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A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSFUL
MANAGEMENT BEHAVIORS OF BLACK FEMALE
ADMINISTRATORS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Patricia A. Harvard

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education
University of San Diego
1988

Doctoral Committee:

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Evelyn Gillard Manson
and my true friend, Donald Leo Hinchberger
for their constant source of emotional support
and encouragement for the development of self.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Joseph Rost, Dr. Perri Bomar, and Dr. William Foster for their insight and assistance. Appreciation is also expressed to the Dean of the School of Education, Dr. Edward DeRoche.

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CHAPTER I

THE PLIGHT OF BLACK WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The subject of female administrators remains largely unexplored. Studies that do exist, for the most part, borrow heavily from management and complex organizational research based on industry and government. Little is actually known about the successful management behaviors of women in general; even less is published about Black females in positions of academic administrative leadership. Thus, the opportunity to study such Black female administrators in numbers and context similar to males is still limited.

Equally constrained are the research concepts and questions being applied. Much of the research today is focused upon traits and styles, while little has been done to analyze the structures which arise and operate for female administrators in higher education. Success or the lack of success in attaining administrative positions must also be examined in conjunction with the search for successful management behaviors.

Statement of the Issues

Researchers today frequently address four specific factors when attempting to provide a rationale for why women are underrepresented or unsuccessful in administrative positions. They include the following:

1. Traditional female characteristics make it impossible for women to be effective.

2. Sex-role stereotypical attitudes cause discriminatory behavior.

3. The organization's structure and norms form a barrier to securing entry and advancement of women (Donnell & Hall, 1980; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1985; Larwood, Wood & Inderlied, 1978; Miller, King & Pizzini, 1979; Petty & Lee, 1978; Rice, Bender & Vettters, 1980; Rosser, 1980; Weber, Feldman & Poling, 1981).

4. The element of race very often teams with sexism to produce what is known as the "double-whammy," a term coined by Epstein (1973) when referring to the double ascribed minority status of Black professional women.

Even though Black professional women have been concentrated in the fields of education and social science, statistics from the 1978 Chronicle of Higher Education survey of university administrators documented their scarcity in management (Middleton, 1978). It noted that less than 1% of 7,000 positions at the level of dean and above were held by minority women. Black female administrators not only share the problems experienced by women in general. In addition, they frequently confront cultural barriers which include being the "nigger expert," isolation, deprivation history, and lack of support from Black males (Campbell, 1984; Carroll, 1982; Davis & Watson, 1982; Fernandez, 1981; Henry, 1981; Mosley, 1980; Paussaint, 1974; Smythe, 1976).

There is also a scarcity of research on Black females in higher education administration (Shivers, 1985). In order for any research to

thoroughly review the scant material which exists on this subject, a cross reference must ensue, because Black females are statistically lumped under the broad headings of women, minority or Black. This can contribute to an omission of pertinent data.

To help obscure matters even more, the term Black woman changed throughout the literature, depending upon the time period addressed. Prior to 1967, most literature utilized the heading "Negro." After 1967, the heading changes to "Afro-American" or "Black."

Moore and Wollitzer (1979) stated that "research on women in academic administration is remarkably sparse, undoubtedly owing to both the relative scarcity of such women and the short time span since research awareness has turned to this sector of academia" (p. 65).

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) stated that Black women in academia continues to be an area of research "victimized by scholarly neglect" (p. 161).

This scarcity of research alone perhaps validates the need for conducting both qualitative and quantitative studies related to Black females in higher education administration.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Explore how Black females in higher education administration acquired their positions and to what extent these women charted their own career maps.
2. Identify the demographic profiles of Black female administrators according to education, age, professional experience, and level of position.

3. Explore what role, if any, internal/organizational politics plays in the acquisition and maintenance of Black female administrative positions.

4. Document the successful management behaviors and strategies common to Black female administrators in higher education.

5. Determine how Black female administrators in higher education view themselves in terms of professional success and future career objectives and aspirations.

Significance of the Study

Findings from this research will provide a description of the current status of Black female administrators in higher education. Exploration of the management strategies and behaviors used by these Black female administrators may offer creative alternatives for increasing the successful participation of Black females in this field. This research might also provide data for future research on the topic of leadership.

Delimitation

The setting of the research is limited to 36 institutions of higher education located throughout California. The 36 institutions included the California University system, the University of California system as well as seven private colleges and universities.

The research is limited to 20 subjects who were identified by title through the office of affirmative action on each campus and networking with known subjects. The generalization of the study is immediately suspect, primarily due to the small number of subjects in the sample.

Statistical generalization cannot be made.

The reliability and validation of the taped recorded interviews may also be a limiting factor. The self-reporting method of data collection is frequently challenged on the basis of truthfulness and poor potential to replicate the findings.

This study is also limited by the lack of a clear theoretical framework for which to study the successful management behaviors of Black females in higher education. There are no theories to test, compare or expand upon. Amodeo (1985) concluded that "Nowhere is this admission more obvious than in the field of educational administration" (p. 4).

Definition of Terms

The following definitions help to clarify and limit the scope of this study.

1. Higher education includes both two-year and four-year colleges and universities offering programs of studies leading to an associate art's, baccalaureate, master's, and/or doctoral degree.
2. Administrators in higher education will include the president/chancellor, vice president/vice chancellor, provost, academic dean, director, and the assistant or associates of the aforementioned titles.
3. Black women include females of Negroid ancestry descending from the African branch of the Black race.
4. Success as it relates to this study is to be defined by the educational institution. Successful management behaviors encompass the

effective performance of three general categories proposed by Mintzberg (1973): interpersonal skills, information processing, and decision making. Success is also defined by the participants themselves. The research measured success among the participants by looking for competitive spirit, positive risk-taking, loyalty to the organization, power through job position, ability to accomplish more and decide faster than others, and contribution to society.

5. Internal/organizational politics is defined as political in the sense that the activity from which the outcomes emerge is best characterized as bargaining among regularized circuits among individual members of the organization (Allison, 1969).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review is organized to discuss the literature on the status of women and female administrators in general, the underrepresentation of Black female administrators, and the successful management behaviors of Black female administrators in higher education.

Female Administrators

The literature on the status of women over the past two decades has changed dramatically to reflect the increase in numbers of women employed in higher education. Although 51% of students enrolled in colleges and universities are women, the percentage of women in the higher levels of administration remains dismal. Less than 5% of all college and university presidents are women; only 16% of high level university administrators are women; and only 26% of university faculty are women (Fisher & Hall, 1981, p. 2).

A more recent article in the Chronicle of Higher Education discussed the status of women in higher education. Despite the increase in numbers in administrative ranks, about 90% of the country's students attend institutions where the three top administrative posts, i.e., president, chief academic officer, and dean, are held by men (Sandler, 1984). Additionally, the salaries of women remain lower than men. This exists at every age, at every degree level, in every field, and in every

type of institution. Women academicians earn approximately 85% of the salary earned by their male counterparts.

In general, the studies on women conclude that:

1. Most women in higher education occupy middle and low level posts, which rarely lead to top academic positions;
2. When women are found in postsecondary institutions, they tend to be concentrated in those fields traditionally occupied by women (i.e., social work, nursing, support services);
3. The more prestigious the institution, the fewer women are present;
4. The highest percentage of women in top level positions are found in private women's colleges.

Kanter (1977) contends that "groups with varying proportions of people of different social types differ qualitatively in dynamics and process" (p. 965). People who are numerically dominant control the group and its culture. The small number of other types are called "tokens" because "they are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" (p. 966). Women often find themselves as tokens in administration. Tokens are more visible because of their difference and are frequently given loyalty tests. "For token women, the price of being one of the boys is a willingness to turn occasionally against the girls" (p. 979). Kanter concluded that relative numbers are important in shaping outcomes for disadvantaged individuals. Women need to be included in sufficient numbers in the organization to counteract the effects of tokenism.

The old boys' network is prevalent in educational institutions. According to Rosser (1980), "women miss out on superintendencies because they are not part of the national network which recommends most of the people for the top jobs, especially in the larger school districts" (p. 32). However, her suggestions to become more visible in order to gain more information does not solve the problem, in light of what Kanter said about the visibility of tokens. High visibility places much pressure on the token to perform.

In general, Black females are faced with the same three major factors used to explain the underrepresentation of all women in higher education administration. Organizational barriers to women's entry and promotion within the organization are formed by sex-role stereotypes. Sex-typed characteristics of men and women are a result of years of socialization based upon attitudes and beliefs. Women, in turn, internalize these beliefs, which directly affects their behavior. "Discrimination does exist, and it exists because of the belief that men and women have different sex-role characteristics and that the characteristics of women render them incapable of holding leadership positions" (Dohrmann, 1982, p. 43).

Thus, there appears to be three major barriers to women seeking administrative positions: sex-role stereotypical attitudes, organizational barriers, and women internalizing traditional female behaviors.

Black Female Administrators

Recently, scholars and researchers have acknowledged the need to

explore the lives of Black women. Smith (1982) noted that "the lack of data on professional Black women in higher education is symptomatic also of their status in the nation. . .considered too few in number to warrant a separate cell in statistical tables" (p. 318). However, Black females continue to make contributions to education, even though they are concentrated in the lower policy making positions where they carry out policy as distinguished from making it.

The underrepresentation of Black females in higher education has been summarized best by Mosley (1980), who stated that Black female administrators are, for the most part, "invisible beings" (p. 306). This statement is also supported by a minimally fruitful computerized search of the literature. Prior to 1985, there were no dissertations related to Black female administrators in higher education. As of this date, there are only three dissertations known to this researcher. All three were published in 1985.

One dissertation focused upon the roles and perceptions of Black administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area (Norvell, 1985). Another focused on four aspects of perceived influences of sex and race discrimination and affirmative action on Black female administrators in California community colleges (Shivers, 1985). The final dissertation gave an in-depth, analytical description of the career development of ten Black female administrators in academia and analyzed the degree to which a mentor had an impact upon their careers (Lewis, 1985). None specifically addressed the issue of successful behaviors of Black female

administrators in higher education, although both Lewis and Shivers provided some background that will be useful to this study.

A book of thirty readings entitled Women in Educational Administration (Berry, 1979) does not once address the concerns of Black women, nor even the broader issue of minority women. A review of contemporary works on women in higher education has identified only a small number of studies listed under the heading of minority women, and only one study (Alperson, 1975) dealt with the issue of minorities in academia.

Doughty's (1980) chapter in Women and Educational Leadership is devoted to the "Black Female Administrator: Women in a Double Bind." The chapter appropriately begins with the famous poem from Langston Hughes titled Life For [Her] Ain't Been No Crystal Stair (Doughty, 1980, p. 165). Doughty acknowledged that Black females embody two negative statuses at the same time. Being Black and female presents a certain texture of life for the Black female administrator. Doughty found that Black female administrators are: rarely found to be high school principals or superintendents; are usually older when assuming their first administrative positions; have substantial experience and education; tend to be nonmobile or place bound; and have healthy, positive self perceptions in spite of the system and the pathological literature (pp. 167-169).

It is popular to believe that because Black women satisfy two criteria, race and sex, they have a corner on the employment market. If that were the case, Doughty asks, why are there so few visible Black

women? Some of the problems noted by Doughty include: role isolation; divide and conquer tactics; daily challenges of self perception/; and the need for a significant other. A supportive outlet was found to be essential for survival (p. 173).

The theme of isolation is repeatedly acknowledged in the literature on Black women (Campbell, 1984; Carroll, 1982; Lerner, 1972; Mosley, 1980). Perhaps the most apparent cause of this isolation is due primarily to a lack of numbers. Tobin (1981) noted that "the majority of highly educated Black women are employed in Black colleges and universities, with education being the leading field of concentration" (p. 31). In his study of Black female Ph.D.s, Tobin stated that "there are few models to help establish the doctorate as a visible goal to be sought after by young Black women as they plan and live their lives" (p. 1). Even the academic community, "without even a rationale or intellectual defense, has permitted the educational involvement and contribution of Black females in higher education to go almost wholly unexplored" (p. 4). Both contribute to the scarcity of Black females in higher administration. Conquering the double discrimination of sexism and racism is seen as paramount to the successful career development of Black female administrators.

Touchton (1984) stated that in 1983 there were only 22 minority women who held a chief executive officer position in higher education--the college or university president. The breakdown included: ten Black, ten Hispanic, one Asian Pacific, and one Native American woman. Touchton noted that minority women comprise 9% of all women

presidents, head smaller institutions than do women in general, and are more frequently appointed to two-year, rather than four-year, institutions.

Statistics from the 1980-81 Accredited Institutions of Postsecondary Education were used to report the increase in women chief executive officers in colleges and universities from 148 to 219, an increase of 71 officers or 33% over a five year period. The ethnic breakdown of the officers was not given. As Hoskins (1978) reaffirmed, "the task of finding and identifying Black female administrators at white colleges and universities is difficult at best" (p. 1). However, a timely article in the February, 1986 issue of Ebony identified 14 Black female college presidents located throughout the United States. Four of the 14 presidents are located within California. By far, the majority exists in colleges along the east coast.

DeJoie (1977) also wrote about the alienation of Black females in white academia. She noted that Black females are "saddled with the additional distinction of being a member of a traditionally perceived inferior race. . ." (p. 4), and "Black women cannot separate their femaleness from their blackness" (p. 12). Hoskin (1978) found that "the future of Black women administrators at land grant institutions looks even poorer when one considers that they are less than 3% at these institutions" (p. 97).

The scarcity of Black females in higher education administration is again revisited by Williams (1986). In her study, "A Profile of Black Female Administrators at a Large Urban Public University," she concluded

that Black, Asian, Pacific, Hispanic, and Native American women are not equally represented among chief executive officers although their numbers are growing.

Williams found that the Black female administrators represented in her sample were young women in their late thirties or early forties traditionally educated at predominately white institutions, both married and single with perhaps one child. They perceived themselves as being administrative team players and chose their mentors not on the basis of gender or race but rather on the basis of their ability to "help devise strategies for job success" (p. 7).

She concludes that the "data yield evidence of a rich pool of young talented women who have much to offer academe" (p. 2).

Successful Management Behaviors

The literature on Black female administrators in higher education is indeed limited. Consequently, little is known about their career development, successful management strategies, and locations within white academic colleges and universities. A few studies, however, have been done, and a review of those research efforts follows.

Alexander and Scott (1983) conducted in-depth interviews with 39 Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education. Their goal was to identify strategies for personal positional power. They agreed that Black female administrators must:

1. Learn and understand the organizational culture (acceptable and nonacceptable behavior and practice):

2. Develop impeccable interpersonal and technical skills;
3. Learn what standard of performance is expected by their bosses and meet those expectations;
4. Develop and mature their own self-confidence, cited as key to personal and career success;
5. Develop a cadre of supporters both inside and outside their departments and the university.

Of the 39 female administrators studied, all reported varying experiences in which racism, as well as sexism, posed threats to their career progression. Once again, the ability to deal successfully with the double whammy was crucial to the Black woman's career. They noted that resolution of conflicts, whether they were internal or external, hinged upon developing a positive attitude about themselves and the situation. Many stated that they learned and studied the politics of the power structure and became adept at identifying politically motivated behaviors and those based solely on race or sex. In addition, the following suggestions were most frequently given by the female administrators:

1. Develop flexibility and consistency of behavior;
2. Pay attention to nonverbal messages conveyed by body language;
3. Learn to emulate positive behaviors in people who wielded power and influence;
4. Develop a style of dress appropriate to status.

All 39 women consistently reported some significant other person as contributing to their personal or career development. The significant

other was typically either a minister, mother, or another Black professional woman or man, or someone with whom they identified through the media or other indirect association. Mentor relationships were critical in their career development. However, to the extent that they had mentors, they were not the traditional ones, such as colleagues.

Alexander and Scott (1983) noted that "women who make it to the top of the professional hierarchy of management are unique and can contribute much to the professions they represent, because they are a valuable untapped resource" (p. 20). Based upon their findings, these researchers have developed a career management model for Black females which focuses on five major factors:

1. Attitude: conforming to the organizational culture;
  2. Image: circumspect demeanor and dress;
  3. Competence: technical and interpersonal;
  4. Career mapping: clearly outlined career path;
  5. Contacts: utilizing people within and outside the institution
- (p. 21).

Contacts are most important for Black females in that the "informed networks which are important to career advancement are most crippling to Black women" (p. 4). They, therefore, cannot rely on the old boys' network to provide them assistance.

Shivers (1985) studied 79 Black female administrators in the 106 community colleges in the state of California during the 1984-85 academic year. Once again, all of the women surveyed experienced discrimination based upon both racism and sexism. These administrators

also felt that overcoming the burden of the double whammy was paramount to a successful career. Based upon her research, Shivers believed that successful Black female administrators must have the following: communication skills, self-confidence, decision making skills, organizational ability, flexibility, intelligence, and interpersonal skills. She also noted that fiscal management, skills in institutional planning, personnel management, group dynamics, and knowledge of educational issues all contribute to and enhance the management skills of these administrators.

In her qualitative study, Lewis (1985) interviewed ten subjects who supported the following generic proposition.

1. Black females need to become more informed about the career development process as well as the choice and control they have over the direction and focus it can take.

2. Black females need to understand themselves more fully through an awareness of life stages and developmental tasks. Understanding how these life stage issues intersect with, and often impinge, on career issues that will assist the administrator to make better career choices.

3. Black females need to cultivate multiple support relationships from which they can receive mentoring functions rather than seek or expect an all purpose mentor.

4. Networking with other women, specifically Black women, can provide Black females with the understanding, coping strategies and vitality needed to function effectively (p. 147).

Similar themes also appear here. These administrators agreed that

success in higher education leadership roles is enhanced by multiple support relationships--better known as mentors--and that developing networks is important to career advancement.

Williams (1985) found in her study entitled "Surviving Double Jeopardy in Academe: Minority Female Administrators at Predominately White Universities" that "most black female administrators at White colleges served in some role related to minority students." She noted that even though the institutions that employed these women had large enrollments of Black students, "few held decision-making positions" (p. 1).

Williams identified four specific behaviors which will help minority women be successful in their career development at white institutions. They include (1) obtaining the doctorate; (2) achieving tenure before accepting an assistant level administrative position; (3) gaining experience in hiring, firing, and budgets; and (4) serving on committees and taking part in activities of professional organizations (p. 11). The author ended her list by stating that "minority women should begin to network with non-minority women and become their natural allies" (p. 11).

Finally, Amodeo (1985) has noted that "further research is needed on differences in career paths of Hispanic and Black administrators" (p. 14).

Summary

All of the literature reviewed suggests that the major behavior to be mastered by successful Black female administrators encompasses the issues of the double whammy, sexism and racism. Although women represent 40% of the labor force, they occupy only 4% of the high level administrative positions in the majority organizations. Black women can account for only 1% or less of that total.

In general, the literature concludes that successful female administrators are those who have obtained their doctoral degrees and are described as committed, independent, dominant, active, adventurous, sensitive, secure, and self-confident.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This investigation does not seek to verify any given theory or set of prior assumptions; rather, it seeks to discover the reality of successful management among Black female administrators in higher education.

As stated earlier, the main purpose of this research is to identify the successful strategies and behaviors used by Black female administrators to acquire and maintain their positions in higher education.

