

The Professionalization of Fundraising: A Transcript Analysis of CASE President Emeritus Peter McEachin Buchanan (1935-1991) on U.S. Higher Education Philanthropy

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Abstract

Using oral history method and narrative inquiry, this paper utilizes archival sources to examine (1) the historical, social, and political forces in higher education philanthropy that has contributed to the development of Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) and (2) the history of philanthropy and fundraising in shaping the institutionalization and professionalization process of institutional advancement. Specifically, this paper analyzed interview transcript of CASE president emeritus Peter McEachin Buchanan extracted from the American Foundations Oral History Project, 1989-1993 at Indiana University Bloomington's Center for Documentary Research and Practice (CDRP). Transcript data was analyzed through the NVivo 11.0 software to identify key terms related to the professionalization of higher education philanthropy in conceptualizing how fundraisers have experienced, witnessed, and enacted the university advancement profession. The findings suggest that the CASE has played a significant role in the inquiry of higher education philanthropy, and more broadly, the professionalization of fundraisers during the 1970s and 1980s.

Keywords

Higher education philanthropy; Fundraising; Institutional advancement; Oral history; Professionalization

Overview

The purpose of this research is to examine the oral history of Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) president emeritus Peter McEachin Buchanan. Specifically, this qualitative research explores the institutionalization and professionalization process of university advancement to understand how CASE has shaped the field of higher education philanthropy during the 1970s and 1980s. The finding of this study contributes to the history of higher education literature and the discourse of the fundraising profession by emphasizing an understudied and overlooked topic of the role of historical research in shaping philanthropic action in tertiary education (Kimball, 2014; Thelin & Trollinger, 2014; Walton, 2019).

Educational Philanthropy as a Field of Study

The study of philanthropy and fundraising as a distinct scholarly field within higher education and student affairs is a relatively new phenomenon (Chan, 2016). The recent growing interest to study philanthropy's role in shaping institutions of higher education has prompted many teacher-scholars and fundraising professionals to examine the operation and function of institutional advancement, a field that includes fundraising, alumni relations, public relations, and marketing (Drezner & Huehls, 2015). While some scholars have attempted to advance the evolving field of educational philanthropy through the concept of 'best practices' (Buchanan, 2000; Worth, 2002), a limited number of scholar-practitioners have applied theory and practice into their professional work (Drezner & Huehls, 2015). For instance, Walton (2019) describes the field as "distinctively discontinuous" and calls for more sustained critical inquiry in all the areas of literature presented. Kelly (2002) argued that some past studies on university advancement have been increasingly atheoretical (Kelly, 2002) and rarely if ever, appears in academic, scholarly journals. Drezner and Huehls (2015) further found that less than 10 percent of completed doctoral dissertations on institutional advancement between 1993 and 2013 were published in peer-reviewed academic journals (p. 119-150). While there has been a recent push by scholars of education and practitioners to publish empirical results in *Philanthropy & Education* within higher education (Drezner, 2017), limited studies have utilized theoretical frameworks or models to support their practice. Additionally, oral history as a method for educational research is scarce in the educational philanthropy or philanthropic studies field (Gasman, 2007; Gasman & Drezner, 2009, 2010; Gilpin & Gasman, 2012; Walton, 2003).

This paper utilized oral history and archive research to understand and analyze the public's role, function, and purpose of institutional advancement in higher education. This topic is significant because Samuel G. Cash's (2003) and Andrea Walton's (2005, 2015) earlier work revealed that the use of history and historical research could reveal patterns or themes for good practice in higher education fundraising. Furthermore, this topic is significant to assist teachers-scholars and fundraising professionals in making data-informed decisions that could enhance their practices relative to the institutionalization and/or professionalization of educational philanthropy (Walton, 2019). Ultimately, this paper is designed to critically advance the knowledge-based research of fundraisers role in shaping higher education philanthropy, and more broadly, the professionalization of fundraisers during the 1970s and 1980s in the United States.

Oral History as a Source in Educational Research

The use of oral history and archival research provide scholars of education and advanced practitioners with a more holistic perspective of the historical experience from one person to another (Portelli, 1991). Willa K. Baum defines oral history as "...a procedure of obtaining data from people who live during a particular event, who are directly or indirectly involved in an event, or who were able to hear the direct participants of an event tell about their experiences" (McAdoo, 1980, p. 415). In other words, educational researchers conduct oral histories to capture and construct the lived experience of an individual, with the goal of adding to the historical record. Educators utilize the oral history method to obtain information that is not readily present in quantitative research such as, the interaction between teacher and their students or the impact of the Great Recession in the U.S. on the academic engagement of first-generation students (McAdoo, 1980). In addition, oral history adds to past studies by providing constituencies with value-added information that may be missing or incomplete in prior events (Walton, 2019).

