and leading to the heart of the campus. Students took immense pride in the appearance of their university. According to Dillard graduate and Brown University president Ruth Simmons, the institution "has for so long been the route many of us have taken to middle class, for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, the beauty of the site is a way of orienting them toward making a life for themselves that would include the beauty."¹⁵ Currently, the institution focuses on both the liberal arts and the professions, providing a large percentage of New Orleans's nurses. Moreover, *U.S. News & World Report* ranked the Black institution among the top 25 comprehensive colleges in the South. Compared to its historically Black counterparts, Dillard too has a strong endowment of \$47.6 million.

Southern University, a publicly funded institution originally established as an extension of Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1956, is an open admission college, serving low-income students determined to move themselves out of poverty. The first graduating class received bachelor's degrees in 1963 under the university's new name, Southern University of New Orleans. If not for the university, many of these students would not be able to afford college. Prior to the hurricane, Southern University enrolled 3,600 students, most of them over 25. Southern has a profound commitment to community service and places its graduates in social service positions throughout the United States and abroad. The institution is ranked 45th in its production of Black baccalaureate degrees overall, 11th in its production of Black science baccalaureates, and 15th in its production of Black math baccalaureates out of all four-year institutions in the United States (2,466).¹⁶

The Hurricane's Damage

Although founded and funded on an unequal basis, Black colleges have shown remarkable resilience, continuing to enroll a substantial share of Blacks who receive a college education.¹⁷ In most cities across the country, Black colleges were sited on undesirable land, a situation that proved catastrophic in New Orleans, where Xavier, Dillard, and Southern—built on the lowest ground—suffered the greatest damage when the levees broke. Dillard is less than a mile from the London Avenue Canal, where the levee breached in four places, flooding the campus with eight feet of water, destroying the institution's prided "Avenue of the Oaks," and causing \$400 million in damage. The storm devastated Dillard's Will Alexander Library and its book, periodical,



The flooded cafeteria at Xavier University, which had to be replaced due to mold. Photo by Irving Johnson III and Marion Bracy.

and special collections. The floodwaters and subsequent mold destroyed upward of 92,000 books.¹⁸

Southern University sits just south of Lake Pontchartrain and west of the Inner Harbor Navigation Canal that connects the lake to the Mississippi River. There were five levee breaches along the canal, causing \$350 million in damage to the public institution.

Although Xavier is a fair distance from the lake, its location in the downtown business district puts it near the Washington Avenue Canal. Most of the time, the canal contains barely any water, but during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, the canal itself became a lake,

flooding the campus and causing \$40 million in damage. By contrast, Tulane University and Loyola University of New Orleans, both located on higher ground in New Orleans's well manicured, predominantly White, Garden District, suffered much less damage. According to Michael Eric Dyson, the "concentrated poverty [in New Orleans] is the product of decades of public policies and political measures that isolate black households in neighborhoods plagued by severe segregation and economic hardship."¹⁹

Recovering after Disaster

Institutional Response

Not only were the three historically Black colleges hit the hardest in terms of physical damages, but when classes reopened in January 2006 after a semester hiatus, fewer of their students returned. Tulane, a predominantly White university, announced that 88 percent of its students had returned compared to 75 percent at Xavier. Recently, Tulane was cited as making the fastest recov-



A flooded, mold-infested dorm room at Xavier University. Photo by Irving Johnson III and Marion Bracy.

ery of any college hurt by Hurricane Katrina. Dillard and Southern were able to retain 50 percent and 44 percent of their students respectively. For Dillard the retention problem was exacerbated by the fact that the institution was unable to open its campus and instead had to teach classes at a hotel.