Qualitative Research

A qualitative approach is appropriate for this study, considering the topic and current research on Black females. The method selected for this study is known as the constant comparative method of analysis.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) described the method in four stages: (1) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (2) integrating categories and their properties; (3) delimited the theory; and (4) writing the theory (p. 105). This method is a specific form of qualitative analysis, which requires that the researcher collect, code,

and analyze data in one continuous, integrated process, rather than as three separate procedures. It is concerned with categories that describe general phenomena.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was initially conducted with three Black female administrators in Southern California community colleges. These interviews helped to clarify and refine the instruments used in the interview process. The use of a formalized instrument enhanced the interviewer's ability to collect and analyze the data in an unbiased manner.

For example, the question related to racism and sexism was rewritten so as not to state, but only assume the potential for the existence of racial or sexist practice within our institutions of higher education. Six questions addressing the administrator's family life were deleted as the pilot group felt that this area was too often probed and already well documented. In addition, a few minor revisions were made in the demographic questionnaire as a result of the input provided during the pilot study.

Instrumentation

The investigator developed a semi-structured interview form and questionnaire which were used for all individually interviewed participants. The instruments were used to probe for the following information:

1. How Black female administrators in higher education acquired their current positions.

2. A typical demographic profile of the administrator and the institution in which she worked.

3. The role of internal and external organizational politics in postsecondary institutions.

4. The successful management behaviors and strategies the administrators commonly used.

5. The administrators' views on professional success and future aspirations.

Miles and Huberman (1984) made the following arguments in support of prior instrumentation in qualitative research.

1. If you know what you are after, there is no reason not to plan out in advance how to collect the information.

2. If interview schedules or observation schedules are not focused, too much superfluous information will be collected. Data overload will then compromise the efficiency and power of the analysis.

3. Using the same instruments used in prior studies is the only way we can converse across the studies. Otherwise, the work will be noncomparable, except in an overly global, meta-analytic form. So we need common instruments to build theory, to improve predictions, and to make recommendations about practice.

4. A biased or uninformed researcher is going to ask partial questions, take selective notes, make unreliable observations and skew the information records . . . . Using validated instruments and using them as they are designed, is the best guarantee of dependable and meaningful findings (pp. 42-43).

Sampling Technique

The Sample

The sample population in this investigation included 19 Black female administrators throughout the State of California who consented to participate in this study and held one of the following positions:

1. President/Chancellor
2. Vice president/Vice chancellor
3. Provost - assistant or associate
4. Academic dean - assistant or associate
5. Director

The administrators worked in two-year and four-year colleges and universities which were not affiliated with a church.

Some church-related institutions traditionally have a large number of female administrators. This is due to the selection of candidates who are normally members of a religious order affiliated with the institution. This group represents a very biased sample.

Method of Obtaining Sample

For this investigation, the participants were obtained by referral and networking methods. The names of potential candidates were secured by contacting the affirmative action officer at the 35 colleges and universities surveyed by the researcher.

The 35 colleges and universities included the 20 institutions which comprise the California State University system: Bakersfield, Callexico, Chico, Dominguez Hills, Fresno, Fullerton, Hayward, Humboldt, Long

Beach, Los Angeles, Northridge, Pomona, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, San Luis Obispo, Sonoma, and Stanislaus. Nine institutions that comprise the University of California system included: Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz. Three private institutions were included: National University, Stanford University, and the University of Southern California. There were three public, two-year colleges included: American River College, Merrit College, and Saddleback College.

The networking methods used to obtain the sample for this study began with names provided by the participants in the pilot study. Telephone contact was made with those individuals who, in turn, provided additional leads.

A spin-off effect of the initial phone calls was the inclusion of other potential candidates in the list. Many of the potential candidates had either personal or professional knowledge of at least one other Black female administrator.

As the names were acquired, they were matched against the list of colleges and universities to be canvassed. The title and status of each person was checked with the affirmative action officer at each campus, who also provided additional names.

The affirmative action development and training coordinator at California State University, Los Angeles, was especially helpful in encouraging Black female administrators on that campus to participate in this study. In return, the program director requested that a copy of

this study be made available to the CSU system.

Method of Contacting Sample

Initial letter. After a final list of names was compiled, each person was sent a letter requesting her participation (see Appendix A). The letter had three purposes: (1) to briefly describe the scope and significance of this investigation; (2) to introduce the investigator and to state the investigator's intent to secure the administrator's participation; and (3) to alert the administrator of the investigator's intent to contact her by phone.

Initial calls. One week following the mailing of the initial letter, the investigator called each of the potential participants. The calls had two purposes: (1) to secure the participation of the administrator in this investigation by obtaining phone consent; and (2) to set up a specific time for an interview.

Confirmation call. Each participant was called on the day of her scheduled interview to confirm the meeting. Some of the interviews were cancelled and rescheduled based upon the administrator's priorities.

Data Collection

Interviews

The interview technique was used as the primary method of data gathering for this investigation. The interview is a method that has been utilized by a number of social theorists and can provide in-depth information about the participants. Patton (1980) wrote that "qualitative interviewing provides a framework within which respondents

can express their own understanding in their own terms" (p. 205). The major underlying assumption of all open-ended interviewing is that the perceptions of the person under study are meaningful, knowledgeable, and can be made explicit (Patton, 1980, p. 196).

The interviews were semi-structured. Specific questions were framed from cues found in the literature (Appendix B). During the interview, the researcher asked the respondents to complete the Demographic Data Questionnaire that asked them to recall personal and institutional data (Appendix C). Prior to the start of the interview, the respondent was asked to read and sign the informed consent form (Appendix D). The interview with each administrator began with the following points: (1) a statement of appreciation for the administrator's participation; (2) an overview of the purpose and scope of this investigation; (3) a brief statement of the investigator's background and intent; and (4) an assurance of confidentiality. The order of the questions remained consistent throughout the interview process. The open-ended format allowed the respondents to elaborate and expand on their responses.

Interview Circumstances

The interviews were conducted over a six month period from October, 1986 to March, 1987. The interviews took place during regular working hours and occurred in the participant's immediate work area. The rooms were quiet and facilitated concentration.

The administrators were instructed that there were no right or wrong answers to any of the questions and were asked to answer the

questions solely on the basis of their own life experiences. The interview questions were designed to elicit from the administrators their perceptions of how the following influences contributed to the acquisition and maintenance of their administrative positions: a competitive spirit, risk-taking, loyalty to the organization, power, politics, and their ability to accomplish more than their peers.

All of the participants agreed to have the interview tape recorded. Tape recorded data can be played back more than once and studied more thoroughly than would be the case if the data were limited to note taking during the interviews. The tape recorder did not appear to be a barrier to open communications. Little, if any, attention was given to its presence. Occasionally, however, a comment was made indicating that the statement was not for the record. The investigator reiterated her commitment to confidentiality, and the interviews continued without further concern.

The investigator believes that because most women have been reared by other women, there is an inevitable early gender identification that assists them in more effectively understanding other women. The investigator of this study has the advantage of being both female and Black. A match in both race and gender seems to have been beneficial in this study.

All of the administrators were found to be warm, supportive, and eager to participate in this investigation. Comments and inferences were made which acknowledge the recognition of our shared cultural heritage.

Data Analysis

Upon completion of the interviews, the audio tapes were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts and demographic data questionnaires furnished data for the analysis.

The analysis involved several stages. First, a computer program developed by the academic computing department at the University of San Diego was used to enter descriptive data into the computer.

Next, the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis was utilized.

Comparing Incidents Applicable to Each Category

Once all the interviews were completed, the investigator began coding the data into as few categories as possible. These categories were based upon the core categories of administrative success. These categories emerged from the data and the pilot study since the investigator was, by that time, sensitive enough to the issues so as to create relevant categories from the data as they accumulated.

To begin, multiple copies of all transcripts were made. As the transcripts were reviewed, categories began to form in the mind of the researcher. A file of each category was made based upon the specific interview questions. As a new entry was placed into the file, it was compared to other entries in that category and with other categories. Some entries were filed under several categories, while other category entries were very limited.

As the investigator compared and contrasted the relationships among

the categories and entries, various categories emerged. Coding is a simple process consisting of noting categories as they develop. However, the key to this stage of the constant comparative method is that before each new piece of data is coded, it is compared to all other data previously recorded to determine whether or not it fits into a previously established category. This approach not only ensures that meaningful categories will be created, but also allows theoretical properties to emerge as each category becomes more richly developed.

Categories developed by this process provided the general design and framework for the description of the successful strategies and management behaviors used by Black female administrators to acquire and maintain their administrative positions in higher education.

Integrating Categories and Their Properties

As data collection and coding continued, the need to compare each incident or fragment of data with every other piece of data decreased and was replaced with a comparison of each incident with the properties of the categories previously developed. There was a point at which, given the subject of the study, new categories ceased to emerge, and all new bits of data served to develop the properties of the categories already identified. Constant comparison of data in an effort to form new categories thus became unnecessary, even counterproductive, while constant comparison for the purpose of fleshing out properties served not only to make each category richer in detail, but also more highly integrated with its properties. An important point to re-emphasize is that the collection and analysis of data occurred continuously and not

as two separate operations.

Delimiting the Analysis

As data continued to be collected, the investigator began to delimit the analysis. Similar categories were combined, and the data reduced.

The core categories for this research were developed from the pilot study. Glaser (1978) urged the researcher to determine the core categories early in the research. He noted that "Possible core categories should be given a 'best fit' conceptual label as soon as possible so the analyst has a handle for thinking of them" (p. 94). The pilot study indicated the prevalent relationships of core categories to other categories. The core categories were: (a) career choice and acquisition; (b) organizational politics; (c) career issues; (d) future vision; and (e) successful management behaviors and strategies.

Research Validation

This investigator validated the successful management behaviors developed under the core categories as a result of this study by requesting all interview participants to comment on and corroborate the researcher's conclusions. The researcher contacted all interviewed participants in the form of a survey questionnaire, mailed after the writing of the analysis (Appendices E and F). The survey questionnaire encompassed questions relating to the identified strategies. Each administrator was given a list of strategies abstracted from the interview responses. Directions for the questionnaire asked them to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the strategy and to rank

each statement based upon their own point of view. Finally, the participants were asked to respond within a two week period from the receipt of the survey questionnaire. Results of this validation process are found in Chapter IV.

Conclusions drawn about the sample were based upon the scanty available literature, the accounts of the participants, and the present day status of Black women within the United States.

The final list of successful management strategies were developed by combining traditional management theory with strategies known to be effective and thus utilized by the participants. Strategies were ranked by assigning a numerical value to each beginning with one and ending with 20. The participants were asked to rank the strategies according to their own experiences. Results of these findings are reported in Chapter V along with recommendations and conclusions.

CHAPTER IV

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES AND BEHAVIORS

This chapter is presented in three parts. First, demographic data give a profile of Black female administrators. Next, the predominate categories which emerged as a result of the constant comparative analysis of the interviews are presented. Finally, a list of strategies used by Black female administrators to acquire and maintain their management positions in higher education are documented.

To protect the participants, the names used throughout the study are fictitious. However, each participant's account is in her own words, and while they are each organized to maintain the individuality of the administrators, all focus on the scope and nature of their current positions.

As an added protection, biographical information has also been deleted. Given the size of this population, it would be difficult to maintain anonymity if this data were included. Qualitative research frequently focuses on the lives of vulnerable groups. High vulnerability requires that the researcher take every precaution to avoid subjecting the participants to potentially dangerous circumstances.

Demographics

Position Titles

The nineteen Black female administrators hold these positions: three are college presidents, four are vice-presidents; two are deans, six are assistant deans, and four are directors (see Table 1).

The titles of two of the administrators listed as vice president and one listed as assistant dean have been changed so as to preserve their anonymity. By giving them the titles of vice president and assistant dean, they become part of a larger group and as a result, it is more difficult for any reader to single them out and identify them. The actual titles of the three administrators are close to the titles given them in this report but not exactly the same.

At first glance, it would appear that the greatest percent of academic titles, 32%, fall under the heading of assistant dean. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that 48% of these administrators are categorized under the more prestigious line positions of president, vice president, and dean. Further review of the table indicates that 52% of these administrators had the more commonly held staff titles of assistant dean or director. This group of administrators represents a significant number at both the top and bottom of the administrative career ladder. Slightly more than half of these administrators were in staff positions.

All of the line administrators from the dean's position and above held degrees in one of the traditional sciences. This may perhaps suggest that to obtain a seat in one of the more powerful line

Table 1

Administrative Titles of the Respondents

Administrative Title	Number	Percentage
President	3	16
Vice President	4	21
Dean	2	10.5
Assistant Dean	6	31.5
Director	4	21

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administrative positions, it would be helpful to have a degree in one of the traditional arts and sciences. This encourages use of the well established faculty path.

Salary Range

The salaries ranged from one participant who earned under \$29,000 to the 12 participants whose salaries were \$60,000 and above.

Variations in salaries are most apparent among the titles of dean and director as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Administrative Title and Salary

Administrators Title	Number	Salary Range
President	3	\$60,000 - above
Vice President	4	\$60,000 - above
Dean	2	\$60,000 - above
Assistant Dean	2	\$60,000 - above
Assistant Dean	1	\$40,000 - \$44,000
Assistant Dean	1	\$36,000 - \$39,000
Assistant Dean	1	\$30,000 - \$34,000
Assistant Dean	1	\$29,000 - below
Director	1	\$60,000 - above
Director	1	\$55,000 - 59,000
Director	1	\$45,000 - 49,000
Director	1	\$40,000 - 44,000

Type of Employing Institutions

The participants of this study were most frequently employed by four year public institutions. Only six (32%) of the participants were employed by private institutions. Five of the six private institutions were also four year colleges. Eighty-nine percent of these administrators were employed by the more academically challenging four year institutions. A summary of these findings is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Type of Employing Institutions

Institution	Number	Percentage
Public	14	74
Four year	12	63
Two year	2	11
Private	6	32
Four year	5	26
Two year	1	5

In addition, Table 4 identifies the size of the administrator's employing institution. Sixty-three percent were employed by institutions with a student body that numbered 19,000 and above. However, it would appear that those with higher degrees do not necessarily gain employment with larger institutions.

Table 4

Administrator's Title and Employing Institution

Title	Employer	Size
President	University	19,000 - above
President	Community College	19,000 - above
President ^a	Community College	19,000 - above
Vice President	University	19,000 - above
Vice President	University	19,000 - above
Vice President	University	19,000 - above
Dean	University	19,000 - above
Assistant Dean	University	19,000 - above
Director	University	19,000 - above
Director	University	19,000 - above
Director	University	19,000 - above
Director	University	19,000 - above
Dean	University	16,000 - 18,999
Assistant Dean	University	16,000 - 18,999
Assistant Dean	University	13,000 - 15,999
Assistant Dean	University	10,000 - 12,999
Assistant Dean	University	10,000 - 12,999
Vice President	University	7,000 - 9,999
Assistant Dean	University	7,000 - 9,999

^a Enrolled in doctoral program

Length of Years in Current Position

The length of time the administrators had been in their positions varied between one and seven years. The largest group of administrators has remained in their current positions between one and four years. Sixty-three percent of the participants were hired by their current employer between the years of 1983 and 1986. One administrator was hired in 1980. These findings are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Length of Position

Number of Administrators	Years In Current Position	Percentage
5	1	26%
2	3	11%
5	4	26%
3	5	16%
3	6	16%
1	7	5%

Racial Make-up of the Institutions Attended

The administrators listed the types of institutions where they received their degrees as predominantly White. Only one administrator received her doctoral degree at a Black institution. Even though Black educators have historically been employed in greater numbers by predominately Black institutions, it appears that their training and backgrounds were strongly influenced by the philosophy and goals of predominately White institutions. All three of the presidents began their quest for education in Black institutions. Table 6 contains this information in summary form.

Core Categories

Career Choice and Acquisition

The researcher asked the administrators open-ended questions in order to analyze the commonalities and differences reflected in the career paths and experiences of the administrators.

Responses of the Participants to the Question on Positive Acquisition

Question: Starting with your current position, tell me how you got there.

Table 6

Type of Institution Attended and Academic Degree Obtained by
Administrators

Title	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctoral
President	Black	White	White
President	Black	White	White
Vice President	Black	White	White
Vice President	White	White	White
Vice President	White	White	White
Dean	White	White	White
Dean	Black	White	White
Assistant Dean	White	White	White
Assistant Dean	White	White	White
Assistant Dean	White	White	Black
Director	White	White	White
President	Black	White	White ^a
Vice President	White	White	
Assistant Dean	Black	White	
Assistant Dean	White	White	
Assistant Dean	White	Black	
Director	White	White	
Director	White	White	
Director	White	White	

^aEnrolled in doctoral program

Marie Allen

President

I filled the office of president in October, 1984. It was a homecoming of sorts as I was the first Black faculty member to be hired here. I have served as both dean and president of two community colleges prior to taking this position. How did I get here? I was contacted by a search committee. I went through the interview procedure and was hired by the board.

Joyce Pederson

President

I came to this position through a direct application, interview process, and appointment by the board of trustees. I am the first Black female president to be appointed at this university. It has taken a lot of time, energy, and devotion to education. It is not easy to reach this point as a woman, and it is especially difficult for a Black woman. I started out in a faculty position.

Margo Vaughn

President

I was selected by the board of trustees who in turn received input from a search committee for the president. I was called on the telephone and asked whether I would submit my credentials to be considered for the job, and I agreed I would do that. I was interviewed earlier in June by the chancellor of the system and his impressions were conveyed to the board of trustees.

The chair of the board of trustees admonished the search committee to the effect that there were no affirmative action candidates that seemed to be appearing in the final group to be interviewed. He told the committee to find more candidates. That is when I was called by a

president at another campus who happened to know me because we had earlier worked in the same state. The interesting thing about the situation is that the chair of the board of trustees at that time was a Black woman, and the president who called me was Black. In both instances they were both helpful in at least bringing me into the pool and from there, of course, my credentials had to convey the rest of the message.

Prior to coming to California, I was dean at a college for women. I had a similar experience there. I was called by a member of the search committee who indicated that they had heard of me and wanted to know whether I would consider applying for the dean's position. I sent my vitae and was selected.

Prior to that position, I had been the dean of another college. I had been called by a friend of mine who then referred my name to the search committee. I was interviewed by the search committee and I had a very good interview and was then selected as the new dean. When I arrived in California to become president, I had had twelve years of administrative experience and considerably more years as a faculty member in biology, which is my field.