Historically, oral history research was first employed during the 1930s as a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants after the passing of the New Deal (Portelli, 1991). Most notably, American historian and journalist Joseph Allan Nevins of Columbia

University was considered one of the first scholar to conduct an oral history of the lived experience of Americans during the Great Depression rather than the experience of leaders or rulers. More specifically, Nevins believed that oral history could either be used to illuminate a single life in all of its complexity or be used to gain a collective understanding of a particular group of people. His work had significant implications to the field of oral history including the Ford Motor Company and the history of the Texas oil industry. It was not until the 1960s when the use of oral history as an ecological approach in educational research began to flourish rapidly, with the establishment of the Oral History Association (OHA) in 1966. The primary goal of OHA was to educate and empower educators, anthropologists, and historians to capture the voices and memories of individuals in American society including the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movement, labor history, immigration history, and Native American oral histories. One project The Foxfire magazine gained national recognition for capturing the lived experiences of students in Appalachian Georgia, of which prompted a surge of oral history scholarship (Wigginton, 1972). Since The Foxfire magazine, some historians and educators have used the oral history method to capture the lived experience of people and participants from a wide range of topics in education including race/ethnicity, religion, women, and sexual orientation (Bertram, Wagner, & Trautwein, 2017). Today, the study of memory, the interviewing process, transcription process, narrative studies, and folk history are all areas of academic research that relate to the study of oral history from a theoretical perspective (Llewellyn & Ng-A-Fook, 2017). These forms (memory, narrative, storytelling, folklore) have contributed to and played a vital role in oral history scholarship in the education realm.

Narrative Inquiry in Educational Research

Narrative inquiry and oral history share many similarities as a form of historical research. Generally, oral sources and narratives are one of the oldest forms of communication and inquiry. Narratives are stories or experiences that are communicated and shared with the interviewer. Narrative research is built upon the process of investigation. F. Michael Connelly and D. Jean Clandinin (1990) are perhaps the first scholars to use the term 'narrative inquiry' in educational research to refer it as a "way of thinking about experience as both a phenomenon and a method." More specifically, they argue that narrative inquiry can assist researchers to understand and give meaning to individual people through story. These narratives may include autobiography, journals, field notes, letters, conversations, and interviews. While narratives can vary tremendously among people due to demographical and geographical factors, the use of narrative inquiry can help educational researchers and practitioners make meaning of individual lives of different races, ethnicities, and social class structures (to name a few). Elliott (2005) identifies three key features of narratives: 1) narratives are chronological, 2) they are meaningful, and 3) they are inherently social in that they are produced for a specific audience. In other words, the use of narrative inquiry to study the lived experience of an individual can help educational researchers and policymakers understand a perspective or idea to an already constructed historical narrative (Clandinin, 2006).

Peter McEachin Buchanan: Historical Biography

Peter McEachin Buchanan, Ed.D. was born on November 4, 1935, in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Peter was the only child. His father was a civil servant. His mother was a nurse. Both parents were conservative. Peter was married to Jane Buchanan, a social worker who served in the Payne Whitney Psychiatric Clinic at New York Hospital (New York Times, 1988). Jane completed her master's degree in psychiatric social work from Columbia's School of Social Work and her bachelor's degree from the University of Virginia. Peter has four daughters, Kathleen, Susan, Elizabeth, and Jane (Buchanan, 1991).

Born in Connecticut, Peter spent most of his early childhood years in western Massachusetts. In 1948, Peter enrolled at the prestigious Deerfield Academy, one of the oldest secondary schools in the United States (Buchanan, 1991). Afterward, he completed his Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A.) in psychology at Cornell University in 1957. While at Cornell, Peter served as an artillery officer in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1957 to 1960. During those three years period, students were required to go in the draft through the Marine Corps Officer Training Program and participate in the Vietnam War (Buchanan, 1991).

Upon his return from service, Peter pursued an M.B.A. degree in industrial relations and marketing at Columbia's Graduate School of Business from 1960 to 1962. Immediately after business school, Peter worked as a senior product manager and marketing staff assistant with the Colgate Palmolive Company in New York City between 1962 and 1967. As a successful business manager, Peter was promoted to assistant general manager for Colgate Palmolive International from 1967 to 1969. However, it was not until the early 1970s when Peter had

a “lightning-bolt moment” to pursue a career in higher education, of which would ultimately prepare him to serve as the President and CEO of the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) (Buchanan, 1991).

Before CASE, Peter pursued an Ed.D. degree in higher and adult education at Teachers College, Columbia University from 1970 to 1977. During his part-time graduate studies, Peter was invited by the dean of Columbia’s Graduate Business School of Business to serve as next director of development for continuing education. Through this role, Peter became keenly interested in the fundraising profession where he managed fundraising and alumni gifts for the school. His early career work as a fundraising professional allowed him to pursue an assistant dean position with the Columbia business school from 1971 to 1973. It was not until midway through his doctoral degree where Peter was appointed in 1973 by the 16th president William J. McGill as the next director of university development and alumni relations at Columbia University, a position he held until the end of his doctoral studies (Buchanan, 1991).