The preliminary enrollments for the fall 2006 semester show no growth in the number of students who have returned to any of New Orleans's campuses except Southern University. Southern is reporting that 83 percent of its pre-Katrina population has returned.²⁰ Xavier estimates that its incoming cohort of freshmen is approximately half that of its normal cohort (450 compared to 900).²¹ Dillard president Marvalene Hughes believes that it will take upward of five years to return to pre-Katrina registration levels.²²

Lack of capital among the Black colleges contributes to rebuilding problems. None of the Black colleges have endowments that come anywhere near Tulane's \$850 million. Because they lack a financial cushion, all three Black institutions have had to terminate employees, even tenured faculty members—a fact that has received far less press coverage than the proposed termination of Tulane faculty. For example, prior to Hurricane Katrina, Xavier employed 250 faculty and 650 staff members. At

the beginning of the fall 2006 semester, a year after the storm, the university returned with 176 faculty and 240 staff, a reduction of 30 percent and 63 percent, respectively.²³ Similarly, Dillard laid off approximately 75 percent of its personnel, or 202 employees.²⁴

The effect of Hurricane Katrina went beyond the physical plant and employees. Research production has been significantly set back. At Xavier, the Center for Undergraduate Research was entirely lost. Dillard's facilities, labs, and equipment were destroyed, and with them went years of research. Due to the loss of facilities and delay in returning to campus, the institution was forced to defer a number of large-scale research projects. The closure further resulted in the loss of several science professors who had been awarded National Science Foundation and National Institute of Health funding. They had to take positions elsewhere to maintain their funding. A Dillard administrator noted that the storm "set back the institution's research program and capacity to attract new research dollars by at least three to four years."²⁵

Part of Southern's method of coping with the destruction has been to remake itself as an online college. In fact, Southern recently changed its tagline to "transforming lives and communities through e-learning."²⁶ The University through its web site is encouraging displaced students no matter where they are to complete their Southern degrees online. One Southern administrator is encouraging students to persist because: "Education is your greatest weapon. I mean, when you lose everything else . . . And for us, the Katrina victims, we've lost material things, but education is the thing we don't lose."²⁷

Southern University's 11 academic buildings have yet to be gutted and decontaminated; these are on a list of over a thousand public buildings in need of work. In all likelihood, Southern's structures will not be repaired soon, making the institution the only college in New Orleans that was not operating on its own campus in the fall of 2006. Some traditional classes are being held in 400 trailers located north of the main campus; how-



Xavier University's ruined gym floor. Photo by Irving Johnson III and Marion Bracy.

ever, most classes are being offered in an online format. Faced with vast damage and a meager endowment of only \$2 million, the institution has had no choice but to scale down its services and cut some programs completely. However, some members of Southern University's administration feel that the state board of overseers'

decision to cut 19 academic fields after Katrina, including math, English, and physics, went too far.

According to Joe Omojola, the former dean of the College of Science, "It is wrong to use the devastation of Hurricane Katrina as a cover to attack an institution at its most vulnerable state."²⁸ Omojola is referring to the state's efforts, prior to Katrina, to close Southern due to low graduation rates among its transient commuter student population.²⁹

Despite the challenges that existed even before the hurricane, Southern University's online format is offering displaced low-income students a chance for education and for producing informed citizens who strengthen the city of New Orleans and beyond. Southern's move, however, might make it difficult for students who are not able or willing to learn through virtual coursework to successfully complete their degrees.

Government Response

In January 2006 President Bush announced a \$200 million relief package for institutions of higher education affected by Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana and Mississippi. After a \$10 million allocation to the Department of Education to support colleges throughout the country that accepted displaced students, the remaining \$190 million was split evenly between the two states, regardless of the fact that Louisiana sustained greater damage and had more institutions affected by the storm.³⁰ The federal government allowed each state to distribute its share of the higher education allocation. Of the \$95 million distributed to Louisiana, \$75 million is being distributed to both public and private institutions based on full-time enrollment, lost tuition revenue, and the size of their financial aid budgets. Additionally, \$8.5 million is set aside for incentives to encourage students to return to Louisiana institutions. In the decision on how to allocate the funds, physical damage incurred by the institution was not considered.³¹ Congress appropriated an additional \$50 million in grants in June 2006. However, when the New Orleans college presidents asked for \$200 million in loan assistance to help meet the needs of the institutions while they awaited Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and insurance payouts, the federal government declined the request.³² Additionally, a provision in the distribution of aid requires each university to match FEMA's contribution to the repairs by ten percent.³³ This requirement is difficult for the three Black colleges, as they do not have the endowments necessary to produce such funds. They had to take out additional loans or rely on the kindness of private donors and foundations to make the contribution.