My goal when I earned my Ph.D. was to do cancer research. I had a postdoctoral fellowship in research from the National Cancer Institute and did that for six years. I then decided, having married and had a child, that I was not going to devote full time to research, but that I was going to combine it with teaching so I went into teaching at college level. I did not think about becoming a president or anything like

that, but when the deanship suggestion came to me by telephone I had to think about it. Would I like to make some changes? What were the possibilities for me? After considering it for awhile, I said yes, I would. When you stay in a dean's position for some years, you begin to see that there are some things you would like to do in higher level positions. And so you then begin thinking about moving upward, and that's how it happened.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

I had been in my previous position for 11 years and was beginning to feel that the same problems were coming around a second time still unresolved, and I felt I had no information to contribute to a solution so I started looking around. I had never formally applied for a job before or gone through an interview process. I had always gotten jobs through meeting people and being offered opportunities, and I felt that I needed to experience the real world. When I was reading the Chronicle of Higher Education, I saw a description of a position for a special assistant, and it was so specific that I felt there must have been an internal candidate so I didn't apply. Then, I noticed a couple of months later that there was an announcement stating that the search had been extended, which to me clearly indicated there was no internal candidate. The thing that had originally attracted me to the position was this: It seemed as though somebody had taken my vitae and extracted from it to make up the position. That's why I thought there had to be an inside candidate because I had this quirky kind of vitae with lots of disjointed experiences. There was no clear career development. So I

applied for the job. There were 450 applicants; they interviewed six and I got the job offer.

Betty Baker

Vice President

I started my career in higher education as a faculty member and was a faculty member at a couple of institutions. I became involved in administrative work through an administrative grant, and I liked it. So, I applied for the position of assistant provost as my first administrative job. The person who was provost was someone who knew me and my previous work, and I think deliberately chose me; therefore, I thought I had an advantage over the other candidate. The provost subsequently served as a mentor. I originally went to that institution to do affirmative action kinds of things, and the job was subsequently expanded. I did make a conscious decision to move up in the ranks of administration and in each of my positions I stated right at the beginning that I needed lots of things to do. I didn't just want to do affirmative action; I didn't want to just do whatever the job responsibilities were. I wanted to get some experience in budgeting, so I used my proximity to all kinds of other administrative paths to get experience. I also went back to school and attended Harvard University's Institute of Educational Management and received that certificate in 1978. I think that experience enhanced my administrative skills since my degrees were not in educational administration. So I have moved pretty deliberately through the steps of being an assistant provost, which is similar to an assistant dean, to being the assistant vice president and then vice president at smaller institutions. Now I

am a vice president at a larger one.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

The associate vice president indicated that he was leaving the university to be vice president at another campus and asked me to apply for his job. (I never would have applied except that he called me specifically and said, "I want you to apply for this job." I only apply for jobs that I am certain that I have a very good chance of getting.) I applied for it and when I interviewed with him it was clear to me that I had the job because he was telling me things that were obviously highly confidential. It wasn't an interview; he was telling me how the office functioned. He was telling me about these grievances and law suits; and he suggested that we ought to turn that one down; we ought to do this or that; and I knew I had the job. This position is probably one of the best moves I ever made.

Well, first of all the faculty was saying, "My god, we didn't have a chair and now she is associate vice president." The job was the associate vice president for faculty personnel, which dealt with hiring, retention, tenure, promotion or any personnel issue dealing with faculty. That was my responsibility and I enjoyed it. I found out that I would be working with grievances and law suits and found out I was probably a frustrated attorney, and I loved that aspect of it. I had to write briefs and had to compete with professional attorneys and probably could do just as well as they did, if not better. (I had a tremendous track record of getting cases supported in courts, and I just fell in love with writing briefs.) So I stumbled into an area that I enjoyed

and did very well in. Then the president reorganized the way the university operated. The associate vice president for academics reported to the vice president for academic affairs. The vice president for academic affairs resigned his position, and I became acting vice president for academic affairs for one year. That was a very good experience. I was glad that I had the year because I found I didn't enjoy curriculum and I did not enjoy budget and so I hated the position. I like personnel litigation and all of that. But I was glad that I got the experience. I would say that academic affairs is not the route that I would be interested in pursuing.

My current position is vice president for faculty and staff. That position not only includes the faculty but all employees from police officers to clerical and management employees. Payroll, environmental health and safety, faculty development and affirmative action all report to me so that is a larger responsibility. What the president did was, he went to the faculty and said that he wanted me in that position. He did not do a search. He said, "That's the person I want. Do you have any problem with that?" Our faculty is a noisy and contentious bunch; the faculty could have told him "No," but instead the faculty said, "That's fine." So I was promoted into the position, and that is how I have advanced in my career.

Mary Smith

Vice President

Before I graduated from college, I had to do the customary student teaching. As a result of that experience, I knew right away that I did not want to teach high school. That was out! That meant, of course,

that I would have to go to graduate school, which I did, and I became a college teacher of English.

I taught English for three years and that was fine. I enjoyed it. I still enjoy it, but I got involved in a desegregation program. It was during the early seventies when those programs were popular. We had a grant to help the public school system implement a desegregation plan. That got me out of the classroom and into working with policy and program administration. I enjoyed that very much. When the position of assistant provost came up, I applied for it. I was in that position for five years and have been associate provost for four.

Donna Lane

Dean

I was on a search committee for a person who is a dean for graduate studies and was a candidate for vice president in the college of medical arts and science. Since I was on a search committee, I knew a little bit about the screening process. The dean was also a member. When the search committee did not immediately come up with an internal candidate, the committee decided to conduct a national search. In the meantime, I was professor in the School of Social Work and Director of the Social and Research Center. When the provost called me, he asked if I would consider being the acting dean. I was very reluctant to say yes because what I really enjoyed was my research. He gave me a couple of days to think about it, and there were a few things to consider. First of all, in this university there has never been a woman as a dean, and I felt that if I said no that the administrators would be off the hook forever. With that in mind, I thought I had to accept. He gave me two

options. Either I would take the job or I would be just where I am so I had nothing to lose.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I came to the university as a part-time instructor in 1975-76 and was then hired on a permanent basis. I moved from a temporary instructor to a full time instructor and then to an assistant, and finally an associate professor. I was head of the Ethnic and Women's Studies Department, then became the acting dean and finally am now the Dean of the School of Arts. One of the significant things that helped me along the way was a fellowship. While I was an assistant professor, I had an opportunity one year through an affirmative action program provided by our system to visit another campus as an administrative fellow. I had a full year's worth of administrative experience as a junior faculty member in a high level administrative position. I worked in the vice president's office. So that was something that I brought back with me to the campus, and I think it has been very helpful and very instrumental in terms of providing the experience that most junior faculty members don't get to have. I was able to find out whether or not I liked administration at an early age. Most people, if they go through the traditional channel, go through the system first through the full professorship. Then, they get into administration as associate dean or department heads and go up that way.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I am a career educator, and I have had a lot of experience as a teacher and academic administrator. I have worked in preschool through

college before I came here. I also worked in an academic department when I was a doctoral student. I'm a Stanford graduate; I did all my work there--undergraduate and graduate. As I was finishing up my degree, this position opened. It was a new position, and the people here were looking for someone who was sort of indigenous to the local Black community as the Black focus position. Actually, it has at least 50% of a mainstream function. I think I had pretty much all of the qualities they were looking for. I was at the right place at the right time, and I needed a job.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

I taught for a year at a community college and then I came back into the master's program. I got an assistantship which involved teaching. After the master's, I became part of the teaching faculty and I was also performing--mixing the two. Then, I got right into a doctoral program. By this time I had another addition to my family so I began work on a part-time basis.

The associate dean that we had a couple of years ago got me into this position. I respected her, and I think she respected my ideas so she convinced the administrators to create a counselor position. So I became an academic counselor and held that position for three years.

I've had this title for almost a year. The one thing that led me to accept it is my interest in students. I'm not just interested in policy and running things, but I am genuinely interested in the students. As an assistant dean, I saw so many students coming in not knowing what they were doing. All they needed was a little extra touch

of human thinking on someone's part. So that kind of concern led me here, and it makes going to meetings and the dealing with policy not so terrible. It's not policy for policy's sake. In the back of my mind, I have the students at heart.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

After staying in financial aid too long, three years beyond when I should have stayed, I decided it was time to move out. I wanted out mainly because I had a position that was an 8-12, 1-5 and then whatever-after-you-want-to-stay type position where I really did not get a chance to meet any other people on campus. I mainly dealt with students who needed help with financial aid concerns. And even though I was there because I was Black, I also worked with all students. I got to a point where I felt I needed to get a position that was comparable to the types of jobs I had had in the past. I had learned all there was to know in financial aid, and I could no longer truly help the students without feeling that I was wasting my career time. I felt that this was a position where someone else could come in and do just as good a job as I was doing, so it was time for me to leave and start to look around. Another Black female had my position, the one I have now, and what is so interesting in a institution like this one, and probably most predominantly White institutions, whenever a job came open that had normally been held by a minority person, all of us applied for it. So, when a position came open in the graduate division, all of us applied for it. When I say all of us, I mean a handful of Blacks who work here. At that point I really didn't know very many faculty members or

administrators. I dealt mainly with students and any people in accounting who were also part of the financial aid process, but I didn't know other administrators or faculty members because I didn't need to know them in my job in financial aid. I decided to apply for the job anyway.

A person who worked in the graduate division as an assistant dean, and still is the assistant dean for student affairs, decided to become a mentor to me. He was a Black male, and he would always invite me to these meetings. I would go if they were between 12 and 1; otherwise I couldn't go. He would always say: "We have to get you out of this position; your time is being wasted; your talent is being wasted." And so when certain jobs would come open, he would always let me know about them.

When the job in the graduate division for assistant dean was announced, I decided to apply. There were three of us who were runners-up and another Black woman got the position. I then applied for her position. One of the persons who really helped me was the chairman of the search committee. Instead of getting the normal letter saying thank you for applying, he wrote me a two page letter suggesting some things I could do to help me get out of the position I was in and into another position. He is also a Black faculty member in another department. I really appreciated his help. He took me to lunch and talked to me about what I wanted to do, where I saw myself within the next five years; and it was really great. So I had a lot of people who were helping and pushing me out of financial aid and wanting me to

pursue other things. When the assistant dean position was announced, I applied. I received the job offer on August 15th. I am presently the only assistant dean who is directly responsible to the dean. And that is how I have gotten to where I am.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

As far as this particular position, I've been here for five years. I came in on a part-time basis originally as a casual employee which means that it was a temporary position. It's for a set period of time, usually for less than a year, and there are no benefits or other regulations in terms of following employment procedures. I came in because I was asked to fill in for the assistant dean who was taking over the dean's position for a year. The dean had gone systemwide to do an internship and had asked the assistant dean to take the dean's position. Therefore, they wanted a part-time assistant dean. What happened was that it didn't work out with the position being part-time. There were too many things for the acting dean to do, and there were certainly too many things for the assistant dean to do, so we ended up making it full time. Later, they both decided that neither of them wanted to return to their positions. I had left the university and had several other job offers on other campuses, and the dean asked me to come back. An affirmative action hire was done, and I came back.

It started, for me, as a very young child. My parents ran a preschool, so I grew up in an educational environment. We were all teachers' aides in high school, and we were helping as assistant directors at the school and so on. So I got that kind of an

introduction and push for education from my parents. I went to school at UC Irvine and majored in psychology. In college, I developed relationships with a number of people who were in the field and they served as mentors for me. They were male, female, Black, and White. I studied law for a period of time in my sophomore year and decided at that point that I wanted to go into international education. So I went to graduate school at American University in Washington, DC. It was the only university that would allow me to combine education and international service to come up with a degree in international education. Since nothing of that description existed, that was the best that I could do. During both my undergraduate and graduate work, I had student positions, internships, you know, working in the financial aid office, working in the crosscultural center, working at the National Research Agency as a programmer and in resident life programs. I had an assistantship with the Director of the International Center as a graduate student. So, I kept doing those kinds of things all throughout my educational experience and that built up my resume. When I finished graduate school, I moved back to California and was offered a position as the assistant dean in student activities. I was at that campus for a while. Then I moved and was in the private sector for a bit. But I decided that I really wanted to be in education, so I applied for the position here, and that was how I got my foot in the door.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

I was a postdoctoral fellow at an Ivy League university, and I wasn't being paid a lot of money there to do the research I was doing.

To supplement my income I worked as an escort interpreter for the State Department on a contract basis, and came to San Francisco or Los Angeles as a part of escorting foreign diplomats around. I decided I wanted to live in California, so I went to the library and found out what universities and businesses were potential for employment. I wrote to the president of one of them and said, "I'm this remarkable Black woman you need." He passed it on to the provost. He informed me that the associate dean's position was open and encourage me to apply. I applied and was hired for the position four weeks later.

Dana Ruse

Assistant Dean

I started as an admissions advisor at this new campus as the first person in the admissions office. After six months I was promoted to the assistant dean position.

Patricia Davis

Director

This is a new position. I was working in a staff position for the senior vice president. Over the years, I did a number of things successfully, and it seemed clear to him that what he needed to do in order to best utilize my skills was to develop a whole new unit. This new unit would combine activities of this office together with additional activities located in other areas. So a new unit was created for me last June.

Theresa Ellison

Director

I actually planned for this position. I found that my predecessor was going to be retiring. . . . I believe that I had the experience and skills necessary to apply for the job, but I knew that I had a bit more

to learn so that I deliberately sat at his feet. I should tell you I took a lateral move; I transferred from another unit into this unit as an associate director. I learned everything about his job that I could, and I used him as a mentor. I took a variety of classes that I thought he could have taken, courses that I thought would be useful for the job, and then I applied for it. I made it abundantly clear that in my estimation I was the best prepared. I also developed a community support base for myself through women. There is an organization on this campus called Pritian. It is the oldest women's honors organization and I knew that I could count on the support of the students with whom I would be working.

Rene Manson

Director

The position of assistant director of housing was advertised through the Urban League Office. I applied, having worked for an urban renewal agency for four years. The director of housing at that time hired me. When the position of director became vacant, I applied for it, went through the interview process and was offered the job.

Robin Wheeler

Director

This office has continually expanded. Originally, this was the handicapped office. That was when it was a hot issue. You see, I've been handicapped for fifteen years and I think they thought it would be a good idea to put me in charge of the handicapped office. I was with the old administration in a relatively high position, executive assistant to the president. When the new regime came in, the president really didn't know what to do with me. He couldn't fire me, so he gave

me this position.

The administrators found out that these problems weren't going to go away, so the office has grown and now I have all of this going on in what was a very small operation.

I've always had a lot of health problems. In and out of the hospital. But I always kept going. I had no plans. I was just enjoying myself in school. Initially, I began working on a degree in business education. I thought I was going to teach. It was during my practicum that I said to myself, I don't want to be a teacher, so I switched to secretarial science. Of course, this set me back but I really didn't mind; I was having a good time. My advisor was so upset. "Secretarial sciences?" he exclaimed! But I knew I always felt good about my skills in that area.

Then I dropped out of school and got married and I had a child. The marriage didn't work out, and there I was, with a baby and disabled. So I took a job as the director of the secretarial pool and began picking up courses here and there. One day I looked at my transcripts, and I said, "My god, I can graduate." So I sent all this stuff to my advisor and he said all I needed was one semester of residency. So I packed up, took my baby with me, and finished.

When I was the assistant to the president in Virginia, I was intimidated by everyone's credentials so I began working on my master's degree. I was not certain what I was going to do with it. I was just getting better prepared. A doctorate wasn't even in the picture. When I came out to California, it was the same thing. I began taking courses

in educational administration for the same reason, because I knew I had no background, no know-how.

I'm glad I'm in a position to try and make a difference in somebody's life. If it hadn't been for this job, I wouldn't be able to make an impact in terms of how women are treated. I'll never be around long enough to correct it all but I'm aware, so I can make a small difference. I can make it better. So, when the position of director became open, I applied for it, was interviewed, and was offered the job.

Analysis of the Responses to the Question about Current Position

The literature indicates that the career histories of professional men are most often characterized by continuous employment. The women in this study shared this same characteristic. In addition, the literature suggests that the traditional career paths for academic administrators (which are mostly men) are usually a linear progression leading from faculty through department chair, to dean, to provost, and then the presidency (Moore, 1980). This pattern is often preceded by graduate studies with an assistantship and the influence and guidance of a strong mentor.

The women administrators who participated in this study followed more than one path to their current administrative posts. However, the traditional route was the most frequent experience (32%), confirming that the career paths of men and women may be more similar than

different.

The age of the administrators ranged as follows: five were between the age of 30-39, nine were between 40-49, four were between 50-59, and one respondent was 60+ years old.

Three of the participants were afforded the benefits of an administrative assistantship. Two of these programs were a direct result of affirmative action laws.

It is interesting to note that only two of the participants stated that they had planned their career paths. Several of the participants were encouraged to apply for their current and previous positions, and one participant noted that her position was created specifically for her.

Being in the right place at the right time is a familiar cliché that has been used by many as the primary reason for obtaining a highly prized position. One could postulate that both time and luck exert an organized impact upon one's life and one's career goals and that this impact cannot be controlled. However, only one of the respondents used this phrase which suggests that the cliché is more fiction than reality.

All of the respondents planned for careers within educational institutions, although not necessarily in administration. Only one of the women secured an administrative position in higher education as a specific goal.

The potential for obtaining faculty positions by Black women in higher education has long been accepted. However, the aspiration for top level administrative roles for Black women prior to 1960 was viewed

as ludicrous. Twenty-seven years ago, some of these administrators were adolescents who were just becoming acquainted with the benefits of equal opportunity. At that time, there were no Blacks, male or female, in top administrative positions in White universities. They had no role models to pattern themselves after. This group of Black women experienced dramatic changes in their own and society's expectations for their careers in higher education administration after the 1960s.

The blatant lack of planning by these administrators perhaps suggests that until recent times, women in general and Black women in particular, did not see themselves and were not seen by others as administrative candidates. Therefore, making plans for goals that would at first glance appear unattainable was the exception rather than the rule.

Organizational Politics

The responses below were given to the questions: (1) "Tell me about the role that politics has or has not played in the acquisition of your administrative position." (2) "How would you define loyalty to the organization?" and (3) "Describe how you derive power from your position."

Responses of Participants to the Question about Politics

Question: Tell me about the role that politics has or has not played in the acquisition of your administrative position.

Marie Allen

President

Politics has not played a role.

Joyce Pederson

President

Politics played no role.

Margo Vaughn

President

The role that politics played would be that I was referred in all cases by people who were minorities. Each of my referrals were from people who were Black. The person who called me wanted a Black person in the job, but politically I'm not sure what that means other than that. I think that affirmative action played a role, but it wasn't the exclusive role. For my position, there were three people interviewed: one White woman, one White male, and myself. There were additional affirmative action candidates.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

I think the fact that the chancellor created the position was due to political pressure from two sources. On one side, the minority faculty on campus felt there should be a very high level individual who advised the chancellor on affirmative action, which is what I do in the special assistant role. On the other side, staff members felt that they really needed a fair witness to deal with informal resolution of their grievances. Those two conflicting interests got subsumed in one job, and I am amazed that they managed to find six people who also applied for this job with the kind of background necessary to handle both responsibilities.

Betty Baker

Vice President

If by politics you mean those factors above, beyond or outside of

skills and experience, I just gave an example of politics playing a role in my first position. It was knowing someone, but the person knew my abilities and had seen some of the work I had done on other campuses, as well as lectures that I had given in a position that I held on his campus. As a result, he became interested in my potential and had faith in my potential so I suppose that was a bit of politics.