In 1977, Peter defended his doctoral dissertation at Teachers College, Columbia University entitled “Open admissions at the City University of New York and student demand for private undergraduate education in the City of New York in 1970 and 1971.” While Peter’s dissertation did not focus on higher education philanthropy, Dr. Richard Anderson and Dr. Walter E. Sindlinger served on his dissertation committee to advise him on his future career as a teacher-scholar or higher education fundraiser. At the completion of his Ed.D. degree, Peter accepted an offer to become the next vice president for planning and resources at Wellesley College in 1977, the chief development officer of the Massachusetts women’s college. During his four years tenure, Peter raised and completed the school’s eight-year Centennial Fund drive in 1981, with a total of \$72,467,899, nearly \$2 million over its \$70-million goal (Columbia University Archive, 1982).

In 1982, Peter returned to his alma mater institution Columbia University to serve as vice president for university development and alumni relations, a position he would hold until 1990 (Columbia University Archive, 1982). He succeeded Terry M. Holcombe, who joined Columbia in 1979 only to return to his alma mater, Yale University, to direct development and alumni relations efforts there. Peter also served as vice president and CEO of Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center Fund, and senior associate at Washburn & McGoldrick, Inc. Her daughter, Susan Buchanan, was a freshman at Wellesley College.

It was not until 1991 when Peter was offered a position to become the next president and CEO of the CASE between 1991 and 1997. Peter succeeded Gary H. Quehl (Buchanan, 1991). During his tenure, Peter advised the Association of Fundraising Professionals (AFP) to develop the first fundraising dictionary of commonly used terminologies in the field of institutional advancement. The dictionary, still widely used and updated today, provided a comprehensive list of commonly used phrases and words for fundraisers. At the completion of his service at the CASE, Peter served as a trustee at numerous non-profit organizations including CASE, Independent Sector, The Wellesley College Center for Research, and the Episcopal Divinity School (Buchanan, 2000, p. xiii). In addition, he taught fundraising courses for the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities (AGB).

In 2000, Peter published the *Handbook of Institutional Advancement* (3rd edition), a 98-book chapter compilation of the best practices and tools for fundraising professionals in university advancement. The book explored nine topical sections, each written by leading advancement professionals and scholars of educational philanthropy. A few topics included alumni administration, development management, and media relations. The third handbook was a revised and updated edition of A. Westley Rowland first *Handbook of Institutional Advancement* in 1977 and second edition of *Handbook of Institutional Advancement* in 1986

Theoretical Framework

Much is written about the organizational context of fundraisers in higher education and their challenges (Cash, 2003; Caboni, 2010; Proper & Caboni, 2014), yet less is written about how the establishment of formal philanthropic organization such as CASE and the influx of development officers has transformed the fundraising profession in higher education in the United States and abroad. This historical research, using a combination of both institutional theory and the theory of professions/professionalization, examines the impact of CASE between 1974 and 1991 and the influx of advancement professionals on U.S. higher education philanthropy professionalization process.

Institutional Theory

The institutional theory has been applied in this study to understand the fundraising profession developed within higher education philanthropy. Generally, the use of institutional theory as a theoretical framework is practical to explain the barriers to diversity, responsiveness, and improvement in intermediary organizations. According to Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell (1983), institutional theory helps to explain why institutions such as CASE or Indiana University look and behave so much alike in response to environmental uncertainty or ambiguous goals. Furthermore, institutional theory helps explain why organizations change in structures and practices (e.g., activities, workshops, training), and why fundraising professionals such as the board of trustees or the president, engage in similar activities and practices between constituents to achieve organizational success (Chan, 2016). As noted by Judith L. Miller-Millesen (2003), "Institutionalization occurs when boards enact similar behaviors, structure, and processes because these activities and courses of action have become the accepted way of doing things" (p. 522-533). In other words, in organizations such as colleges and universities where there is goal ambiguity within the advancement profession during the 1970s and 1980s, the institutional theory can be used to explain why the organization such as the IU Foundation will model after other organizations seen to be successful (i.e., institutional isomorphism). That is, "isomorphism is the term that captures homogeneity" (Drezner & Huehls, 2015, p. 44).

Systems of Profession

The theory of professions/professionalization is a process where a group or entity evolves toward a structural and cultural form of which may consist of activities and events in which this process occurs (Abbott, 1988). More specifically, Andrew Abbott (1988) suggest that a profession has core constructs or traits in the field including professional knowledge recognized by experts, code of ethics established by a formal professional association, community sanction, as well as a systematic knowledge base. These constructs have been utilized in identifying and describing the professionalization process and how professions such as development officers in university advancement have come about in a specific context. The use of systems of professions as well as the institutional framework help researchers to analyze the stages of professionalization process in identifying sources of opportunities and challenges associated with the change or transformation of a profession (Abbott, 1998). That is, using systems of profession framework, constituencies can understand not only the impact and significance of educational philanthropy in shaping institutions of higher education but can also serve as a case study within the literature of institutional advancement in higher education (Tempel, Cobb, & Ilchman, 1997).