While important to the Black colleges of New Orleans, these federal distributions are not enough to meet the recovery costs. Black colleges, particularly Xavier and Dillard, are hard-pressed to find the money needed to rebuild. The 2000 Disaster Mitigation Act excluded private colleges from FEMA's flood aid program. That decision has left Xavier and Dillard, both private universities whose tight operational budgets prevented them from fully insuring their campuses, with little to no support for rebuilding infrastructure after Katrina. According to a congressional assessment, Xavier's insurance will cov-

er less than a quarter of the \$40 million in damage.³⁴ Other private colleges, such as Tulane, with larger operational budgets and endowments are not affected as much by the Disaster Mitigation Act, since they had the resources available to properly insure their campuses.

At the time that we were writing this article, none of the Black colleges had received any of the money from FEMA that was promised through the congressional acts in January 2006 and June 2006 for their rebuilding efforts. According to Xavier's president, Norman Francis, these funds are still another 18 to 24 months from being distributed—two and a half to three years after the levees broke.³⁵

Out of Disaster, Opportunity

Without FEMA support, Black colleges have turned to private support to rebuild. Dillard president Marvalene Hughes believes that "this crisis has also presented [the institution] with an unprecedented opportunity, through the generosity of donors throughout the U.S. and also from abroad who recognize the importance of our historic institution, to restore and renovate fair Dillard's campus."³⁶ Dillard raised more than \$2 million in scholarships to encourage new students to choose the institution.³⁷ The university's success at raising funds is due in part to having Dillard officials cross the country speaking to alumni and church groups and through alliances with Brown University and the American Jewish Committee.³⁸

It is through this generosity and by a "small miracle" that Xavier was able to restore operations in four and half months.³⁹ Perhaps the most interesting and least expected donor to Xavier is the nation of Qatar. The Muslim monarchy donated \$60 million to Katrina-affected nonprofits, including a \$17.5 million gift to Xavier. The majority of the gift (\$12.5 million) was given to expand Xavier's acclaimed College of Pharmacy. Qatar has funded an additional 60,000 square feet of physical plant additions, allowing for an eventual increase in enrollment. The remaining \$5 million is earmarked for scholarships for students affected by Katrina.⁴⁰ Xavier paid for the remaining rebuilding costs by depleting the unrestricted part of its endowment and taking out short-term bridge loans to be paid back with FEMA and insurance allocations.⁴¹ As of October 1, 2006, Xavier had paid back the unrestricted part of its endowment.

Southern University has not fund-raised for the survival of the institution, as Dillard and Xavier have done. A search of the university web site finds a link to donate to the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund, which provides monies to many organizations and efforts beyond Southern.⁴² Additionally, the only funds that Southern has raised since the devastation of Katrina come from Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity and the Pharos Capital Group. Both of these gifts were given as part of larger gifts to all three historically Black colleges in New Orleans.⁴³

Physically Rebuilding

Each of New Orleans's Black colleges has substantial rebuilding ahead of it as a result of the hurricane and subsequent flooding. Xavier, which was under four to five feet of water, had to gut the first floor of nearly ev-

ery building on campus. In addition, the central plant, which distributes electricity to all campus buildings, was completely destroyed and subsequently had to be rebuilt. This was accomplished by January 2006. Parts of new buildings, such as the cafeteria in the university center, had to be replaced due to mold infestation.⁴⁴ While Xavier was up and running four months after Katrina, construction is ongoing throughout campus. However, one of the buildings, which is designated a historical landmark and was significantly damaged, has not been repaired because the institution is unable to begin its restoration until its plan is approved by FEMA.⁴⁵