Defining politics in another sense, I saw politics playing a role in my taking advantage of the networks when they are available. I've always made sure that I attend professional meetings, and that I meet people and give them my card, talk to them, and develop those relationships. I think that my references for each of the positions I've been nominated for are things that are dependent on my ability but they are somewhat political. If you call networking and making acquaintances with people who have high reputations in the field and having them nominate you and write letters of recommendation for you, then yes, politics plays a role.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

I think I am a good politician in various constituencies on campus. My mentor, in fact, has been the president of the university. I guess I have the reputation of being a very candid individual. People may say that they might not like what I have to say, but they certainly are going to hear it. I call it like I see it. I am an individual that is fair. If you mean politics in the sense of making sure who is on a committee or getting something done, I don't think so. But even though I don't think that politics has played a major role, I am not naive enough to say that there's been no political aspects to my securing this job.

Mary Smith

Vice President

I have been in other positions where politics did play a role but I can't say that it had an impact on my present position.

Donna Lane

Dean

I think politics plays a lot in everything, and there is always some politics. I think the politics in higher administration is one of the most, how should I put it, you generally think of people in education as gentle but it can really get very vicious. I bounce sometimes and perhaps because most of the time I have been watching it from afar. And when I say afar, again since I've had no real aspirations myself, I never had the whole political process in my perspective; I was just an observer. I certainly recognize a lot of politics going on and I think in terms of my particular appointment I try to take into consideration what is on the mind of the provost.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I would say that in terms of institutional politics that this university has had a particularly conservative history. Originally, the university was all male; in 1962 it became coed. At that time, there were very few ethnic minorities until the big affirmative action push in the 1960s. Then, nine percent of the students were Black. Today, in 1986, there are four percent Black and six to seven percent Hispanic. When the affirmative action, equal opportunity push ended, the university activities area was clamped down. However, now it's picking back up. There is a mandate to reassess how to deal with this situation due to political pressure.

I came to this university in the 1970s at a time when there were no Black female faculty members in my department. I was able to fill two or three slots for one person. I was like a two-for-the-price-of-one or three-for-the-price-of-one in terms of the university also getting someone who is very competitive and able to do the job. I understood that and it served my purposes.

I brought my politics and personal conflicts into the university and kind of melted it into the institutional politics as they existed. We have been able to work out a pretty good arrangement.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

My job is one that Black students at the university demanded that the administrators create so I would say that politics played a major role in my position. In terms of my being the person who got the job, I think politics was less involved, although I could kind of benefit from the old boy network because my boss at the time of the hiring was also the person I worked with many years ago under the earlier version of the center. He was a few years ahead of me but I had already demonstrated competence and my familiarity with the university and so I think he was confident in my ability to perform the responsibility of the position. So politically speaking, you might say it was a little bit wired although I had to pass the student test and if I hadn't been qualified, I would have not even been considered.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

For the most part, I don't know that my getting the position was too political. The administrators were looking for someone who had some

experience in minority student programs, and I just happened to fit that description. Once I got the position, there were certain things that I knew were political. There was an associate dean who was responsible for a program that was for minority students in math, engineering and science. When the administrators found out that I had experience working in precollege programs, they took that responsibility from him and put it over in my shop.

The other thing that may be political in terms of my getting the position or keeping the position is some of the work I do and the goals I have. One thing that I do is use students. I am there for the students. I know that I buffer the administrators from the students. I keep the Black, Chicano, and Native American students from their doorsteps because the students stop at my door. Whenever I'm having an administrative problem, I let it be known to certain groups with whom I work. So if an issue is one that is going to affect the students, then I take it to them in other meetings, and I get them to come behind me because I think the students have more power than anyone else. They don't realize it, but they really do and that's when I get the students' voices heard.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

No, politics did not play a role in my obtaining this position.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

Politics definitely played role. I couldn't think, off the top of my head, of any position where it has not played a role in some fashion or another. The politics revolved around my being Black. I am one strategizer. I've done it many times; I can think back as a young child

strategizing about how I was going to get what I want or do what I wanted to do and felt very good about helping others to strategize too. I don't mind playing that role at all, and it helps me in all aspects of my life, not just my career. When I think in terms of the acquisition of my current position and others that I had, I know that politics has been instrumental, not only in terms of building a path to get what I want, but also in terms of working for other people. The buzz word, of course, is networking. Some of the things that I've done are very political, and it's an area that I don't, in all honesty, particularly like. I initially did not want to go into international affairs because I wanted to avoid nasty politics, only to discover that they're just as nasty in any other field and particularly in education. I think one has to look at that very, very carefully, particularly if you feel like the cards are stacked against you--being Black, being a woman, being handicapped, being young, whatever. There is always something to impact your career. So politics is important.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

Absolutely none.

Dana Ruse

Assistant Dean

As far as I am aware of, there was no politics connected with it. I think that when I was hired, it was the idea that this is the position that I was going to have. But the dean did not give it to me initially because I was new in the system.

I really did not have my sights on this position, but it was something that I saw could be available.

Patricia Davis

Director

I really don't know how to answer that question in terms of politics. I would have to say no.

Theresa Ellison

Director

I think there is politics to every position above a secretary and even probably there, so I think it has played a part. I think it is advantageous to this campus that I am a Black female and confident. They certainly could have selected someone else, but I think that out of the pool of people that they interviewed, I was probably the best candidate. There were some males who were in the pool and two of them, one White male and one Black male, had worked in this unit for a long period of time and chronologically were older than I am. So I think that the political pressure of students--White, Asian, Chicanos, and Black--saying we would like to see this woman in this position and having females who were mostly White support that, had a great deal to do with the ultimate decision.

Rene Manson

Director

Politics did not play a significant role in the acquisition of my position, although I feel it has definitely played a role in maintaining me in this same position for the past fourteen years.

Robin Wheeler

Director

I feel that politics was not involved in terms of having me get the position. I think the need just arose and I was in the right place at the right time because I started out as an instructor here and I did

work as an assistant to the director and finally when she decided to move I became acting director and then I was in the running for selection for the director's position when that came open. It is just a matter of being there at the right time. There may be some interworkings of politics, I don't know, in terms of whether people are on the inside or outside. That may have something to do with it. In every instance, however, it's not necessarily true that people on the inside are chosen.

You have to define what politics means. If you are talking about political affiliations or if you are talking about who you know within the organization, then, yes, I think it's kind of important to know people and especially to know people who can help you.

Analysis of the Responses about Politics

Over the years, the word politics has been defined in different ways. One of the oldest definitions for politics is also that definition most used by this group. Lasswell (1936) defined politics as "Who gets what, when and how."

A total of 53% (10) of these administrators recognized the role that politics played in the acquisition and/or maintenance of their careers. Forty-two percent (9) of this group described an instance of knowing the right person in addition to the use of interest groups. These individuals and groups were used to influence who gets what, when, and how.

One other definition was used in an effort to define politics in relation to the administrators' careers. The administrator spoke of balancing the needs of minority faculty with those of non-minority faculty members. Her definition of politics might match that of Schattschneider (1960) who defined politics as "the socialization of conflict" (p. 38). Blacks have had to fight for the economic benefits which come from upwardly mobile positions of authority in large mainstream institutions such as universities. Black women have had to struggle twice as hard. The politics of affirmative actions and equal employment opportunities has indeed been the socialization of conflict, and the respondents in this research recognized the politics involved in that struggle.

The respondents in this research did not use Thompson's (1976) definition of politics, "the struggle over the allocation of social values and resources" (p. 10). The struggle in this instance involves the social value of hiring a Black person in a position over White persons and a Black person making more money than White persons, the allocation of resources.

However, this subject was most recently addressed in a Business Week Harris Poll. The article was written in reference to the changing complexity and complexion of the workforce in the year 2000. The poll taken in January, 1988 asked: "Do you feel that the chances for Blacks to advance to managerial and supervisory positions generally are as good as those of Whites or not?" (Ellis, 1988, p. 65). Fifty-three percent of the Whites said Blacks had "as good a chance" and 62% of Blacks felt

that there was "not as good a chance." This would suggest that in general, half of the Whites were comfortable with what they perceived as the promotion policies operative in many organizations. In converse, over half of the Blacks felt that they would not be given an equal opportunity to hold managerial or supervisory positions, and that their chances of gaining such positions were not as good as those of Whites.

The next question asked about equal pay: "Do you feel that most Blacks are paid the same as Whites who are doing the same job, or do you feel that they are paid less?" A majority (70%) of Whites felt that Blacks are "paid the same" and 53% of Blacks felt that they were "paid less." Again, over half of the Blacks did not share the White majority view. This question does not overtly address the issue of Blacks who make more money than Whites. The Harris Poll chose only to talk about the issue of equal pay for equal work.

Both the respondents and the researchers of the Harris Poll were reluctant to embrace Thompson's definition of politics. Even so, almost two thirds of the Whites, and only 40% of Blacks saw the allocation of resources as similar to that of Whites.

For some, the word politics conjures up a host of dirty activities and seamy behavior. This may perhaps be the reason why nine of the nineteen administrators denied the influence of politics on their current positions. Three of the nine respondents were in line positions. These findings were most unusual when one considers that, along with other academicians, Rost and Cosgrove (1987) have affirmed that "politics is part of virtually any organization. College campuses are no

exception" (p. 37). Therefore, like it or not, everyone plays the game of politics.

Black women must begin to realize that work is a game and the game is known as Organizational Politics. The objective of the game is money and power. As Hannigan (1977) expressed it, these women are playing checkers while the men play chess.

If this group of nine respondents, indeed, believes what they espoused, one can only assume that they are politically naive and unsophisticated. Or for whatever reason, they may have wanted to appear innocent of what they considered dirty politics and did not want to tell the researcher what really happened.

Responses of the Participants to the Question about Loyalty

Question: How would you define loyalty to the organization?

Marie Allen

President

Being a team member means that you support and implement decisions that are made. It doesn't mean that you always agree with the decision or agree with the process, but that you have participated in that process. Although the decision didn't go the way you wanted it to, you still were able to work in the arena and to effectively implement and support the final decision.

Joyce Pederson

President

I think loyalty has two components. The first is that you really care about the institution and the people to whom you report. You owe

them the truth with respect to your recommendations and judgments which may be totally different from theirs. Then once the decision has been made, one either supports it wholeheartedly both publicly and privately, or one leaves the institution.

Margo Vaughn

President

Loyalty is being responsive to the people you work with. People must feel confident that you will support them. And that does not mean you will always agree with them.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

It is interesting; until I came to this job I never thought in terms of loyalty to the organization, and I think that is because this is the first purely line job I have had. I think that I had a lot of the attitude the faculty has, which is that you are a nation of one and the university has been fortunate to have you associate yourself with it. One must be able to participate in policy making in order to feel a sense of loyalty.

Betty Baker

Vice President

Loyalty means to me that you understand the mission and the purpose of the organization and that you buy into it. I think that is necessary at the beginning. You have to share the vision with president, trustees, the administrative community, and the faculty. If you share that vision, then you have to support the goals. The things that you do and the decisions that you make are all towards that goal. Sometimes the mission can be on paper only without realization. For example, we talk a lot about educational equity, and I have yet to see much support

for it. I always talk about bringing in more Black and Hispanic faculty members, and that we must put more money into recruiting Black and Hispanic students as well. Even so, I think I am being very loyal to the organization.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

That's easy for me. I have been here for 20 years and probably will be here until I retire. I don't see myself leaving the university and this has been a good place for me, a good place to work and be with young people, staff, and colleagues. In higher education, it is easy to be disloyal because you are dealing with ideas, and you are dealing with people who are on the cutting edge of ideas and the university. And I feel very good about the university. There are times when I think the president is dead wrong; I will tell him that but I would never tell him in a group because that is just dumb. If he asked for suggestions and recommendations, then I would certainly participate in that kind of process but I would never criticize him in front of a group. I would tell him if there were just the two of us. I would say, "You're dead wrong," and he would say "For what reasons?" He respects that. I can read his moods; when he starts tapping his foot, I know he's losing patience. I'll say "just cool it" and let him think it over.

Mary Smith

Associate Provost

Loyalty to this organization means that I will support those policies I believe in and will work within the system to change those which I do not support. That's how I would define loyalty.

Donna Lane

Dean

That is a very interesting question because loyalty is one of the major, major values in this system because the major criticism is disloyalty. I feel and really do think that I am a loyal person in the sense that it does not mean that I am blind or ignore the deficiencies in the system. I think that I weigh information against the positives and I acknowledge them, but I also acknowledge the ethics needed to change the deficiencies. I also give a great deal of emphasis to the positive aspects of the system. I think that's all one can do.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I define loyalty as the ability to support the university even when it is doing things you don't think are appropriate. Perhaps you feel that there should be a certain policy on some issue. The university, for example, has adopted an admissions policy that went into effect two years ago. On the one hand, the policy is supposed to have the effect of bringing up the academic standards of the students that come into the system. On the other hand, it's argued that the policy is going to prevent a lot of average students from coming into the system. I have some problems with that kind of policy, and I just don't want to leave it to the university and say, "Oh well, the good people will sort themselves out and we may lose some people initially, but in the long run it will come in handy." I feel loyalty to an organization is not just walking away from the whole thing and saying that the policy is wrong; I think I have made a difficult decision and that I'm not going to support that policy.

From a different perspective, I think loyalty is looking at how you can make this policy work once it has been adopted by everyone in the University. And that means: What do we have to do to go out to those school districts and get students ready to come here? What do we have to do to send a clear message that we are not abandoning the students in the local high schools, that we are not leaving them to fend for themselves? If we put this in place and if we truly believe the outcome is going to be a different caliber of student, then the issue is: How do we get the students that are not at that level to that level?

I believe that is our responsibility so it means working within a system even though you don't like everything the people in the system do because you know that it's the only system you have; it's the best one you have to work with so you have to work with it. That's what I believe, and I believe in this system. I believe in its philosophy of higher education. We have a different mission; our mission is not to train Ph.D. students; our mission is to train bachelor's and master's students. And I think that is a noble mission, and I want to work to do that even though I sometimes feel the university gets off the track and I really know it's off the track. I feel it is my job to get it back on the track.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I think you have to go with what's right. If the organization is wrong, I think you have to say so, and I think the best philosophy is that you should be a part of the solution and not a part of the problem. But I think you have to do that in a careful way. I try to use

information. My approach is that it is my duty in this position along with my responsibility to inform you that I think you are demonstrating racist or antisocial behavior. Now some people think that's just disloyal, particularly if your supervisor is the one who is implementing a program that's going to be devastating to your community. So I try to operate on information and loyalty. I think it is not just doing what your boss says because he or she is your boss. It's being truthful and competent and after a while people begin to respect you as someone who is going to turn the reports in on time and show up to work but if you need to know the hard answer to a question that no one wants to deal with, call her or him.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

I am loyal to the university as long as being loyal does not make me compromise my own integrity as a person and as a Black woman. In fact, at one time, I had decided to write up the assistant director who was my boss at the time. I would have been ready to leave at that point. But fortunately the problem was resolved. So in essence, what I am saying is that I am loyal up to a point, but I won't compromise my integrity. I would leave the situation first.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

Loyalty means to me that you accept the mission of the university and that you will support its goals. However, loyalty can be blind and misguided. You can't let loyalty compromise your integrity.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

As opposed to loyalty to myself or my people or my family? Well,

when those other things don't get in the way, you have to be loyal to the organization, but not to the extent of compromising your ethics. I won't do that. But, I do feel torn at times when I feel like it's expected that I represent the things of the institution or the department and not necessarily what is best. And that's hard, you know. It's like trying to smile when you don't feel that sweet. But there's a time when that has to happen, and I think the further you move up in management, one has more opportunities to find conflict with that.

Leslie Moore

Associate Dean

For me, loyalty means caring about quality and caring about people. To me, it doesn't mean doing whatever I am told and I once worked with someone who insisted upon a particular kind of loyalty, what I call Pentagon loyalty. One of the big areas of concern when I was hired was the fact I was a Black woman coming to a political campus. People asked: How are you going to keep your perspective? Are you going to go out there and demonstrate to the folks? I said that if I had a disagreement, a substantial disagreement, I would tell you about it. And if I felt something went against my principles, I would resign. And that is how I define loyalty.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

That means that you are familiar with the goals and that you are willing to do what is necessary in order to meet the goals and to keep other people motivated and reved up so that they feel a commitment to do what is necessary.

Patricia Davis

Director

Loyalty to an organization for me means that you accept the mission

and goals of the institution. If you wish to change those goals, you must be able to work within the system to motivate change. If change does not occur and the politics go against what you can morally accept, it then becomes time to leave the institution.

Theresa Ellison

Director

If you are going into management, those folks working with you need to feel that they can invest some amount of trust in you. If you are going to be true to yourself and manage well, you have to care enough about your corporation that you can be loyal to it. Now when I say loyal, I don't mean blind loyalty because you can criticize the organization but you have to do that responsibly. Criticize it in ways to help it change and be more effective. Do not bad mouth it or bad mouth your colleagues. Loyalty with honesty is what I would say.

Rene Manson

Director

Loyalty to the organization (in my case) is simply doing what is expected.

Robin Wheeler

Director

Loyalty is an important value and is especially important within a university setting. Loyalty involves a large degree of integrity. You must work within the system, but you must also stand up for what you feel is right.

Analysis of the Responses about Loyalty

Baldrige and Deal (1983) have stated that: "The issue of loyalty to public education as a public good is closely related to participation in governance. In a democratic polity, to be able to influence an

institution helps to create a sense of loyalty to it.

Loyalty without voice is blind; voice without loyalty can easily lead to premature disillusionment and exit" (p. 487).

Webster defines loyalty as a state of being faithful, as in one who supports the established government. All of the respondents gave a definition to the term loyalty. In general, most of these administrators agree that loyalty is a state of being faithful.

Thirteen of the respondents, in addition to being faithful to the organization, were concerned with maintaining their own integrity. Three other respondents who embraced the notion of faithfulness were also concerned with avoiding blind loyalty. Blind loyalty was seen as loyalty gone too far.

Loyalty was also equated with policy making. One respondent suggested that in order to feel loyalty to the organization, one must have the ability to participate in the decision making process. Decision making is indeed a viable aspect of loyalty in that part of being loyal involves one's response to the implementation of the decisions made. As we well know, decisions that are not implemented can never be effective policy. Thus, these administrators believe that decisions can and should be changed at times, and that working within the university to change a decision did not make them disloyal.

Loyalty was also defined as being a team player, caring about people, quality, truth and responsiveness. At least two of the respondents defined loyalty as the act of understanding the mission and purpose of the institution and effectively buying into it.

Loyalty is a virtue prized by most organizations. Loyalty not only helps to facilitate the decision making process; it also plays a major role in the implementation of those decisions. Managers and leaders both attempt to cultivate this behavior among their major contacts.

Most organizations encourage loyalty from their employees yet many organizations have been known to be less than loyal to their constituency. This is especially true in the corporate arena where mergers and take-overs dictate an air of here today, gone tomorrow.

Responses of the Participants to the Question about Power

Question: Describe how you derive power from your position.

Marie Allen

President

I empower others around me.

Joyce Pederson

President

There are several ways to derive power from my position. One is by having no secrets. The budget is an open book including all of my own expenditures. I think a great deal of power comes from being able to have no secrets. Another is in being accessible so that one doesn't build up a sense of vulnerability alone. A third way is having more knowledge regarding the institution itself and all the pertinent facts.