Data Analysis

Using DiMaggio's and Abbott's framework, the NVivo 11.0 software was utilized to code and transcribe the interview transcript of CASE president emeritus Peter McEachin Buchanan to identify key terms related to the professionalization of higher education philanthropy. Of interest in this case study was to understand how CASE either intersect with or complement each other related to basic professionalization constructs in understanding how fundraisers have experienced, witnessed, and enacted the advancement profession. Previous use of oral histories in social science research has made limited use of the potential software to generate both qualitative and quantitative data (Clandinin, 2006). NVivo 11.0 software, the leading qualitative data analysis in the social sciences, can link data within the dataset and assist educational researchers in developing new understandings and theories about the data. The primary objective of NVivo software was to conduct close textual analysis of the institutionalization and professionalization process of university advancement and to uncover the words or phrases most directly associated with educational philanthropy or higher education philanthropy (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Ultimately, the use of NVivo 11.0 assisted the researcher to understand the degree to which the field of educational philanthropy has professionalized since the inception of the CASE in 1974.

Word Frequency

A word frequency query was generated on NVivo 11.0 to create a list of synonyms and similar words based on the interview transcript of Peter McEachin Buchanan. This approach enables me to explore the data holistically and to identify the possible refinement of the coding. Furthermore, word frequency queries can help me capture ideas about emerging patterns and themes of educational philanthropy as well as to facilitate the grouping of specific words together with similar meaning. I have had previous experience with the NVivo software from Bruce Macfarlane and Roy Y. Chan's (2014) prior work in *Studies in Higher Education*. Because professionalization and institutionalization have many elements or constructs, a decision was made to generate a list of the most

commonly occurring words related to such trait with at least ten occurrences from the interview data transcript (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Institutionalization and Professionalization of Education and Philanthropy: Word Frequency*

Rank	Word	Frequency	Weighted Percentage
=1	People	88	1.90
=2	Educational	61	1.38
=3	Institutions	53	1.14
=4	Advancement	22	0.47
=5	Business	20	0.43
=6	Fundraising	20	0.43
=7	Organization	19	0.41
=8	Professional	18	0.39
=9	Philanthropy	16	0.34
=10	Values	15	0.32
=11	Associations	14	0.30
=12	Officers	14	0.30
=13	Research	14	0.30
=14	Program	13	0.28
=15	Universities	13	0.28
=16	Alumni	12	0.26
=17	Training	12	0.26
=18	Foundation	11	0.24
=19	Ethics	11	0.24
=20	Members	10	0.22
Total		456	9.89

The most frequently used words from Buchanan (1991) transcript were ‘people’, ‘educational’, and ‘institutions’. While most words contain references to higher education philanthropy professionalization process, further examination of the list of words has shown a clear division between the systems of the profession and those more closely related to the institutional context. Hence, the list of words was further divided into two sections representing institutionalization and professionalization nodes (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Institutionalization and Professionalization Nodes: Word Frequency*

Rank	Word	Frequency	Weighted Percentage
Institutionalization			
=1	Institutions	53	1.14
=2	Advancement	61	0.47
=3	Organization	19	0.41
=4	Values	15	0.32
=5	Associations	14	0.30
=6	Universities	20	0.28
=7	Foundation	19	0.24
=8	Professional	18	0.39
=9	Philanthropy	16	0.34
=10	Practice	15	0.32
=11	Networks	14	0.30
=12	Officers	14	0.30
=13	Research	14	0.30
=14	Members	10	0.22
=15	Competing	9	0.19
Total		311	5.52
Professionalization			
=1	People	88	1.90
=2	Educational	61	1.38

=3	Business	20	0.43
=4	Fundraising	20	0.43
=5	Professional	18	0.39
=6	Program	13	0.28
=7	Alumni	12	0.26
=8	Training	12	0.26
=9	Community	12	0.26
=10	Profession	8	0.17
Total		264	5.76

The word frequency query showed that the most commonly occurring words connected with the institutional (311) context occur more frequently in the dataset than those related to the systems of the profession (264). However, the weighted percentage of professionalization (5.76) on the NVivo 11.0 project is slightly higher than the institutionalization nodes (5.52) of which suggest that Peter Buchanan’s (1991) interview transcript somewhat focused more on the systems of the profession of educational philanthropy or higher education philanthropy.

Building on this analysis of words, the word frequency query on NVivo 11.0 was combined with my observations of the data to generate a mind map (see Figure 1).