Beyond rebuilding the physical plant, opening classrooms, and encouraging students, faculty, and staff to return to their campuses, each institution has updated its emergency preparedness plans. For example, Dillard has decided to begin its fall semester near the end of September, nearly a month later than normal, to avoid the

contribute to the economic and civic growth of the United States as a whole. Policy makers, legislators, and government agencies must be cognizant of the impact of these important institutions and provide assistance and remedies during this crucial time of rebuilding.

There are many lessons to be learned from the Black colleges of New Orleans about rebuilding academic institutions after natural disasters. For example, it is essential that colleges capture the devastation resulting from disaster and communicate it, as well as institutional needs, to the local, regional, and national communities, as Xavier did. This type of strategy is vital to securing funds from private and public sources. Likewise, as the cases of Dillard and Xavier show, it is important to have mechanisms in place to capture small successes in the midst of difficulty. Students, employees, local citizens, and the nation as a whole need to hear that work is being done to recover from tragedy—that the institution

Without FEMA support, Black colleges have turned to private support to rebuild.

hurricane season.⁴⁶ Additionally, this university spent \$20 million of its first \$100 million in rebuilding funds to ensure that the campus was environmentally safe for students, faculty, and staff, eliminating mold, checking soil samples, and removing ground contamination.⁴⁷

At a time when it would be understandable to think only about rebuilding themselves, Dillard, Southern, and Xavier have maintained a surprising focus on their communities. Dillard, which has long had a 120-hour community service requirement for graduation, is requiring its students to work in the greater New Orleans area rather than focusing their efforts only on the Dillard campus.⁴⁸ Xavier and Southern, along with other Gulf-area universities, entered into a collaboration with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in the creation of a new program, the Universities Rebuilding American Partnership Initiative. Under the program, HUD granted these institutions more than \$5 million to use their expertise to help rebuild communities throughout the Gulf Coast. Xavier received the largest grant, \$350,000, to work with the New Orleans City Health Department, McDonogh 35 High School, Earthwalk, Inc., and the United Negro College Fund Special Programs. The Catholic institution will assist low-income residents in New Orleans in establishing a Neighborhood Technology and Health Information Center (NTHIC); encouraging volunteerism among area students, faculty, residents, and health professionals; and providing technical assistance related to demolition and debris clearing for local residents focusing on the elderly. HUD Secretary Alphonso Jackson said of this plan, “[I]nstitutions of higher learning have a unique opportunity to partner with devastated communities and, together, help to breathe new life into these neighborhoods.”⁴⁹

Conclusion

New Orleans’s Black colleges, as well as their counterparts across the country, have made substantial contributions to the education of African Americans and others for over a century. In addition, these institutions

is vital and regaining its livelihood. And lastly, if the past approach to teaching is not possible, as in the case of Southern University, it is imperative and perhaps crucial to retool and re-envision the institution’s delivery of education. Although all three of the Black colleges in New Orleans have faced tremendous devastation, they are taking advantage of the opportunities ahead of them—focusing monies on signature programs, rethinking institutional mission, and reaching out to surrounding communities, near and far. In the words of Xavier president Norman Francis, “before Katrina I was thinking of retiring, but after, I am invigorated and I want to see my institution rise up and succeed.”⁵⁰

Notes

¹ Douglas Brinkley, *The Great Deluge*. New York: HarperCollins, 2006.