Margo Vaughn

President

I like to empower others and motivate them to do what must be done. I am a very persuasive person so I use that skill to get more power.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

My power comes from both my office and myself. I see myself as having personal power, and I like to empower others.

Betty Baker

Vice President

The position automatically has a certain authority that goes with it, but authority is not power. So one derives power from a position like this, I guess, through exerting leadership. And exerting leadership means that you understand the mission of the university and you understand how to accomplish the mission. It also means that you not only work to do it yourself, but that you lead others in that direction. That is probably what most of the power--if there is any--in a position like this entails. Power is the ability to set direction and to motivate and move people in those directions that you set.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

My position is powerful in itself and whoever is in this kind of position obviously has a lot of authority. As vice-president of the university, I have a lot to say about an individual's personal and professional future in the organization. I'm delegated authority to dismiss people. In itself the authority is there to act independently after receiving recommendations or to make or take an action--to suspend someone from campus, for instance. Being able to listen and speak persuasively but really being able to listen to all points of view and weighing them is a source of real power. Now, I happen to be an impatient and impulsive individual, and I have to say to myself: "Don't make a judgment now; wait until you get all the facts and then think about it before you make a final decision and talk it out." So, yes, the position is powerful, but you can't beat people over the head with that.

Mary Smith

Vice President

First, I derive authoritative power from the office I hold. But authority is not real power even though sometimes people do what I want because of my title. I would rather look at my power as being my ability to influence others.

Donna Lane

Dean

Power can be derived from many sources, one of which is this position itself. Personal power is also important to me and it involves the ability to persuade others to do what you feel must be done. Power, of course, is knowledge and I always try to operate from a knowledge base. It is important to empower others as that power will come back to you.

Barbara Odom

Dean

Power is the ability to get people to do what you want them to do. Informal power is the power that I have with people who are not quite in the administrative line. These are with department heads, department secretaries, clerks all over the university. It's with plain old folks around the university campus. I was very touched when it was announced that I had become acting dean of the university. I had letters, cards, and phone calls from people all over campus, from people that I did not even know who were interested and knew what I was doing. And the feedback I was getting was that people liked me, they liked what I was doing. If one treats them with respect and treats them as if they are important, they really like that and are happy to see that you have arrived where you have. Having been raised in a working class household where my parents had to work for other people, I understood how things

got done. Things got done because the people who worked with you were loyal to you and liked you. Not because of demand. But it's the people behind the scenes that really make things work out. That is the informal power and what that does is it gives you a base from where you can operate through sharing ideas.

Then there is the formal power which is the power of my job and that is important. And I use that when I need to. There are occasions where I need to call up and say I am the dean of the school and I need to get this done, but I don't generally use that approach. That is not how I do my operating. I figure I could always pull rank and come down hard on my people but I try to relate to them as individuals up front. The other approach is sort of a backup. But what I really like and what I really have been pushing, aside from my own power, is that of empowering other people. And I believe that is how you have a well-rounded organization--when you empower other people, when you make them feel that what they are doing is important. If you delegate responsibilities, delegate them. If you ask for ideas, let people carry them through. If you want people to participate, give them something very real and very concrete to do because that is the only way they are going to learn. I have 300 faculty members and there are lots and lots of projects that I would like to do personally but I can't do those projects personally. By empowering other people to do these projects, they get done and the university gets credit, the faculty gets credit, the school gets credit, I get credit, everybody experiences, everybody wins. I don't need to own everything associated with the school, and I

feel real comfortable with that and I guess it is a philosophy and attitude that I've had since the first day that I came to this office because I knew that if I did not like it, I could always walk out that door, and I would have a full time job waiting for me as a teacher. So I really never had my ego involved in this job. I'd like to think that after five years I still don't, but at least I can talk about it. If there really was a disagreement that I had with my administrator in terms of integrity, that I just couldn't accept, I would have no compunctions in getting up and just walking out of here and say: "Hey, guys, you take this job." What is important is that the job gets done and that people have a sense of accomplishment, community and dignity while they are doing it. That's what I think is important in a worksite. I am not that enamored with power that I would give up those things in order to maintain my power and control. I don't even think I have control over anything, not formal control. I think the influence comes from the relationships that you set up.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I don't think I have much power in my position. I think my power is in my ability to work well with students and to get things done. I think that written competence has been very helpful in being able to demonstrate that what you're saying is in fact true so that the relationship between what you predict and what you describe is a reality. Power is in you as an interpreter of reality, and that's the function of power that I would associate with. The other is personal power; all you have is persuasion if you don't have resources or clout

or a position high enough in the university. Personal power is automatically derived as a power base. I think competence and consistency are necessary components. People begin to come to you as a source of assistance or consultation, and recognize that your efforts develop a pattern of success whether you're doing them yourself or you are associated with what people see as successful.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

With the faculty who are on my committee, this position is a thankless job, as we always called it. It's not the type of position for somebody who really wants to go somewhere in an institution because my next position in this university is in another school. The dean claims if I stay with him for two more years, he will make me an associate dean. If he did that, I would derive power because he would be the first person to name a Black person as an associate dean. So he would get all kinds of recognition but at the same time in terms of power plays that are happening here, I could only get power through the faculty and through the students.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

Well, my position is powerful, but it's not something I like to hit people over the head with. I pride myself in having personal power.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

I've thought about that one myself. It's funny, people have often told me that I don't use the power that I have, but I think I do and I use it again getting back to that strategizing and politicking. It also, for me, has to do very much with being a woman and being a Black

woman. I know how to convince people to buy into my arguments, and I get power in my position from that. I'm not always successful at it, but I look at it in terms of my marriage. If I want my husband to do something and I know that in order for him to do it, it needs to be his decision, then I figure out how to make sure that it's his decision. So we're both happy. You know, he makes the decision, but I'm the one that kind of lays things out so that he can see this is going to be the best decision to make. And I do the same thing in my work. I do the same thing. It doesn't always work; I should be clear on that.

I think I probably have more power in that respect than I do in direct power for the level of the position that I'm in. Now you will, I'm sure, in the course of your research, talk with other people who have very direct power and can make decisions that will impact a lot of people and the institution itself. I am not in that kind of a position or at that level yet.

I am a team player. Theoretically, people want a team player. You have to get used to playing on a team and not being a loner. Sometimes we get kind of strayed off in doing our own thing and not really cognizant of how it fits into the total picture and whether you have to play on this team.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

I think I have a lot of influence on this campus. I think I am well respected and I think the reason I do that is because I have integrity, and if I have any power, that's the focus of it. I have a lot of integrity and I do very good work. I am consistent in employee relations. I have a reputation for being really fair so I think the source of my power would be in those elements.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

Simply by the title itself. The title of the position denotes power.

Patricia Davis

Director

Power is information so you better try to find out what it is you know, and what it is you are doing and that no one else knows as well as you do. You have to utilize all the networks you have and be willing to put in the extra time to gather the information. I find in a predominately White institution that the higher administrators let you do anything they think you can do better than anybody else. You just have to be able to work hard to demonstrate that capacity.

Theresa Ellison

Director

I think that power has a lot to do with control and control has a lot to do with staying power. You know, tenure allows you to say things that you would never say before. Power is in the product. If you can produce the results and in an exemplary way so that your public supports you in what you are doing, you are going to have some power. Power is information, so you have to learn to listen and store, recall and document. You have to try to become indispensable so that when someone thinks of the product, they think of you with it. And therefore, they respect you enough to ask your advice from your given viewpoint. And this is particularly true for women because you often have to shake that power in the faces of some of the males with whom you interact. Not in a negative way, but to let them know: "Do not mess with me."

Rene Manson

Director

I suppose there is a certain amount of power in my present position

in that I am left alone to do a job. No one else knows how the job should be performed; therefore, I am free to try different approaches. I receive only very general supervision. I do have the authority to recommend changes that are generally accepted.

Power, in the sense of the total campus, is nonexistent. My power, as I interpret it, is limited to my immediate office. The good rapport established with students is a form of power in that they tend to support my efforts. This has been beneficial when working with the Associated Students and others.

Robin Wheeler

Director

Power for me is formal power derived from this position. However, I must say that I don't feel very powerful. The only power I have is over people in this immediate office.

Analysis of Responses to Question about Power

Since managers are primarily concerned with influencing others, it seems obvious that they should be characterized by a high need for power. All of the administrators characterized themselves as having power but in varying degrees and manifestations. Eleven of the participants described their power in terms of formal authoritative power and informal personal power.

Their formal power was seen as a result of the position they held, while their personal power was based upon the amount of influence and persuasion they could exert within the system.

Four of the respondents spoke of empowering others. The literature

confirmed that power means different things to men and women. Studies have shown that women use power to empower others and that being a team player is important (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Four other respondents focused upon information and knowledge as their source of power. They embraced the notion that the power of decision making should be based upon factual information, and that they would have more influence in the process when they had more information than other people had.

The word power is thrown around with great abandon these days. We have power dressing, power walking, and power lunching. However, power can be viewed from two camps. One camp describes power as job-related. These are certain roles in our society and the person who has that role has power as in the presidential power. Carroll (1984) referred to this type of power as dominance or power over something or someone. She distinguished this type of power from that of the second camp which describes power as energy or the power to do something or someone. Power as energy is part of the concept of empowering others.

Hagberg (1984) described males and females in terms of how they used power. Men were ambitious, competitive, and rational in their use of power, while women were collaborative, purposeful, and generous in their use. A majority of the women in this study would agree with Hagberg's description of feminine power.

Career Issues

Career issues discussed by the administrators are presented and

analyzed in this section. The career questions addressed issues that were both external and internal to the institutions. The administrators were asked to respond to the following questions.

1. If you have been affected by either sexism or racism in your career development, tell me how you successfully overcame this obstacle.

2. How important is having a competitive spirit to your career advancement?

3. Do you believe that taking risks was essential to your success? If so, in what respect?

4. How has your ability to accomplish more and decide faster than your peers figured in your career success, if at all?

Responses of the Participants to the Question about Sexism and Racism

Question: If you were affected by either sexism or racism in your career development, tell me how you successfully overcame these obstacles.

Marie Allen

President

Well, I probably had both of them because I'm a mathematician. I majored in math and so early on I got exposed to sexism. I probably had the determination to succeed in that area as long as I had a good female role model that provided a lot of inspiration for me as well as support. So I learned very early to deal with men, and no one told me that a Black woman could succeed in mathematics. I would say that I probably had more discrimination for sex concerns rather than color and I just didn't know that I could deal with it but I did.

Joyce Pederson

President

The way to overcome racism and sexism is by amassing a great deal

of experience in order to be considered for jobs for which most men would have been hired on a basis of their potential alone. It's completely unfair, and I think this is the case with most women and certainly most Black women. They are normally very overqualified for the positions they get.

Margo Vaughn

President

I would think I have been affected by both, but I can't prove it. In two other searches I know that my sex and/or race--although I really don't know whether it was my race--played a very important negative role in my career development. It was probably a combination. I did not succeed in those two searches. I must say also how politics entered into one of the searches. I did have some political involvement in a job I did not get in New York City. I did not get it even though I was definitely eligible and was selected for it too. At the very last minute, politics played a bigger role, and therefore, I did not get the job and that was an unsuccessful component of my career. But in the total picture, sexism and racism have not stopped me from developing, and, as I have indicated to you, the jobs I moved on to have always been upward. I don't plan to change jobs. I now find that I am very pleased with where I am, and I have no immediate changes in mind as far as changing institutions.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

That is a hard question for me to answer because I think that earlier without consciously thinking about it, I decided that if a person is sexist or racist that person has a problem. It was not my

problem. So I had to recognize which people had that kind of problem. But I simply never let that get in my way. I think that's probably a result of having gone to predominately White schools. I had to make that decision earlier as a relative response. The second is I am a product of a women's school so therefore, I had a chance to develop strength that really prepared me to deal with sexism.

Betty Baker

Vice President

I do not think that any Black woman has successfully overcome it yet. We do overcome specific instances, but the phenomena is still there. I try not to get myself in a position of being surprised because that is when it hits you most.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

I think that if I have been affected by them, it has only been in minor incidents. When I was interviewed for a faculty position, the faculty members here did not know I was Black. I know they didn't know because when I walked in, their mouths were just wide open. They also wanted to know if I was Jewish; maybe I wouldn't have been hired if they knew. But my area of study at that time was speech communication. Speech communication people tend to be fairly liberal so I think they would have been delighted to have a Black female. They clearly knew I was a woman so that wasn't a factor. I am fairly outspoken so I am not going to take much stuff from anybody, and I make that very, very clear. In fact, when I was a faculty member, I used to battle with my boss. I admired him because he still hired me knowing that I'd take him on. But because I deal with these issues and get after other employees and

managers who are dealing with sexism and racism, there isn't a problem. The only thing I have heard is a kind of reverse sexism, that I'm "one of the boys." They say we don't worry about you, you don't act like those other women, you act like one of us, you know. You may sometimes observe women in large meetings dominated by men. Sometimes they are very quiet. I am not quiet with anything and I won't tolerate it in any audience. I have been with colleagues who will make a comment, and I will just call them on it right then and there. It certainly has not been something where I felt I'd have to go to someone for relief. I have been in situations where comments that I thought were offensive were expressed and I've dealt with them. But as for me as a target, I would say no.

Mary Smith

Vice President

No, they have not affected my career, although I know that both exist within this institution. I think that most often, they show up as a lack of training, guidance and informal support to other Black faculty members.

Donna Lane

Assistant Dean

Actually, I think I have been very lucky. First of all, I grew up in the south in a segregated school. Graduate school was my first integrated educational experience. Because I found so much insensitivity to issues of racism, it really, I think, developed in me a certain kind of commitment to doing something about that in academia which has really served me in good stead.

Barbara Odom

Dean

It's not just a matter of dealing with it in past tense. I think racism and sexism are something that we all sort of learn to live with in our institutions. I have a pretty strong personality. I relate to people as people, but people sometimes relate to me as a woman and sometimes they relate to me as being Black. I just don't let them get away with it. It's like you have to deal with me and my complexity; you don't get to explain me away as a woman. I will not allow you to explain me away as a female. You have to deal with me, first of all, as a human being with some complex ideas; secondly, if you're talking about university study or my institutional position, then you're going to have to make some decisions based on that, not based on my being a woman. Now that's individuality.

Institutionally, it's a lot harder because you're ingrained in the structure you work with some biases. Biases, for example, in the university system that doesn't allow time off for us to deal with issues that affect you or your children. And the fact that women tend to be more of a primary caretaker than men; men put that on women's shoulders. I know that when I first became dean, there were some raised eyebrows when I said that I missed a meeting when I took my child to the doctor. It was like having to justify to them that yes, we have other priorities. In some cases, women have to deal with what they think about issues that males don't have to do or think about, and women have to make that okay. What we should have is an institutional setting that allows flexibility for both men and women. That's what we should allow.

Racism is not as sexism is. There will be people who will not say racist things to me, but who will say sexist things to me. Most people figure out where the line is between sexism and racism. I really have not encountered any overt racism here at this institution. But I think there is an unspoken kind of philosophy that operates to prevent an affirmative action setting which will allow women, especially ethnic minority women, to be studied in their own right. They are not counted in studies that deal with minorities, and they are not counted in studies that deal with women. They are sort of in no man's land, so to speak. And that is racism as well as sexism--in terms of statistics, in terms of research, and in terms of looking at ethnic women and women of color and their particular perspective on things.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

Sexism and racism are rampant, particularly and predominantly in White institutions. I felt the strength of sexism being one of the few Black women administrators on this campus. I was sort of a role model, mother and sister. I had to break down stereotypes that cut across racial barriers in terms of what men are supposed to do and what women are supposed to do in administrative positions and in collegial relationships. Racism is, of course, alive and well at this place and basically I've just tried to confront it both in writing and programatically and also try to help pass on information to the students so that they can make better choices and help confront it at their level. I strongly believe that students have the ultimate power in institutional settings--at least for short term changes or for

confronting the institution and helping the people in it understand that what they are providing is not a quality campus life environment.

So that has been my approach to it and I think we have had a lot of success. Now my job calls for the initiative anyway, so I have been fortunate to have that as a requirement. I'm not quite sure what it would be like if I didn't have that written into whatever position I've held on campus. This university doesn't believe that the ethnic focus is sufficient to justify a full time position. So I have always had a very competitive mainstream function, competitive in terms of time so I have attempted to look for ways to improve diversity in this mainstream function. Then I require excellence and high standards in the areas that are related to the Black functions. I call attention to what students are capable of doing, what Black programs can be in terms of enhancing the quality of campus life for the institution.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

When I was at another college, the person who was my mentor there--and that was before I even knew what the word meant--was a person who was a nonminority. He was Portuguese and Chinese; he was all mixed up but he was not Black and yet he had a real impact on my life because he helped me quite a bit when I was there and even further down the road.

When I was in undergraduate school, I became involved with a Black student group. In fact, I went to a small women's college. There were three Blacks in the entire student body and the other two girls had "come out," and I did not even know what "coming out" meant. They were

from New Orleans. Well, I came out from the ghetto and didn't know what they were talking about and so they used me. Whenever the college administrators had to recruit, or have people come up to talk about the cultural programs or what the school was doing for minorities, they always introduced me and I ended up doing the recruiting. So I worked with the director of admissions, and we increased the number from three to 25 within a year. The next year we organized, and I became president of what we called "Soul Sisters of United Leadership" and through that I got to meet all the administrators at the college. And it was the president of the college who gave my name as a person who should be in Who's Who in Black America. In fact, that's how I ended up getting in, because I was nominated by him.

What I always have tried to do with people is work fair and if I found a listening ear, I didn't care what color the person was. Then I would try to learn from that person and I would lean on that person for help if I felt that person could teach me. Or if that person could in some way have impact on decisions that were going to affect minority students or minority people, then I in essence turned that person into a mentor unless the person was just out and out crazy! With my first boss I decided that what I should do in this case is show him how valuable I could be. I just tried to use my ability as best as I could, to do the job so that I could prove myself, my value. Then you just take it from there.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

I know for a fact that I have been turned down for jobs because of

my race. And I was passed over once because of my gender. We unfortunately embody two minority labels at the same time. You can't allow the ignorance of others to stop your progression. I have prepared myself to accept the fact that both racism and sexism exist. It's hard not to suspect everyone, but you can't allow this to cripple your relationships with others. Black women need to guard against this.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

Sexism and racism are very subtle now, I think, as opposed to ten years ago, and sometimes it may be much more difficult to identify them. Many people feel that it's easy to tag somebody in saying: "Well, hey, you called me a nigger, you called me a dipshit, or you're the one that pinched me," or this or that or the other thing. And if the world can see that and hear that, that is what's easy to identify. Some people are feeling more comfortable about using that kind of a response in terms of racism. It's interesting to see what some of the students are coming out with. But, by and large, I think people are still afraid to show that, and when I have felt issues of sexism and racism coming out, I tend to try and make sure that I'm getting all the data. I'll look for other signs, you know, I'll check things out with other people, and maybe not say: "Hey, you know I think this guy is racist." But I'll find out from other people what their interactions have been, and sometimes it will come out that way and then you do whatever it takes to have that person deal with the problem, even sometimes forcing that person to deal with it.