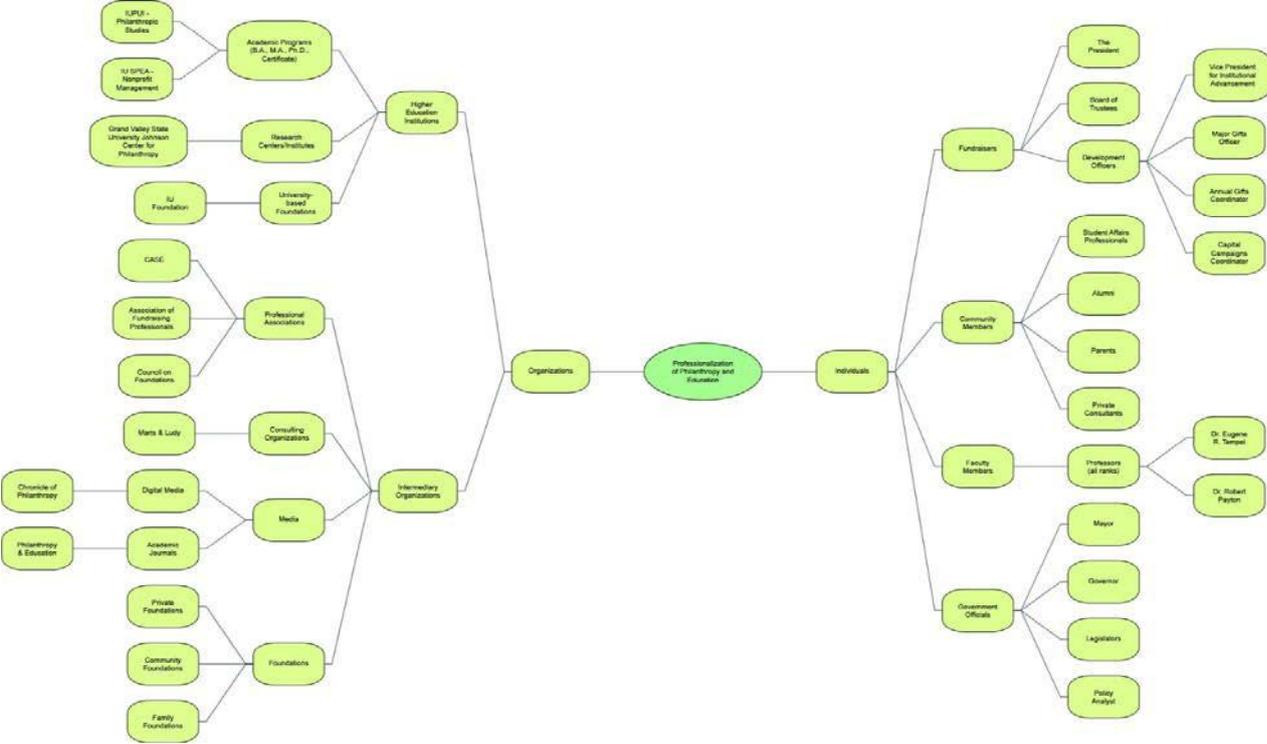


Figure 1. Professionalization of philanthropy and education: Mind map

The list of keywords from 2 was utilized to help create nodes on NVivo 11.0 that portray the types of constructs used to describe the professionalization and institutionalization of higher education philanthropy. To help construct and select my nodes, a hierarchy chart was created on NVivo 11.0 to identify emerging patterns and themes within the transcription data (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Institutionalization and professionalization of education and philanthropy: Hierarchy chart



The hierarchy chart revealed that ‘people’, ‘education’, and ‘institutions’ were the top three patterns and themes in the interview transcript. To help design the mind map, a few categories or traits were incorporated from DiMaggio’s and Powell’s previous work (Walton & Gasman, 2012, p. 100-140) and Samuel Cash (2003) prior analysis.

Findings

After coding and analyzing the data on the NVivo 11.0 software, I selected specific nodes within the platform to identify recurring themes and patterns related to the institutionalization and professionalization process of higher education philanthropy. Usually, a node is a collection of references to a specific subject, case or relationship. When the researcher opened the node on NVivo 11.0, I can identify and connect emerging patterns or phrases of the interview transcription in one area.

The following section presents data findings from Peter Buchanan’s (1991) transcript that were found within the nodes. A key focus of the data results focused on the institutionalization and professionalization of educational philanthropy within the organizational context (CASE). Due to time and scope of this assignment, secondary sources were not pursued in the analysis. The Emergence of CASE: Identity, Purpose, and Place
 The CASE was founded in 1974 after the merger between the American Alumni Council (AAC) and the American College Public Relations Associations (ACPRA). However, Peter’s initial interest in the CASE began in the late 1950s when the AAC Chair Brad Ansley from Emory University talked at length how the AAC and ACPRA often duplicated services and the potential merger between the two organizations (Buchanan, 2000, p. xi). It was not until the early 1970s when a joint-study committee chaired by Herman B Wells, the late president and chancellor of Indiana University, seriously discussed the advantages of the merger between AAC and ACPRA to form what is now known as the CASE on September 23, 1974. Alice Beeman, who was president of the American Association of University Women, was appointed by the search committee to serve as the first president of the CASE. At that time, CASE defined its functional territory as alumni relations, communications, and fundraising (Buchanan, 2000).