² Other books, written for a general audience, and offering a broad overview of *Hurricane Katrina* include: *Time Magazine, Hurricane Katrina: An American Tragedy and Its Aftermath*. New York: Time Magazine, 2005; Ivor Van Heerden & Mike Bryan, *The Storm: What Went Wrong and Why During Hurricane Katrina—The Inside Story from One Louisiana Scientist*. New York: Penguin Group, 2006; Ronald J. Daniels & Donald Kettl (Eds.), *On Risk and Disaster: Lessons from Hurricane Katrina*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006; Tom Pizazza, *Why New Orleans Matters*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006; Mark Schleifstein, *Path of Destruction: The Destruction of New Orleans and the Coming Age of Superstorms*. New York: Little, Brown & Company, 2006. For information on the official government report on Hurricane Katrina, see U.S. House of Representatives, *A Failure of Initiative: Final Report of the Select Bipartisan Committee to Investigate the Preparation for and Response to Hurricane Katrina*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives, 2006.

³ Chris Cooper & Robert Block, *Disaster: Hurricane Katrina and the Failure of Homeland Security*. New York: Henry Holt, 2006.

⁴ Other books of a political nature include: Frank Rich, *The Greatest Story Ever Sold: The Decline and Fall of Truth*. New York: Penguin Group, 2006; Jed Horne, *Breach of Faith: Hurricane Katrina and the Near Death of a Great American City*. New York: Random House, 2006; Cholene Espinoza, *Through the Eye of the Storm*. New York: Chelsea Green Publishers, 2006.

⁵ Michael E. Dyson, *Come Hell or High Water: Hurricane Katrina and the*

Color of Disaster. New York: Basic Civitas, 2006.

⁶For additional books written by African-American scholars, see David Dante Troutt, *After the Storm: Black Intellectuals Explore the Meaning of Hurricane Katrina*. New York: The New Press, 2006; Betsy Reed (Ed.), *Unnatural Disaster: The Nation on Hurricane Katrina*. New York: Avalon Press, 2006.

⁷Mary C. Comerio, Vitelmo Betero, and John M. Quigley, "The Economic Benefits of a Disaster Resistant University." Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

⁸Editor, "The Founder of Xavier University if Canonized a Saint," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 30 (Winter 2000-2001), 33; William H. Gray, Jr., "The Growth and Decline of Private Secondary Schools in Louisiana," *The Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 8, no. 4 (October 1939), 694-701; William Dunne, "The Roman Catholic Church: The Rationale and Policies Underlying the Maintenance of Higher Institutions for Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Summer 1960), 307-314; Robert C. Reinders, "The Churches and the Negro in New Orleans, 1850-1860," *Phylon*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Spring 1961), 241-248.

⁹Henry Drewry and Humphrey Doermann, *Stand and Prosper: Private Black Colleges and their Students* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

¹⁰American Medical Association web site, www.ama-assn.org, accessed October 1, 2006.

¹¹Drewry and Doermann, *Stand and Prosper*.

¹²R. Mitchell, *The Multicultural Student's Guide to Colleges: What Every African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American Applicant Needs to Know about America's Top Schools*. New York: Noonday Press, 1993.

¹³K. Mangan, "Still Without a Campus:

Southern University at New Orleans Struggles to Stay in Business," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (May 26, 2006), A31.

¹⁴Joe M. Richardson, "Edgar B. Stern: A White New Orleans Philanthropist Helps Build a Black University," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 82, no. 3 (Summer 1997), 328-342; Gray, Jr., "Growth and Decline"; Reinders, "The Churches and the Negro."

¹⁵E. Hoover, "A Beloved Black University Fights to Survive," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (September 16, 2005), 21-22.

¹⁶Valerie T. Francis and Amy E. Wells, "On Opposite Sides of the Tracks: New Orleans's Urban University in Black and White." In Marybeth Gasman, Benjamin Baez, and Caroline Sotello Turner (Eds.), *Understanding Minority Serving Institutions*. Albany: State University of New York Press, forthcoming 2008.