I'm doing it right now with someone who has been able to admit that

he has a difficult time dealing with issues like affirmative action and so on. Yet, the behavior doesn't change. There's a recognition of the problem, but the behavior hasn't yet changed. And we're just on him and that means having some direct conversations and having some indirect conversations when appropriate. If you're meeting with a lot of people who don't know what's going on, you don't want to sit there and have a battle with them, so you pick your time and you strategize again about how to deal with that. If it gets real ugly, then you do whatever you have to do in the way of going to unions, or to a grievance, if it has to go through a civil proceeding. I haven't gotten into the really ugly stuff in my personal experience in terms of dealing with court cases, but I have done the other thing--writing letters, for instance.

I got into some real hot water a few years back because there was some concern on the part of a selection committee on which I served. The affirmative action person that had been working with us and the minority personnel felt that this particular unit did not need to focus on the issue of affirmative action. But, when you looked at the unit and the level of the position, it was an issue. So I got the folks on the committee together and said: "Now wait a minute. Some of us are feeling like this isn't quite what we should be about." Then all of a sudden it was like everyone agreed. So we drafted a letter and asked to have the positions clarified. What should we be doing here? What really is the commitment and the expectation? You know, of course, people went buzzing around and everyone was upset, and some folks decided to bail ship and say: "No, wait, that's not what I wanted to say and what I

wanted to do." But I think when you make decisions to go that route, you need to think about it carefully and make sure that if the water gets hot that you're going to stay in there and not bail out. So, that's how I have dealt with racism and sexism.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

I have used racism and sexism to my advantage. I am a sociologist so my perspective is a sociological one, and I think that all subordinate parties know more about dominant parties than the other way around. And so I used my invisibility and I used knowing more about the other folks than they knew about me to do unexpected things. I find I have more freedom, and I can get away with things that other folks can't get away with. I don't mean get away with in the sense of not working or flaking out, but in the sense of doing my job well. I have to tell a lot of people "no," and I conduct grievances and hand out discipline notices, and I have to deal with sexual harrassment. I do it, not the way most people do it. I do it with compassion so I bring my special perspective as a Black woman to my work and as a nontraditional Black woman to my work. People think I'm good, but they can't figure me out and I don't worry about that. I don't feel any need to tell them. All I ask of them is respect. I think it doesn't work if you can't claim it. I find that I not only have to claim it; I insist on it. Yet I know how to act.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

I don't think I have run into any roadblocks as I think back on it. There may have been some, but I was not aware of them.

Patricia Davis

Director

I think there is not a Black woman around who has never been affected by both. You kind of assume that you're going to be affected by them and you plan your strategies for dealing with them. One was to try to find those people who would give me an opportunity to function independently of my race and/or sex. A second one was to work harder and point out that I was able to do what I was assigned to do and more. I find that in terms of sexism, you will kind of get yourself involved, and I've had more support from White females in advancing my career in administration than I've had from anybody else. They're larger in number; they've been always very supportive to me. I got into administration because White females identified me as the person on campus who had the best chance of being promoted as administrator. They nominated me and went to bat for me.

Theresa Ellison

Director

Undoubtedly, I have been affected by both, but I think sexism has been the primary issue for me because I work by and large with White males who first have a perception about females and then second, about Black females. It has been important for me to refrain from carrying my ego on my shoulder and to pick my battles. For instance, it's important not fly off the handle because some risque joke is made between the fellows and scream out that I am offended. I want to pick my battles in ways that leave my male counterparts with their egos as much as possible intact while communicating what it is I need to communicate.

Rene Manson

Director

I have been confronted with both sexism and racism. The obstacles have not been overcome, but I have learned to deal with both so as to lessen the self-induced stress. The position I currently hold was for many years performed by a White male. For years, campus staff could not adjust to a female in this role. Racism has been shown in the lack of mobility. As an employee, I went through the graduate program in education, with an emphasis on student personnel services. I believed that this course of study would enable me to advance in student affairs. But I was turned down for all the positions for which I applied. I was very selective about the positions I applied for in order to show that I did not just want any job just to advance. But advancement was very slow.

Robin Wheeler

Director

Racism and sexism are so settled that I'm sure they play a role. I think that if I were to leave this position tomorrow, then it would be necessary for me to meet the right person. Even though our institution seems to have a Black community, I wasn't even aware of that until somebody told me because the majority of our students are White. We have little Black enrollment. When I first came to this area, I wondered where all the Blacks were. They do surface periodically, and I have seen more of them since I first came here.

I'm sure that racism exists. It's alive and well. The second thing is that I know sexism is present because there are some things that are done that are very, very obvious. For example, we have a White

female dean and each year we have an orientation meeting where all the deans are presented to the faculty. They didn't introduce her until last and that was just so obvious. It was just a slap in her face, and she is a high achiever in that she knows where she is headed and she attempts to get there. She knows the way to get there and how to do it, but she was never accepted. All our deans here are men.

Analysis of the Responses about Racism and Sexism

Equal opportunity in the workplace has been a matter of law for more than two decades. Even so, Black professionals continue to face formidable obstacles to success.

Discrimination based upon racism and sexism against women seeking jobs continues to be a serious problem in the nation's colleges and universities, despite a widespread perception to the contrary, according to a study released by the University of California (Roark, 1987).

Nine of the respondents felt that their career development had been affected by either racism or sexism or both. Some recalled specific instances while others presented general accounts.

All of the other participants stated that both racism and sexism existed within the university setting, although they did not see their own careers as having been affected by either one or both.

One of the administrators originally nominated for participation in this study recently settled her multimillion dollar race discrimination suit against the North Orange County Community College District on October 8, 1987. Leadie Clark was the first Black chancellor of a

community college district when she was appointed in 1977. Her federal lawsuit was filed in April, 1985. Clark is still looking for a job as a community college chancellor.

With both racism and sexism, the essential element revolves around the theme of dominance. For years, men have dominated women and Whites have dominated Blacks and other minorities. Members of dominant groups use their accepted superior power to demean and subvert the attempts of people in subordinate groups to equalize the state of power. The task then is to convince the dominant group to relinquish some of its power, a task not widely accomplished at present. Economic strength is probably the most efficient method of equalizing power.

Responses of the Participants to the Questions Concerning Competitive Spirit

Question: How important is having a competitive spirit to your career advancement?

Marie Allen

President

Well, I don't think competition has been important because I didn't aspire to be a president; it just happened. I wanted to be dean of instruction.

Joyce Pederson

President

Totally, because more is expected and in order for one to be judged equal, one has to be much better, much faster and just exhibiting more superior performance in all ways. Competition has been the key element.

Margo Vaughn

President

Yes, competition is important, but people have to remember that

geographical mobility is very much involved in competition. You can hardly stay in the same location and expect to find, by luck, that you can get a job moving you up in the administration. Now it may be that if one is in a densely populated area, one might be able to move from one college in the same region to another one. But very often you don't usually cross systems. You can cross from a university system to a college system, but not from a community college to a four year college, and not a four year college to a community college. But very often if you are involved in, let's say, the UC system and you would be very attractive as a junior administrator from the UC system, you would be very attractive to the CSU system or the private system because of the status of the institution from which you come. But you would rarely be selected from a community college to go to a four year college because there are special differences in community colleges. All of them are very fine, wonderful institutions but different.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

I think that I could only talk about me as a person. My motivation is not competitive, and I have never particularly wanted to be one of the pack of hounds chasing a mechanical rabbit. I just don't work that way. My approach is much more cooperation. I am much more interested in moving groups of people along to the positions that have to be made rather than running out and making them so I can be first and then have the credit.

Betty Baker

Vice President

It is very important in a positive sense. Not in the sense of it's

you or me, do or die, or that kind of spirit, but I think that someone in a career such as mine has to recognize that competition is a factor. There are really not a lot of new jobs in higher education and not very many new universities are being created so it's a matter largely of just changes in personnel and the same people available for those positions. This means, then, that you must compete with colleagues who are often not at the same university, for positions at the next higher level. In that sense competition is important. But for success on the job, for example, I don't expect to change my career in the next four years; therefore, a competitive spirit is not really a part of what I am doing now.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

In my own way, I am not particularly ambitious, and I have been selective in what I want to do. I think you have to have a spirit. I don't know if I would use the word competitive, because it's sometimes more important to be a team player rather than buying in for yourself. I think you have to have a kind of enjoyment for your job. I've been in my position for ten years and it's just like I started three years ago; I mean it's still good. So that's important, but I think sometimes women make the mistake that they have to do what men do and I don't do that. I am the third person in charge of the university, and there is no way that I can cut somebody's throat or something.

Mary Smith

Vice President

Competition is keen in a university and you must be able to rise to the occasion. Having a competitive spirit gives you that extra drive.

There are only a limited number of positions at the top, and you must be highly competitive in order to obtain one.

Donna Lane

Dean

It is absolutely essential. And I say that even though I did not have any aspiration in terms of administration. But when it comes to competition in terms of being regarded as a scholar in excellence and all that kind of stuff, I feel that is the thing that separates the people who really make it from the people who don't. So the competition is within yourself, but it's there.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I think it's important. I don't think it needs to overshadow your humanity. I am a competitive person by nature; I like competition. I don't necessarily think competition needs to be hurtful. I am particularly interested in personal development, personal growth, and I compete more than other people, against myself. I am always setting goals for myself and going out and achieving them. I sometimes set my goals too high, but I expect more from myself than I do from other people. I think there is a certain amount of that competitive spirit that is involved in any situation where there is a pyramid, and as you get to the top there is more and more that you have to do to distinguish yourself from other people. You have to talk about why it's important that you have the job first, then someone else. And I think again, women are not socialized to do that--to brag about themselves and to inflate what they do. But I think if you talk about your strengths and you lay them out there, a lot of those strengths should speak for

themselves since you have the experience. If a situation comes up as challenging, I believe in going for it. I believe in trying to come up with the idea or to come up with the solution, the program that is going to change things. If that's being competitive, I guess I am competitive enough.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I think it's important because I think you have to be willing to compete professionally with your peers, whoever they are. At certain points, people don't want to compete; if, for example, you find out that your Black colleague is going after a similar position. I think you have to look at competition as healthy, but at the same time you have to have a system of cooperation that you call upon so that you can all go to work together to help make everyone's job easier and I've really drawn on those resources on campus. I sort of called everybody in to get involved in student life because there are so few of us anyway and students need so much. They need to have that friendly face or that inviting face in all areas of the university and that can't be done by one person or one office. So I think both cooperation and competition are necessary to advance your career. When you are called upon to demonstrate your competence, you have to do that as though you were in competition. And you are always in competition when you are in a position like mine to show that you are not favoring your Black responsibility. In fact, your competence is measured by how well you do in the mainstream.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

I think it's important especially in this school because I am

working almost entirely with men. Most of the women are support staff and secretarial staff. We have a few women teachers and they are mainly White females. In terms of administration I am the only Black woman on the dean's floor. I am the only Black administrator in this school so I mainly work with men--men who feel that women should be secretaries. And Black women, well, I don't know what they feel about us.

Mary Carlisle

Assistant Dean

As a Black woman, I have to compete with people from all ethnic backgrounds including White men and women and Black men. We all are after scarce resources. If you want to advance in this profession, you have to have a competitive spirit. I don't mean that in a nasty way. I mean you must have the basics and then some. It's also important to cooperate.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

It's as important as having a competitive spirit. Well, you know, I say that in all sincerity; I mean it's a nice way of sidestepping the issue, but also I believe that. I mentioned earlier, I think that I had better be my best competitor. So, in that sense, I'm very, very competitive. And that gets me into trouble with kind of balancing my life at times, but then you know I don't know too many people who are the go-getters in the world who don't have to deal with that problem. But, the other part is knowing how to deal with people, and when to compete and when to cooperate. And sometimes when not to compete. One of the things that I think we as Black people can work on is cooperating

in terms of helping each other to move ahead and recognizing the competitive aspect of any profession. It's not just higher education. I've had situations where I've gone into a pool with friends, and we acknowledged: "Hey, let's help each other and if you don't get it, then I want it. If I don't get it, then I want you to have it." That's the cooperative-competitive win that I see. You go out for it together and you feel good about if you get it or if the other person gets it, or if neither of you get it but that you both worked together.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

It is absolutely important, although it's not what fuels me. To me, it's an internal standard of achievement. I compete a lot with myself.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

I think it is very important because it is necessary for me to achieve and to do a job well. If there is a challenge there, that is food for me and I go after it.

Patricia Davis

Director

Very important. In order to survive in this environment, you must be very competent which allows you to compete with other colleagues.

Theresa Ellison

Director

Extremely important. You have to want it, and you have to be willing to get out there and show that you want it. You must have integrity. I feel that very strongly. There is no one that I have ever worked with before that I can't face again. I really do not believe in playing games. I believe in winning because you have earned it, not

because you have hurt other people being dishonest and so forth. But I think you have to be ambitious; you have to go a little bit beyond being assertive at times and be a compassionate aggressor.

Rene Manson

Director

I do not believe that a competitive spirit on this campus has anything to do with career advancement. You are either one of the chosen, or you are not.

Robin Wheeler

Director

Having a competitive spirit is very important to career development. Competition drives our culture. But as women, we must also be willing to sometimes help each other. I see cooperation as important too. We need to help each other move along.

Analysis of the Responses about Having a Competitive Spirit

Healthy competition can be an important tool for managers. It can perhaps keep one focused and can assist in bringing out all of one's talents. On the other hand, competition, much like absolute power, corrupts. Healthy competition can serve to help balance positional power and prevent arrogance.

Fifteen of the respondents stated that to be part of faithful opposition (much as a minority party functions in a legislature) is important to the competitive spirit of the organization and to the career development of the administration.

Even though these administrators were competitive, they preferred to compete with themselves. Self-competition was seen as more desirable than competition among peers.

Fisher (1988) has observed that competition today among working women is an exceedingly sore subject, more charged than sex, money or religion, "perhaps the last remaining conversational taboo" (p. 34). This was not found to be true among this sample. However, Fisher observed that women in competition were their own worst enemies and questioned whether women were meaner to each other than men were. Kanter (1985) would explain the existence of this question by recognizing that women in management are still a minority, and as such they feel powerless. Therefore, women see other women rather than men as competing directly for scarce status and power.

Men and women are taught to compete in different ways. Men compete and play by the rules of organized sports while women are playing by what Fisher called "Mother's Rules." This type of competition has been described by men as cat fighting and has done incalculable damage to women's chances of being taken seriously by their male peers and bosses.

The findings from this group of respondents suggest that the queen bee manager--the female boss who contrives to keep other women down--who was promoted in the 1960s and 1970s is no longer a problem. In fact, some observers think that the queen bee is becoming an endangered species.

Six of the 15 administrators were concerned with the need for a cooperative spirit, as well as competition. Three said that helping people move ahead and moving people along were more important than moving themselves at the expense of others. One wanted to work together and another respondent placed importance on being a team player.

Four of the respondents, or 21%, did not feel that having a competitive spirit was important to their career development. This may perhaps suggest that these women were also more interested in cooperative behavior.

Responses of the Participants to the Question Concerning Risk Taking

Question: Do you believe that taking risks was essential to your success? If so, in what respect?

Marie Allen

President

I definitely think so. When I look back on how I first got to be a dean, at the risks that I took, I almost shudder! I left this institution where I had been a faculty member for ten years. I gave that up to go to Kansas City to work as the dean of instruction for a brand new school. I didn't know that the school was going to be successful or that I was going to be successful. But I think that I enjoyed the challenge of trying to get the school started. Not knowing people and having to develop relationships can be a whole can of worms. It was all quite challenging and quite risky, and the fact that I was able to be very successful in that arena, I think, can build up an inspiration.

Joyce Pederson

President

I had to take risks in terms of mobility. I have worked on both coasts. In order to obtain the levels of advancement that were important to me, I have had to take a number of risks in terms of moving from one community to another and also in terms of going from one university to a community college. I will probably take more risks in

my career and there are job security risks that go with that because the absence of tenure is in itself a risk.

Margo Vaughn

President

Risk taking is important but not paramount to my career development.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

Absolutely! I think that if I wasn't willing to take risks I would probably still be a research assistant at the university where I started. I feel it is important for me to experience a sense of autonomy in what I do, and part of that feeling of autonomy is knowing that I can walk away from this job, that there is a line in my gut below which I will not go, that I will not compromise my integrity. So there have been times when acting out of a sense of my own ethical center that I have taken risks because I have been willing to lose.

Betty Baker

Vice President

Yes, but not paramount. It was a significant factor, and I'm not just playing with words, I don't think. One must be willing to take risks because in higher education, as you know, there isn't any decision that's really sacred. In fact, there is this other group of administrative fellows who want to talk to me about a decision. All decisions can be challenged so that it is necessary to weigh the factors as carefully as possible and to look at the alternatives and consequences, both negative and positive, and determine if they are all following one direction rather than another direction, and then you do it. So you are always taking risks and it is very important that you

take risks, but they are calculated risks. They are informed risks to the extent possible.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

You have to be able to risk and try it, or to say this isn't going to work and not try it. I think you have to be a risk taker to a certain degree.

Mary Smith

Vice President

I wouldn't say that it is paramount, but it certainly has been important. People who never take risks have very little to show for their safe behavior. Decision making always involves a risk because not everyone is always going to agree with your decision. You must frequently risk failure to gain success.

Donna Lane

Dean

Some others might consider it paramount in a sense. I have never felt it necessary except as something I have to live with. You take the risks that by the time you find out what is worth putting up with in order to stay here, it would be too late. I think risk taking has been something that I have constantly had to do.

Barbara Odom

Dean

The job of a dean is to provide leadership. Leadership by definition means you take risks because there are things you're looking at that other people can't see. There are places you want to go that other people can't see, and it is up to you to negotiate how to get there. Again, other people can't always see what it is you're thinking. I think that you have to be able to take risks in environments where

people trust you, so it's a matter of building a foundation of trust. In working with people as I do, I am pretty consultative about what I do. You work with people so that when you do take that risk, people feel comfortable and don't challenge you as much. You work with people enough so that they know you and you know them. So when you do something like that, your faculty supports you, and then the administrators that you report to also support you. They don't always understand what it is you are doing, but they figure if they have confidence in you and your ability to make good decisions, then they will back you.

If you don't take risks, then you haven't gained anything as I see it. Part of living, part of life, part of moving on to the next level is getting out there because if it weren't, it would have happened a long time ago. People who are leaders have to be out there by themselves sometimes. And most of the time, I do things based on intuition, based on when I have a good feeling that this is the right thing to do. I would have thought about it a long time and I would have weighed things, but if it feels like the right thing to do or if it is something that is going to benefit the program in the long run, then I go for it. I don't take hazardous risks; I take calculated risks, and I do it after all the scientific evidence is weighed. Then there is a point where you just go for it.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I think you have to be bold. I think these institutions are still grappling with what to do with us now that they've let us in here.