When asked by the interviewer [Naomi Lichtenberg] what the mission of CASE is, Peter Buchanan (1991) replied:

CASE primarily is a training and education organization for those advancement professionals. We do that by training programs that are directly put together from here, there’re over 100 of them a year that are done from here, and they’re spotted all over the country, and we provide the faculty, but the faculty are volunteers. And then the districts of CASE provide, usually once a year, an annual conference, a two or three-day training and education session for all the advancement professionals.

As noted above, Buchanan (1991) suggested that the primary objective of CASE was to educate and train the next generation of fundraising professions for careers in university advancement. When asked to provide specific examples, Buchanan (1991) replied:

We run the primary advancement programs for the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) and that's probably the second largest educational offering we have. We also conduct, in the same general area, an annual assembly, which is being held this year in Montreal, the purpose of that is to bring senior people together on issues. Number two is that we have a stated public policy role for the organization, in which we are trying to shape public policy in the areas in which advancement, per se, is critical. And then we do an enormous number of things that don't really fit. We run a professor of the year program in forty-seven states – not all of them obviously – forty-seven states of the union. We have a national winner. We sponsor higher education week in the fall; we do a Gallup poll public relations survey that is publicized all over the country every year. We have a reference center in here on all kinds of materials about education.

As evidence above, Buchanan (1991) noted that the field of university advancement is still in its infancy during the 1980s when CASE primary constituent is NAIS. While the CASE has played a significant role in advancing the practice of higher education philanthropy through NAIS, Buchanan (1991) stressed numerous pressing issues in its organizational structure and goals during its early period. Buchanan (1991) emphasized:

The most important issues for our advancement people are the status of the field, the importance of the field, the way the field is going to develop over the next five to ten years. If I could write down the issues, they would be pretty clear-cut. We don't have enough people, we don't have enough talented people, and we don't have enough diverse people in the field of advancement right now, and that's killing us. Our survey data show that maybe three and a half percent people who are of different color than white in advancement. I have a staff in which I have seven black people in a staff of seventy, in a city which is seventy percent black. We have a problem.

As noted above, the lack of diversity has plagued have the field of educational philanthropy tremendously during the 1980s. When the interviewer asked how he plans to address the lack of diversity of institutional advancement, Buchanan (1991) replied:

One of my jobs is to create some mechanisms that will deal with that good professional education in the field. We've had more and more good institutions put together programs so that we can now talk about professional education; that will have an effect on young people's choices. We have just taken in a student alumni group as part of CASE, and I hope we can eventually make them, you know, student CASE across the country and create a flow of people into the business. The training, of course, is crucial. We're trying to get everybody better. We're trying to make sure that everybody in every institution is better trained than they are now, you know, smarter, more effective, etcetera.

While Buchanan was hopeful that that professionalization and structuration within the fields would accelerate isomorphic change, he recognized that development professionals in university advancement might resist becoming more like other organizations in the area due to the lack of structure within the profession. When the interviewer asked how to overcome the barriers of the educational philanthropy profession, Buchanan (1991) emphasized:

We need to have the people out there much better, and we need new people in the field. I'm writing a chapter about making this into a profession and what goes into a profession and what's required, and we are doing all of those things that professional people have done for years and years, you know. We're trying to isolate a basic field of knowledge; we're trying to get theory put together; we're trying to get research done on how we do our business and how it works. We've put together an enormous curriculum study; we're fighting about ethics and ethical principles and how to sanction people who don't behave; we're talking about certification, although I haven't much heart for it except through the conventional educational institutions. We are, you know, trying to get the leaders of their institutions, in a more rational way with professional people.

In other words, Buchanan (1991) have stressed that an organizational field can play a critical role in shaping the professionalization of higher education philanthropy that creates associations (e.g., CASE,

Association of Fundraising Professionals) and employee networks (e.g., Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges). When discussing the competition of advancement professionals in higher education, Buchanan (1991) elaborated that:

There is competition, and plenty of it, in about ten percent of philanthropy, from education's point of view. And that ten percent is the corporate foundation fundraising that you well know. And there, the argument made is where does corporate philanthropy go and where does foundation philanthropy go, in the main, and what kind of philanthropy really is that. That's competitive. In other words, the research universities are competing against each other in that environment, the colleges are competing against each other in that environment, the community colleges are competing against each other, even the secondary schools are competing against each other. By and large, I would say in the great majority of cases the problem is not competition among the institutions. The job is to cultivate the constituency that is uniquely your own, and do a good job with it. And I think it will be a long time before that changes. I don't think that's a problem. But certainly in the corporate foundation area we are very competitive, and people's results do go up and down because of it.