¹⁷For more information on the founding and early funding of Black colleges, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988) and William Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001)

¹⁸John Pope, "Dillard Ready to Reopen as Construction Continues: Campus Flooded by Breach in Canal," *Times Picayune* (September 15, 2006). In order to rebuild Dillard's library connection, *The Journal of African American History*, the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH), and the African World Studies department at Dillard University have asked that authors of books about the "African World" send autographed copies of their books to be placed in the library's special collection. For more information please visit Dillard's web site at www.dillard.edu.

¹⁹Dyson, *Come Hell or High Water*, 7.

²⁰House Committee on Education and the Workforce, *Schools after Katrina: A Look at New Orleans Area Schools and Colleges One Year Later*, report prepared by George Miller and the Democratic staff, 109th Congress, 2nd session (August 2006).

²¹Norman C. Francis, Ph.D. (president, Xavier University of Louisi-

ana), in discussion with Marybeth Gasman, September 18, 2006.

²²Pope, "Dillard Ready to Reopen."

²³House Committee, *Schools after Katrina*.

²⁴Pope, "Dillard Ready to Reopen."

²⁵House Committee, *Schools after Katrina*, p. 6.

²⁶Southern University, New Orleans web site, www.suno.edu, accessed October 17, 2006.

²⁷Southern University, New Orleans web site, www.suno.edu, accessed October 17, 2006.

²⁸Mangan, "Still Without a Campus."

²⁹Many of the Southern University students stop in and stop out of the institution, taking classes for professional development or taking a leave until they have additional funds to pay for college.

³⁰J. Brainard, S. Burd, K. Field, & J. Selingo, "Congress Adopts Austere Budget for Research and Student Aid," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 6, 2006), 52 (18), A35.

³¹K. Mangan, "Louisiana Colleges Get their Share of \$95 Million in Hurricane Relief." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 9, 2006).

³²House Committee, *Schools after Katrina*..

³³Francis discussion.

³⁴House Committee on Education and the Workforce, *Democratic Proposal to Open and Rebuild Gulf Coast Schools and Colleges*, report prepared by George Miller and the Democratic staff, 109th Congress, 2nd session (April 2006).

³⁵Francis discussion.

³⁶Marvalene Hughes, president of Dillard University to prospective and returning students, New Orleans, 27 July 2006, retrieved from www.dillard.edu, October 15, 2006.

³⁷Marvalene Hughes, president Dillard University to prospective and returning students, New Orleans, 27 July 2006, retrieved from www.dillard.edu, October 15, 2006..

³⁸John Pope, "Dillard Ready to Reopen."

³⁹Francis discussion.

⁴⁰S. Strom, "Qatar Grants Millions in Aid to New Orleans," *The New York Times* (May 5, 2006), retrieved from www.nytimes.com, May 2006.

⁴¹Francis discussion; While Xavier's endowment is \$50 million, most of this is restricted funds for scholarships. Restricted funds could not be used for rebuilding costs.

⁴²www.suno.edu/katrina_view.htm

⁴³*SUNO Weekly* (May 4, 2006), retrieved from www.suno.edu/docs/suno_weekly/SUNO_Weekly_2006_05_04.pdf, October 17, 2006.

⁴⁴www.xula.edu/institutional-advancement/tmax_recoverybulletin6.html

⁴⁵Francis discussion.

⁴⁶Shawn Chollette, "New Orleans' Black Universities Still a Long Way from Normal Post-Katrina," *The Black Collegian* (September 20, 2006), retrieved from www.blackamericaweb.com, October 3, 2006.

⁴⁷Marvalene Hughes, president Dillard University to prospective and returning students, New Orleans, 27 July 2006, retrieved from www.dillard.edu, October 15, 2006.

⁴⁸Shaw Chollette and Nikki Bannister, "Katrina-Ravaged Colleges Determined to Overcome," *The Black Collegian* (January 24, 2006), retrieved from www.blackamericaweb.com, October 3, 2006.

⁴⁹www.xula.edu/institutional-advancement/tmax_april06.html#hud

⁵⁰Francis discussion.

Marybeth Gasman is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

Noah D. Drezner is a doctoral student at the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. 