We're not going very far, very fast. If you don't ask, you don't get. Sometimes you have to ask for things that seem outrageous because that moves the institution a little closer to creating what should be there anyway if they're going to really be promoting cultural diversity as they espouse. I think you have to take risks; you have to operate within systems of protocol and use appropriate procedures. But you also have to be bold.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

Yes, I do. Risk taking is paramount in getting promotions for sure. My boss could have just said, see you later, but he did not. You have to set the stage so people don't say no, and that's taking a risk. But if you set it right, I think you are going to get what you want.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

Life itself is a risk. Taking risks is important but they should be weighed against the consequences. Every time I take a new position, I take a risk because very little is ever certain.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

Yes. I'm a risk taker. But I'm a calculated risk taker.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

Probably at every level. Coming out here, being forty years old, and saying I'm this Black woman you need, I think was risky. Turning down a teaching job at Harvard was risky, but I just knew that something else was happening. I have taken jobs on 24 hour notice, and I bopped off to Africa once to do a job that turned into a long range one. My career path, salary, and income have looked like a checker board and I

think that is risk taking. I'm too old now to be comfortable about being too poor, so I am feeling sometimes a little sad about my inability to be as flexible as I was.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

Yes, I think so. I was willing to take on new jobs that I had not done before or jobs that actually had to be designed. The willingness to move out of known territory into unknown territory is taking a risk. I have never been afraid to take risk.

Patricia Davis

Director

Yes, and in every respect. You have to be willing to take on new challenges and if you are not quite sure, you have to be willing to move from one place to the other even though it would be probably easier for you and your immediate personal life to stay where you are. You have to go where the opportunities are.

Theresa Ellison

Director

Absolutely, you cannot play it safe and make it. Look at the way that I took this job. I could have remained an associate director for the rest of my life here, but I wanted this job and it seemed like the best way to go, so I went after it. But it was a major risk because there was no new money and that cut out some other options in the other unit with which I worked. I think you have to take risks; regularly you have to expose yourself, not in personal ways, but I mean to just get out there and make some hard decisions that politically everybody is not going to agree with. And then you have to have the ability to be able to work through that.

Rene Manson

Director

In a sense, taking risks has been important. I have dared to be comfortable with myself. I know my abilities, and I happen to like me. This has enabled me to be up front in dealing with my superiors without being antagonistic. I have tried to deal positively with my disappointments.

Robin Wheeler

Director

I believe in taking risks but they must be calculated risks. Taking a risk can be paramount to any career. You even take a risk just in selecting your career. So yes, risks are always involved so they must be weighed.

Analysis of The Responses about Risk Taking

Risk taking is a behavior frequently associated with leaders and managers. Being able to take a risk means that you accept the responsibility and consequences of potential failure. Being able to take a chance or gamble with one's career development was seen as beneficial for these administrators.

The respondents expressed their risk taking behavior in terms of getting promotions, being comfortable with oneself, mobility, and decision making. Making a decision requires the decision maker to risk being wrong. Seven of the nine line administrators spoke of risk taking in terms of the decisions they were required to make.

All of the respondents felt that risk taking was essential to their

success. Their descriptions of risk taking included such statements as "you must be willing to move to unknown territory" and "if you don't take risks, then you haven't gained anything." One administrator noted that "leadership by definition means you have to take risk."

Although all of the administrators saw risk taking as an essential component to their success, it was not without a few caveats since the administrators made the following comments: (1) don't take hazardous risks; (2) take only calculated risks; (3) weigh things; (4) be willing to lose; and (5) deal positively with your disappointments.

Responses of the Participants to the Questions Concerning Accomplishing More and Deciding Faster

Question: How has your ability to accomplish more and decide faster than your peers figured in your career success, if at all.

Marie Allen

President

Well, I'm not sure I think faster. In fact, that's very interesting because this last Monday, I did a leadership workshop with my staff and revealed to them my scores on the leadership tests that were taken, as well as my personality inventory scores. I'm not sure that I think faster, but I am a very thorough person because of my background and training in mathematics. We are very analytical, and I apply those same skills in my every day work. So it's not that I think faster; it's that I am more thorough probably, whereas other people are dealing with their intuition. Not that I don't use intuition, I

certainly do. But other people are dealing with their feelings, and I am dealing with the facts; and I just can cut through things very quickly and just get right to the heart of it. I think that has helped me.

Joyce Pederson

President

As I said earlier, especially with Black women who are not initially respected or taken seriously, it is very, very important to have done more, to write better, to have a fuller, more sophisticated presentation in order to be taken seriously to begin with. Certainly in order to be entrusted with responsible positions, it has been absolutely essential.

Margo Vaughn

President

If I had not been able to accomplish more than my peers, this job never would have been offered to me. In this type of position, you must be able to offer something more than your competitors.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

No, I don't think so, but I don't really like this question.

Betty Baker

Vice President

The ability I have is that from the beginning I asked for a great variety of things to do. In an administrative position, it is very easy to do nothing. You can do as little as you want--for a while anyway--or as much as you want. I think that my ability is my willingness to accomplish more and to do more things.

Deciding faster is another issue. The kind of position that I have is not a competitive one. Going back to your earlier question, I still am not certain about the answer to a competitive spirit because there is

only one academic vice president in the university. The other vice presidents have different responsibilities, and I have to cooperate and work with them. So I think that deciding faster is not important in this kind of situation. It is necessary to act promptly and to not procrastinate and to not give the impression of stumbling and fumbling or the decision will be made by default. So it isn't a matter of being faster than someone who is a peer so much as it is being faster than the situation can change.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

I do not quite understand that question. I would think that because I am an effective administrator, the president pays me marvelous compliments publicly. I am one of his best administrators. He also knows that I am very loyal to him, but I think that I am very effective also. Even so, I know that I am on a systemwide team. I'm the one that's called upon, I am aware of the recognition, and I know that I am successful. I guess that means I can accomplish more.

Mary Smith

Vice President

I am not sure I understand this question. I've made some accomplishments but probably not more than my peers.

Donna Lane

Dean

I certainly don't think I have always decided faster about things. I think on the one hand, I try to make decisions based on rational thinking rather than out of an emotional kind of content which sometimes does take a little more time to do. On the other hand, I think, with the students, one of the things they really get upset about the faculty

is that some of the faculty do not have the sense of their own timeframes.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I think my success has been the result of being capable but also being at the right places at the right time. Timing is critical, and I think this is something that I have been able to take advantage of. Case in point. In terms of my peers, when I discovered that I had the knack for doing this administrator stuff, I found it just sort of comes natural to me. Then I thought, oh, sure, I see both sides of most issues. I see that there is another side; I see another way to do this. Being a faculty member, sometimes you get a narrow myopia from above. As a faculty member, I never had the opinion that everything that the administration did to us was malicious or was deliberately done.

And I think some of this knack for doing administration may have to do with some of the problems that I worked out in the real world before I came into the university. I've always been involved in community activity and voluntary activity and have always run programs and have had some nonuniversity management experience, from a teenager on. From being the superintendent of a Sunday School to running this or that group, being president of this or that club, I have always had a knack for leadership kinds of things. And then I became a faculty member. I always had that other view, but I'm not unique that way. There are other professors who have also had those kinds of experiences. I think what happened is that I was offered opportunities at critical points along my life, and I took advantage of the positions offered me at other

levels that my peers were not able to get, like the administrative fellowship experience as a junior faculty member. When I was in a graduate school, I got awarded a foundation fellowship for minority students at the time when the fellowship first came out. I was also first in an administrative fellowship program. There were a couple of other firsts that I was able to take advantage of. Being capable is necessary but timing is critical.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

I think that I am just very determined and very persistent and that I tend to not let the normal kinds of barriers stand in my way. I think those are the qualities that I have contributed, the ability to get positions that seem to be progressing me up the ladder of administration. As much as I'd like to kill the myth of the superwomen, I think most administrators, and particularly in places like this, have to show some kind of commitment to the institution, to the job, and to professionalism that does require a superhuman effort if you're going to juggle other things like families and personal commitments. So you have to exert what looks like a superhuman effort to be competent and to keep your life together. So I'm not sure it's making decisions faster; I think it's persistence and determination.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

My peers are here; we all have different jobs. I would say it has definitely made a difference. When you are a minority person, you end up doing everything for minority kids. My office takes care of everything: minority fellowships, minority scholarships for

undergraduates, minority recruitments, and every tension that has to do with minority people. What I am trying to do is to get the other people I work with to do the same type of work with me as they would do for the dean. For instance, in development, I have to write proposals; I raise all my money. All the money for my program has been raised by me and I get no money from the school. The only thing the administrators give me is my salary. Everything else I have to get from the outside. But we are trying to turn this around. I definitely think it has, but I can't compare this situation with my peers so much since we are doing different things. But I would say that the things I do accomplish, especially those that impact on the whole school of engineering, are probably things that my other peers can't do or don't have the responsibility to do. And because of that when I do it and it is successful, then it looks like, well, she is accomplishing a lot more than her peers who are also doing what they are supposed to do, but their job responsibilities are so different so it may not look to outsiders like they are getting a lot done.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

I don't know how to respond to this question. Accomplish more and decide faster? No, I don't think so.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

My ability to work faster and accomplish more? Well, I'm sure those have played a role. But I don't know any more so than they have for anybody else. We're in a society that supports and recognizes and rewards working fast and doing a lot. We're quantity and quality. You

go to another culture, and that's not usually the case. So, I think if one is to survive and excel in this kind of an environment with Americanized values that, yes, people who do stuff faster and better are going to be those that will be seen, and the people who are seen are the ones that are going to get the jobs.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

This question doesn't make any sense to me.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

I don't know how to answer that questions because I feel that I have actually been very slow in achieving what you might term success in relationship to other people.

Patricia Davis

Director

I work very hard. I work fourteen hours a day, almost six days a week. I'm older so I am not as physically angry as a number of my Black sisters. Because I am older and more mature, and although I am in a junior administrative position, most of the men like the senior vice president who is only three weeks older than I am, treat me differently than they treat an incoming new person. I'm with a prestigious university so I don't tend to react in the same way to a lot of things as other Black women might because I figure that my goal is to get as much as I can and to move ahead, and I choose my battles and ignore a lot of things.

Theresa Ellison

Director

It's hard to be there. You know as you asked that question, I was recalling my grandmother. I was raised by my grandmother who was

probably the most intelligent woman I had ever met and she was a domestic. But I remember her saying to me, "You could never be as good as, you have to be better." In the sixties I felt, damn, this is a burden; I want to just be me, but she was right. So I have to do extra reading. I am also a mother and a single parent. I am about to change the single part, so many nights I don't get to bed until one or two a.m. because I want to do an analysis of a report or budget carefully so that when we come together, I am ahead. And that is because it's often perceived that women and women of color are behind, so you have to compensate for that.

Rene Manson

Director

I don't understand this question.

Robin Wheeler

Director

I can't answer that question.

Analysis of the Responses about Accomplishing More and Deciding Faster

The career issue of being able to accomplish more and decide faster than one's peers was analyzed by using a continuum relating to confidence. Responses were placed under the headings of confident, somewhat confident, not confident.

Only four of the nineteen respondents were confident of their ability to decide faster and accomplish more than their peers. Seven other respondents were somewhat degree confident and qualified their responses by focusing upon other issues such as willingness, success, being thorough, critical timing, and being in the right place at the right time.

Eight of the respondents were flatly not confident in their abilities. An unplanned group of responses fell under the not confident category of no response. Six of the respondents stated in one way or another that they did not understand the question and thus could not respond. However, just as making no decision is a decision, electing not to respond to a statement embracing a view of self-confidence perhaps would indicate a lack of confidence. Shakeshaft (1987) proposed that:

what has often been seen as a personal foiling of women--lack of self-confidence--might be more accurately seen as a consequence of a sex-structured society that generates a belief in females that they lack ability--a belief reinforced by an organizational system that prevents women from developing confidence in public sphere activities through both lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback. This, then is an external, not an internal, barrier to women and one that flourishes in and can be traced to a male-dominated society.
(p. 85)

Even though all the administrators held positions requiring a high level of skill and ability, 32% (six) of the respondents were not willing to recognize their accomplishments.

However, a lack of self-confidence must not be compared to a lack of self-esteem. Shakeshaft observed that "self-confidence is a narrower construct than self-esteem, focusing on performance expectancies and self-evaluation of abilities and completed performance" (p. 85). The

findings of this study suggest that, in general, this group of Black women were reluctant to boast about their accomplishments.

Future Vision

The participants were asked to reflect on their goals for the future in terms of making contributions to society. In addition, they were asked to evaluate what impact their contributions, if made, would have on the success of their careers.

Responses of Participants to the Question Concerning Their Contribution to Society Contribution

Question: How much does making a contribution to society contribute to your feeling of success in your career?

Marie Allen

President

I think it figures heavily. I believe that I am making a significant contribution, especially to my community. I feel that I am a leader in the community and that when I perform outside of the institution people see me as a capable person and a successful person, not only in the institution but also in the community. I have become a role model for the people in the community, not only for Black women but all women actually and all people because they see a person who perhaps came from a very modest or less than optimal beginning. By hard work you can really achieve your goal, which wasn't my purpose originally but you can see that you can be very, very successful and get anything you want if you are willing to work hard and make the appropriate sacrifices.

Joyce Pederson

President

A great deal, or I would be in private industry somewhere earning much more money. It thrills me to see people work hard and graduate at commencement, which is why I have accepted this position in this community college. What we do matters so much more because the people have to overcome so many obstacles.

Margo Vaughn

President

Making a contribution to society is most important to both myself and my career development. As an educator I can contribute directly through the students I have contact with and through my time spent in community activity. I feel a need to give back something for all that I've received from our society. I am concerned with the development of our youth who will ultimately control our society. I'd like to feel that I helped to make this world a better place through them.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

Making a contribution to society is the ultimate in success in my opinion. Today's students are our future. What better way to contribute to society than by helping the future leaders of our society.

Betty Baker

Vice President

It contributes a great deal. I don't have a strong feeling of success, from the way you use that term in most of your questions. I understand that it is an assumption and maybe that's part of what I object to. I know that it can be done and should be done, but the position that I am in is very important to me especially as a Black and as a woman, and it is very important to the community. It has a very

important community involvement component, partly because of the very kind of the thing you are doing which I think is very important. It is very important for other women to know that it's possible to do the same kind of thing. I don't think that we all need to be geniuses, but we do have to have a very solid and broad range of skills. I think there are many, many ways that someone like me can make a contribution to society, to the Black community and the university. I try to spend time in going to the churches and working with the United Way and some of the ethnic related agencies. My career allows me to make a contribution to society, which I probably would not be able to make if I were in some other position. So that makes me have a feeling of some accomplishment.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

That has been a wonderful side effect because of the fact that the community and surrounding areas are aware that I'm the female administrator in one of the highest ranking offices. I do participate heavily in the community. I'm the chairperson of the Childrens' Hospital, United Way Executive Committee, the corporate committee, you name it. I'm going to be the chair of the Heart Association so all of that goes together. In fact, my problem is saying no, but I'm participating heavily in the community and it's all worthwhile.

Mary Smith

Vice President

There comes a time in many women's lives when the desire to give something back to society becomes important enough to do something about it. That is why I do a lot of volunteer work in the community. In my position, I am able to serve as role model for both females and Blacks who aspire to educational careers.

Donna Lane

Dean

I think I've contributed a lot. Having chosen the discipline I did, a social worker in the first place, I think that choice identifies a certain amount of commitment. I do think that there is a tendency to see the university often as isolated from the community. In general, this society is seen as a kind of place where the scholars are isolated dealing with big issues. I really think that at the bottom there has to be the perception that that kind of lack of participation divides people. Higher education is what is going to make the difference in terms of whether the society continues to make progress or declines and is forgotten.

Barbara Odom

Dean

Almost 99%! If I didn't feel that being here was making a difference, I wouldn't be here. I would probably be in private industry making money. My husband tells me, "Honey, they don't pay you enough money for the kind of time and energy you put in." I say, "But it's not just for me I'm doing this; it's my way of making a contribution." I was very active in the civil rights movement in the sixties and the student movement in the seventies, but I just felt that all of that activity was not enough. To take to the street and to do the demonstration and picketing was ok, but it was also very important to get into the organizational structures and make some changes. When I dedicated myself to finish my Ph.D., I felt that the university was the right place where I would make my mark and try to make a difference. I think that minority women gaining access to higher education is

something that I consider to be such a part of me that I don't even talk about it anymore. It is implicit in everything that I do, everything I think.

In terms of education, I think it's incumbent that everybody coming through the university have some understanding of the broad based liberal arts. That includes some multicultural experiences plus other cultural experiences. And these are the things that in terms of curricular development, faculty hiring, emotions with faculty, new programs, and community relations--these are the kinds of things that are part of me and shape everything that I do.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

Very strongly for me and I would have to break society down to every race, that sort of guided effort. Particularly in education we are obligated to contribute to the development of young people. And at that point, then we can start to concentrate more on individual successes; that was my commitment when I went through school. So to the extent that we do that, it is automatically going to be a contribution to society. That pretty much drives my professional activities and most of the things that I've done professionally have that as a central theme. They are either in a Black community or they have an effect on that focus.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

I would say a lot, not that I have made a big contribution to society; I probably make a lot of little ones because I am working towards creating an environment at this institution, especially in the

area I work in, that's conducive to the academic success of minority students and all students. In doing that, I think I'll contribute to society because there will be White students who know that there are Black and Chicano people and American Indian people who are persons. They will know that they can work with them just as they can work with each other. There will be Black students who will go through this institution and feel good about having come to this university. There will be faculty who know from their experience in working with minority students in our office that there are many minority students who can excel.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

Yes, it's absolutely essential. We all should feel a need to pay back society, especially if you are an educator. I see myself as a role model in my community. And I try to participate as much as possible.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

Very much so for me. I have a strong faith, and I think my purpose in life is to do the best that I can at whatever happens. And, that means impacting society. I do a lot of workshops on issues of diversity with students, and people tell me, well, okay, you know you've had five years of diversity. I'm diverse, I think diverse, and I try to project that diversity.

In my family, it's important that you go out there and change the world. If I have a problem in dealing with you as a Black woman, if there's something not clicking with us and you're feeling like all of this stuff is irrelevant, if you feel that my blackness and my womanhood

does not come into play and I feel it does; then we're going to have a problem. At some level, we are going to have our interactions and our work together inhibited. So until you can recognize that those issues exist for other people even if in your mind they don't exist with you, it's an issue.

My other point is this: if you feel like they don't exist for you, then you need to figure something out. So in that respect, I have a commitment to changing society. The people that I work with are by and large students, and they're at a real impressionable period in their lives. If there's a student who is going to be an engineer, and pardon the stereotype but this view is coming from the businesses back to the colleges, the student must not only have the technical skills in engineering but must know how to deal with people and know how to present her/himself. So, if I can take an engineering student and make that person more sensitive to the rest of the world in the process of developing the technical skills, then the world is going to be better. So, that's why I'm in education, and that's why I'm committed to making the world a better place even if I'm impacting only one little student.

Leslie Moore

Associate Dean

A lot. The question is, who is society? I'm one of those people who believes that every act, every connection in every relationship is a contribution to some universal something. I have lived outside the country a long time, and I'm not real super American in my thinking, but I do think of human society.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

It contributes quite a bit. I would say, yes, to a certain degree, that all of the contributions that I've made within formal organizations have had a positive effect on social problems and the community.