As noted above, Buchanan (1991) illustrated how organizations of higher education would compete and model after institutions they see as being successful when there is a lack of stability within the organization. The dramatic rise of colleges and universities competing for major gifts during the 1980s and 1990s reflects the rapid increase in college enrollment after the G.I. Bill whereby institutions of higher education and foundations "became increasingly professionalized and grantmaking was bureaucratized" (Frumkin, 1999, p. 70). While Buchanan acknowledged the stiff competition of colleges and universities pursuing new forms of privatization or philanthropic models such as comprehensive campaigns and annual giving, he reminded the audience that the primary job of advancement officers is the cultivation of prospect donors or people of which was earlier identified as the most commonly used pattern from the hierarchy chart (see Figure II).

Despite the infancy of the advancement profession during the 1970s and 1980s, it is important to note from his interview the on-going lack of diversity (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity) in the field of educational philanthropy. For instance, when discussing the gender gap in the field, Buchanan (1991) replied:

Women are dominant, but we still haven't got women in the leadership yet. It's coming, I think it'll happen in my lifetime, where the women really do take it over, or share in it, appropriately, but not yet. Not yet. We're a lot better than the rest of the economy. Women are underpaid in the field, according to our surveys, about fourteen percent for comparable work, comparable years, and comparable titles. Some of that's institutional comparison bias, but the fact of the matter is that there's no excuse for that, and that differential is, I think, easily closed. Men have to do it, though, because the men are still in the senior positions to do it. I'm on a hobby horse about diversity because I think we can fix that, I mean, I really do think we can do something about it. That's not to say that dominant white institutions are going to take senior black advancement professional, because I think they're not. But they damn well are going to have to start taking them, because they've got alumni out there that're coming along, and they're going to have to do it. So, in some ways, it will force itself. It will happen, because it will have to happen. And I can't force it probably beyond what's going to really be asked. We can fix the staff, and we will fix our board, I will do that, and we will also fix the district boards, I think, without too much trouble. Fixing institutions is a whole another game. But that's the end objective.

As noted above, Buchanan (1991) emphasized the critical gender and racial imbalance in the field of advancement where White Caucasian women dominate the fundraising profession compared to men, of which is still highly evident in today's advancement profile (Proper & Caboni, 2014).

When asked how CASE was taking the lead to shape the ethics of the fundraising profession, Buchanan (1991) responded:

CASE has taken a lead on ethics in the field, and we put out a statement I guess in 1982. The fact that CASE wants it pleases me because that means the presidents are on the march, and that will help us. But we have been out in front on that one for a long, long time. The real question is the question of sanction. You know, a code of ethics isn't worth a damn unless you can enforce it, and we don't know how to enforce it yet, and we're not tough enough, strong enough. However, the opportunity now may present itself where we can get the presidents' educational associations to join CASE and put together

an ethics thing, and then say to the presidents and the advancement officers, OK, somebody gets out of line, what are we going to do about it?

While Buchanan (1991) has noted the myriad challenges of recruiting senior leaders (e.g., the president, deans, provosts) to join and support CASE during the 1970s and 1980s, he concluded that the role of CASE would only continue to strengthen the field of higher education philanthropy in the many decades to come. Buchanan (1991) concluded:

CASE is unique in that its membership structure is not the same as most. It's not a president's association so it's not got the status associated with having nothing but presidents as members. On the other hand, it doesn't have the disadvantages of being sectorized, so that I don't have to worry about what we do in terms of whether it'll affect other institutions. That's both a handicap and an asset. I think that CASE is viewed as the principal educational advancement association probably in the country, if not in the world.

Discussion

Based on my analysis, this research found that CASE as an organization or entity has played a significant role in developing and expanding the evolving field of higher education philanthropy, and more broadly, the professionalization of fundraisers during the 1970s and 1980s. More specifically, the transcript data suggest that the higher education philanthropy professionalization process was shaped according to its surrounding institutional environment and that Buchanan saw the role of CASE as an opportunity to build a more professional profession. For instance, one of the most recurring themes of the dataset was the training and professional development of fundraisers in higher education including the president, board of trustees, and development officers. Buchanan (1991) stated:

I'm writing a chapter about making this [fundraising] into a profession and what goes into a profession and what's required, and we are doing all of those things that professional people have done for years and years. We've had more and more good institutions put together programs so that we can now talk about professional education; that will have an effect on young people's choices. We're trying to make sure that everybody in every institution is better trained than they are now

As noted above, there was an emphasis by Buchanan on establishing expert knowledge of the advancement profession through training and publication, including ethics, student groups, and educational workshops. According to Andrew Abbott, professions such as fundraisers seek recognition from the public through claims of jurisdiction over a specific area of work. Such a profession may include licensure and certification through training programs as well as competition amongst different professional groups which was highly evident in the data analysis (Abbott, 1998).

Another recurring theme of the dataset was the creation of knowledge or legitimate expert in the evolving profession of institutional advancement. For instance, Buchanan (1991) stated:

CASE has taken a lead on ethics in the field, and we put out a statement I guess in 1982....however, the opportunity now may present itself where we can get the presidents' educational associations to join CASE and put together an ethics thing, and then say to the presidents and the advancement officers, OK, somebody gets out of line, what are we going to do about it?

As illustrated above, Buchanan has taken bold steps through the CASE to create a systematic knowledge base of the advancement profession, yet the ambiguity of the fundraising profession itself was evident in the analysis when he stressed that the presidents were a bit hesitant to join CASE during the 1980s. I conceptualize that due to the lack of clarity of what institutional advancement entails during the earlier years and what the practice follows due to a lack of legitimate experts within the profession. While Buchanan shared that CASE was in the process of establishing training programs and manual books for future advancement officers, his statement was an acknowledgment that the field of educational philanthropy during the 1970s and 1980s was still in its infancy and lacked a systematic knowledge-based.

A third commonly recurring theme of the dataset was the standardization or formalization of the advancement profession. Buchanan (1991) noted:

CASE is unique in that its membership structure is not the same as most. It's not a president's association so it's not got the status associated with having nothing but presidents as members. On the other hand, it doesn't have the disadvantage of being sectorized, so that I don't have to worry about what we do in terms of whether it'll affect other institutions. That's both a handicap and an asset. I think that CASE is viewed as the principal educational advancement association probably in the country, if not in the world.

As noted above, Buchanan (1991) acknowledged that the formal structures of CASE did not have a significant impact on colleges and universities during its early years. I conceptualize that due to the lack of formal rules or rituals that were embedded in the organizational culture, of which perhaps minimize CASE influence on the presidents. While Buchanan believed that CASE has the potential to transform new forms of privatization or philanthropic models of the advancement profession, his statement implies that professionalization was a structural variable where fundraisers must fight for the structure to be established as a system.

Nevertheless, all three recurring themes (and a few others) suggest that the impact of CASE during the earlier years have formalized and fueled the evolution of the advancement profession in higher education, and more broadly, the professionalization of fundraisers during the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps the most recognizable finding from the data was CASE's desire to expand its identity, purpose, and place in the landscape of higher education with the growth and structuration of new forms of philanthropic models during the latter half of the 20th century such as comprehensive capital campaigns and annual gifts (Drezner, 2011). While Buchanan did not discuss specifics about the new forms of privatization in his interview, the data does provide evidence of how the institutionalization and professionalization process of fundraisers in higher education took on many roles and responsibilities during its early years including the form of institutional striving that leads to isomorphism and prestige on-campus (O'Meara, 2007). The decision to aim and pursue prestige leads to development officers to borrow fundraising programs or activities from other institutions which were evident throughout the data analysis, and not surprisingly, in Buchanan's (2000) compilation of *Handbook of Institutional Advancement*. Hence, the social, political and historical forces of the CASE have inevitably transformed the higher education philanthropy professionalization process, and more broadly, the contemporary practice of philanthropy and fundraising in American higher education during the 1980s and 1990s.

Limitations

This study has a couple of limitations. Firstly, the primary transcript data was limited to only one person at the CASE and is not representative of the whole advancement profession community. Because this research just examined one senior leader, the president of the CASE, the finding from this article should be taken with some caution. Secondly, the use of oral history as the primary source of data with no secondary source (e.g., CASE annual reports) have limited my ability to thoroughly analyze and capture the higher education philanthropy professionalization process during the 1970s and 1980s. While the data does provide evidence-based information that CASE was the one of the primary justification of the evolving profession of university advancement, the interview transcript was primarily based off the memory and did not employ the use of member-checking strategy to invite suggestions for change.

Familiar to many qualitative studies, generalizability is not the goal of this study. While the use of oral history can provide additional information that cannot be readily found in empirical research, a lack of an objective method to assist the analysis of the data obtained from the interview transcript limits my efforts to make a possible conclusion. Furthermore, the research data was limited to only philanthropic organization, CASE and did not consider how other professional organizations, such as Association of Fundraising Professionals (AFP) or Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) have helped shape CASE certification or educational programs in the 1980s and 1990s. Regardless, an attempt has been made in this historical research to analyze the field of educational philanthropy concerning oral history that may foster better research approaches or opportunities where oral history is the primary source. Through NVivo 11.0 and narrative inquiry, another researcher would be able to reproduce a correct and reliable narrative with secondary sources along with other sources from Philanthropy Roundtable or History of Education Society (HES) that would assist in the production of new knowledge on this topic. Future studies should utilize three or four interview transcripts

from senior leaders at the CASE and conduct a comparative analysis of the data to identify emerging trends or patterns in the higher education philanthropy professionalization process.

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