Patricia Davis

Director

I think we always have to pay back society. A number of people did a lot for me as I moved along from kindergarten to now. So I work at doing whatever I can every day. I had mentors who worked hard at being mentors. I had people who gave me a kick in the pants when I was sitting down, not jumping to move ahead. So I do want to make at least some small contribution to society and all those who helped me along the way.

Theresa Ellison

Director

It is paramount. If I didn't believe that my role here at the university had a positive impact on the successful enrollment and matriculation of Black students, other students of color, and female students, I do not think I would have the level of motivation I feel in my work. I think that for me there is no choice. It is my responsibility, and I am here because there are a lot of other people who paved the way.

Rene Manson

Director

This has been the most inspirational aspect of my job. I have personally assisted minority students who would have dropped out of school due to financial problems by granting extensions for housing payments and meal plans. I have assisted them with completing financial

aid packets. Many of those students have graduated and are working in various parts of the country; some in the California legislature; others in professional sports. It is a humbling experience for a student to return to campus and say that I was very instrumental in his/her pursuit of higher education.

Robin Wheeler

Director

Making a contribution to society is very important to me as an educator. I feel responsible for sharing in the guidance of our next generation. I am in constant contact with students both in the community and here at this institution. These students make up part of our society, and will some day act upon what I and others have attempted to share. This type of contribution to society makes me feel very successful.

Analysis of Responses about Contributing to Society

All of the respondents felt that making a contribution to society was a necessary ingredient in the success of their careers. Seven (37%) of the administrators spoke of some repayment to those who had paved the way for them. All of the administrators expressed a high degree of satisfaction from their perceived contributions to society. Black women have historically been involved in educating people in the community. For instance, Milla Granson, a Black woman slave in Natchez, Louisiana, held school between midnight and two a.m. for seven years and taught many Black pupils their lessons (Learner, 1972). Learner noted other

similar accounts of Black women making contributions to society.

Marguerite Ross Barnett recently became the first Black chancellor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. The campus is in an area where 50% of the college age population is Black, while only 9.4 % of those Blacks attend the university. Her public commitment to the community and thus society was documented in the Chronicle of Higher Education. She stated that "there is an awful lot of potential for reaching out to the community and developing additional support. I think one of the challenges for UMSL is to increase the numbers of public school students" (Evans, 1987, p. 10). Barnett, much like the 19 respondents, saw making a contribution to society as contributing to her feelings of career success and was willing to make this goal public.

Any growing society must be able to generate a feeling of community. Yet as Toffler (1980) noted, the "community demands more than emotionally satisfying bonds between individuals, however. It also requires strong ties of loyalty between individuals and their organizations" (p. 368). The administrators saw contributing to society "a wonderful side effect" that was "absolutely essential" in the "ultimate success" of their careers.

Successful Strategies and Behaviors

Shakeshaft (1987) wrote that the percentage of women in school administration in the 1980s is less than that found in 1905. Black

women administrators own an even smaller percentage of this number. Given this and similar facts, the researcher asked the respondents to suggest some strategies which Black women could use to gain access to administrative positions in colleges and universities.

Responses of the Participants to the Questions Concerning Strategies to Increase Black Female Participation in Higher Education

Question: Describe some specific strategies you would suggest for increasing the participation of Black females in higher education administration.

Marie Allen

President

I don't think I have any that are particularly related to Black women, but the advice I would give everyone is first of all the experience should be as broad as possible. Secondly, they have to try to not accept dead end jobs or jobs that don't lead anywhere. They aren't going to learn anything in those positions. These usually include staff positions unless they are carefully created.

Joyce Pederson

President

I would say, first of all, majoring in a marketable discipline is one. Two, being careful to obtain sequential experiences by which I mean moving through the chairs. Taking traditional jobs that lead normally from one level to another, whether it's director of a department to dean, dean to vice president, vice president to president, but not to become associated or affiliated with tangential areas nor to

become concentrated in staff positions. Line sequential experience is absolutely essential.

The only thing I've been clear about is I do like to preside and I do like to be in environments that are creative. I could easily have become director of a museum or some such other creative area.

Margo Vaughn

President

First of all, Black women need to get the union card, which is the Ph.D. There is just no way to handle this unless you have a Ph.D. It is preferable that you get a Ph.D. in a traditional discipline where possible rather than in education because it carries more status and more clout in the academic world. For example, Euretha King, who is a president in Minnesota, I think it's in Minnesota. Euretha's background is chemistry. Those kinds of traditional disciplines do lend themselves, perhaps, to a perspective and an impression--right or wrong --that these people have really cut the mustard, so to speak. Second, they have to try to work up in their departments, that is in their own disciplines to become chair; I was never chair of a department, but it is important to work up into some kind of a prominent position within the college they are in and also to become involved in the larger issues of the campus as well (i.e. national committees, national meetings, written papers, think papers in higher education or one's discipline). But to have the broader view is some indication that the person has a vision.

Connie Anderson

Vice President

I think that there are two effective strategies for increasing the

participation of Black females in higher education administration. One is through the faculty route and that really means fostering undergraduates, in this case Black women at the undergraduate level. Faculty members have to serve as mentors of these students and involve them in their research as much as possible so that Black women are given a hands-on experience of what it means to be a university professor. Then you basically have to nurture them through graduate school and through doctoral programs. That's a significant route and one that I would like to see more Black women take.

For administration, I think that there are a variety of ways that Black women enter into administration. One of the things that I would advise against is Black women allowing themselves to become captive of student affairs. Student affairs is a good entry, easy access for minorities, but for Black women in particular, it has a tendency to be a dead end. I was going to say marginal, but it's not marginal. I would advise Black women to look at the development area, which is a hot area. The whole area of finance and planning is very important these days. If they are interested in academic administration, their best bet is to really follow the faculty route. A doctoral degree in higher administration, however, is not the way to go. I think that women would be better off getting a Ph.D. in traditional disciplines, but then they have a difficult choice to make. Depending on what they want to do in academic administration, they can ease their entry with a brand new Ph.D., by obtaining an administrative position that basically is a staff support role. If they are interested in having a line position in

academic administration, then they need to become faculty members, to get tenure, to be published, to become department chairs, deans, and go that route. We don't have many Black women coming up that route.

Betty Baker

Vice President

I think that it cannot rely on chance. I would actually have to sit down and write a formula, but there surely is one in which intelligence plays a certain role. Abilities, skills, disciplinary expertise, those things play a very definite role, but they are not enough alone. I would suggest that Black females who want to participate in higher education--I'll talk specifically about being an administrator--have a very definite plan; we have to be better, have a lot of ability to be a superwoman. It's only in looking back on what happened that I recognize that it was more than just my extreme ability. I would suggest that you have a strategy and you recognize that you have to have certain experiences and certain abilities. For example, I mentioned budgeting. Many of us really do not get any experience in managing a budget. When you talk and apply for the job, emphasize your abilities and financial management because that is unexpected in women and particularly in Black women. I think that we have to keep up with the latest technology. I think that a broad knowledge is very important. We don't have to be experts. I think that gaining experience in as many different areas as possible is important. I guess what I am saying is that a deliberate preparation is very important. Look at your skills and say to yourself: "I can do these things and I cannot do these things." Then go about developing what you can do.

Marilyn Hill

Vice President

If you look in the area of academic administration, which I think you are mainly interested in, I think that we have to have Black females in faculty positions. If a Black female wants to become a president, vice-president, or dean, she has to come through the faculty. Until we get faculty who are tenured and can get into positions as department chairs, associate deans, or assistant deans, we won't make those hurdles because it just does not happen. It doesn't happen for anybody else, whether it's a White female or Black male. That's the usual progression, and what we have to do is a better job of recruiting and retaining Black students, which is going to be a big battle for the next five years.

Mary Smith

Vice President

I think Black women need to become competitive in terms of skills. Skills that should include communications, budgeting, and financial skills. You need to evaluate yourself and your goals and be ready to step into opportunities as they arise. A doctoral degree, of course, is very helpful as well as participating in various committees on campus.

Donna Lane

Dean

I think there is a kind of struggle that most of us have in terms of what we want to do. I find very rarely we can get a graduate student who came directly from being an undergraduate to obtain a Ph.D. and then get a faculty post in the university. It's generally when you've been out doing things, then you come back and so on, which often puts us at a distinct disadvantage, I think, in terms of the process of appointment,

promotion, and tenure. When the young person has gone straight through, she generally has a clear notion of the culture of higher education. I think most of us get side tracked in various kinds of ways. I think we ought to encourage young Black women, if they want a career in higher education to just go straight through and get the doctoral degree and get into that tenure process early. I think that strategy will get us a lot more into the mainstream positions than most stuff we have out there.

Barbara Odom

Dean

I think that Black women, like women in general, should think in terms of careers rather than jobs. What I mean by that is that women in general in this society have been socialized to think that if I go to college, then I'm going to get a degree, and if I get a degree, I'm going to work in this field, and once I get into that field, then gee, this is nice, but maybe I think I'll do something else. There is not a lot of long range planning in terms of where they want to go.

I think that men, particularly professional men, are encouraged to believe that they are in it for a career. They know they are going to be in a work course, and they're going to be working. I think women need to look at some real strategies for doing that, particularly Black women, because statistics indicate that the majority of them, middle class or not, are going to be working. If you look at the longevity that we are awarded with our technology, you realize that there's a possibility we may have two or three careers in our lives. So it seems that in terms of having some satisfaction in life, you might want to

think in terms of looking at a job as a career. You plan to go step by step so that along the way you pick up the experience that's going to be necessary for you to go the next round. That means, in many cases, looking for role models and asking them how you do it. Help me! I need your help! And there is nothing wrong with that. It's not that easy, but I think life can be easier when you plan for things even though they don't happen the exact way that you want them to. You at least have allowed for a certain kind of potential to take place. So the opportunity is there if you want to be able to take advantage of it. And my whole password is to give yourself all the opportunities and options possible.

Pam Brown

Assistant Dean

The strategies depend on whether you are targeting predominately White institutions or historically Black colleges and universities. I would say that networking and professional association are important. I would say that it is probably good to have acquired the maximum number of degrees so that your educational background doesn't become an excuse. I think the ability to articulate and show competence in a variety of areas is important, and I would say that to a certain extent, the alumni can be called upon to facilitate getting positions if there are alumni networks. Explore the possibilities whether you are looking for a position at your home institution or at institutions that have close ties with your home institution so that you can just call on all the resources available to facilitate your acquiring a position. Assuming that you are competent and that you have demonstrated that competence in

the completion of your degrees, have your home institution attest to that and facilitate your efforts to acquire a position in a smaller institution.

Jean Campbell

Assistant Dean

I would probably think of one strategy on a national basis and this is really just off the top of my head. There are a couple of societies and national organizations that cater specifically to women. I don't know what role we as Black women play in those. I joined and have never gone to a meeting. I intended mainly to go to meetings that pertain to my discipline but none that just catered specifically to women and I really have to change that. I would think that these organizations would be a good channel for minority women to come together and share ideas and also to share their career goals. Then once they set up a network nationally, if I know that you are interested in the position at the university for instance, then I can take the information that I obtain about jobs that are available here, and if you know it's open and apply, I could use whatever clout I have to let the people here know about your availability for those positions. But I think nationally we need to form some type of network so we can be advised of the jobs that are opening. The other part of that is just not applying for those positions that cater to minority students. My argument at this university is as long as the administrators continue to keep minority people as assistant deans and other such positions, as long as we cater mainly to minority students, they are truly not educating students at the university because there are at this point, no associate deans and

deans at this university who are not White. Everyone who is on staff as a minority person and assistant dean has a very broad range of talents and skills, and it doesn't make sense that all of us end up being assistant deans. If we could get the network together, and if we could make a voice heard to these institutions, then hopefully they would be more willing to listen and to start to put in place minority women and Black women in these positions. Assistant dean of engineering is hard enough to crack, and I find myself surprised to be here, especially given the administration we have now. If it wasn't for the dean, I wouldn't be here because I am sure if the associate dean could get one person out, it would be me. At least 50% of the people who were working here when I came on have left, including the guy who I used to work for, the associate dean of student affairs. He quit because he could not put up with the attitudes that he felt were being voiced by the new administration.

Nancy Carlisle

Assistant Dean

Black women need to obtain a broad experience that can be obtained through the faculty route. They need to obtain the terminal degree and participate on campus committees to increase their visibility.

Denise Hall

Assistant Dean

I think one does have to devise a plan and sit down and say in six months this is what I want to accomplish. If that's finishing a degree or starting a degree, if that's meeting people in the field, whatever that might be, it needs to happen and it needs to be on a long-term basis. I'm thinking right now about where I want to be in five years

and how I'm going to get there. That kind of planning has to happen in the early stages, and I'm not just talking about once you get out of school and are ready to begin your career. I'm talking about as a child, as a student working with people, finding out who is in the field and getting to know them and see what their day-to-day life is like and how they got there. I think that is a strategy that needs to and must happen.

The other strategy for me is committing to excellence. I am going to be my best competitor. I'm going to compete with myself, and I'm determined to do the best that I can do, and I am going to be competitive especially in terms of skill. I think that there has to be a commitment in order for other people to view your work as better than somebody else's when you get into the competitive part of job application.

So those are two strategies, and the other one would be politics. You have to look at where things are in the organization that you want to join in terms of who the players are and what their needs are, and decide whether or not you fit into that and you can meet their needs. And, how are you going to let them know that you can meet their needs? I think one has to strategize about personalities, you know, if I walk in there, are they going to be intimidated by me? How am I dressing? How am I shaking hands? How am I making eye contact and communicating myself? Am I intimidated? Am I shy? Am I bashful? What kinds of things, what kinds of dynamics are occurring that I can either enhance in my behalf--or at least be aware of--to understand why these gifts

help me or hinder me? I think all of that comes into play. The other strategy for me is to sit down and talk with folks about, you know, this is what my resume looks like now. If you were hiring someone in this kind of a position, how does my resume look to you? What should I change? Where should I move things? Not just the content, but the way that it actually looks visually.

Leslie Moore

Assistant Dean

I guess, for us not to take ourselves for granted in any particular way. First is to choose, even if it is not forever. To pick something and go for it and to find a mentor, a female or male. Also on a regular basis, to kind of re-evaluate. My rule of thumb is if it isn't fun, stop doing it. I really believe that.

Dana Reese

Assistant Dean

I think to get ahead in an educational institution, and that's what we are talking about, you have to identify someone as a mentor and develop a relationship with a person who can serve in that role. If necessary, increase your academic preparation in order to be able to move into a position. For instance, in this system most people in the administrative positions have a doctoral degree; however, there are people serving as chancellors of other campuses who only have masters degrees.

Patricia Davis

Director

One strategy would be to find a mentor. A second one would be your willingness to take on additional assignments and committee work so that you gain visibility. A third strategy in higher education would be to

find a large enough institution where there are a variety of tasks, committees, and things that you could do.

Theresa Ellison

Director

I think it is important that first of all we start with self and do a careful self-assessment of what are our assets and what are our deficits and reduce our deficits by taking courses and by enlisting a mentor. I think it is very important to have mentors, male and female, in the area in which you are interested in working. And then I think it is important to get on committees to get exposure, to get your name and skills out there, to get the attention of the managers you are interested in joining in order to gain some credibility. It means work because they don't hire us as easily as other people so we have to work at getting noticed as being capable individuals who can do the job right. You have to start with yourself because nobody owes us anything because we are female and we are Black. And the truth of the matter is, we often have to be more confident than our White counterpart and male counterpart. So it means making a larger investment.

Rene Manson

Director

In order to obtain positions in higher education, it seems that the interaction with campus personnel must begin as a student. You have to expose yourself by acquiring employment in various offices while doing undergraduate study. Participating on various campuswide committees with faculty and staff also helps. As a graduate student, internships in academic departments and in student activities helps.

Robin Wheeler

Director

I believe that education is a continuing process, and I don't think

I will ever know enough or know everything. I think that just stands to reason. To plan every opportunity as it presents itself is a good thing so that you are ready when the occasion arises.

I see the doctoral degree and postdoctoral opportunities as being just the basic preparation. The literature is flooded with people with doctoral degrees. I don't even sign my name to show that I possess a doctor degree; I just don't bother with it because it is just so comic and I am wondering why everyone thinks this is the ultimate. I sometimes think that you have to have some experience before you go for the doctorate but the doctorate looks good in terms of what people are expecting.

Analysis of Responses about Successful Strategies and Behaviors

The most frequently noted strategies and behaviors reported by the respondents are summarized in Table 7. Strategies ranged from obtaining a broad base of experience to frequently evaluating self and committing to excellence.

Obtaining a broad base of experience and earning a doctoral degree were two of the most frequently reported strategies given by this group of administrators. These behaviors were each recommended by 37% of the sample. Thirty-two percent of this same group acknowledged the importance of planning early for an administrative career and taking the traditional faculty route on the road to securing a high level, line

administrative role. Additionally, 26% recommended the use of mentors for successful career development.

Giving oneself opportunities and options, increasing one's visibility and networking were the other frequently identified strategies.

The least frequently noted strategy required the aspiring Black female to frequently evaluate herself and commit to excellence. Even though this strategy was repeated by only two participants, it offers very sound advice for anyone moving in the direction of self-realization and understanding.

Only those strategies reported at least twice by the Black female administrators are listed in Table 7. However, additional strategies were stated by only one of the respondents, and they were:

1. Dress appropriately according to the organizational culture
2. Become competitive especially in terms of skills
3. Avoid becoming a captive of the student affairs division of the university
4. Apply for nonminority positions, those that do not deal with minority concerns
5. Recognize one's experiences and abilities.

All of the strategies documented here are based upon the administrators' personal views of strategies used to obtain their own positions in university administration. There was no one strategy supported by all of the participants.

Analysis of the nine respondent strategies proposed by the 19 administrators (Table 7) revealed that:

Table 7

Career Enhancement Strategies of the Respondents

Strategies	Number	Percentage
Obtain a broad base experience to include budgeting, financial management, and communication skills	7	37
Obtain a doctoral degree	7	37
Plan for an administrative career and begin early	6	32
Take faculty route, get tenure, become department chair	6	32
Find a mentor who can assist in one's career development	5	26
Pursue more opportunities and options	4	21
Take on additional assignments and and committee work to gain visibility	4	21
Begin to network, utilize national and professional organizations	3	16
Frequently evaluate self and commit to excellence	2	11

1. Seven (37%) of the respondents reported the need to obtain a "broad base of experience" as well as a "doctoral degree."
2. Six (32%) reported taking the "faculty route" and "planning early" for an administrative career as a successful strategy.
3. Five (26%) reported the use of a mentor as a successful strategy for career development.

Successful Strategies Feedback

A Strategic Feedback Tool (see Appendix F) was developed to validate the strategy statements given by the respondents during the interviews. The tool contained the nine most frequent strategies reported by the respondents in addition to the five strategies found in the literature and explored during the interviews and the six strategies developed from the theories of Bolman and Deal (1984) and Mintzberg (1973). The administrators were asked to rank the 20 identified strategies in order of importance to their own career advancement.

The traditional faculty route to a career in administration was acknowledged by a relatively high number of respondents. However, because it was viewed as the most obvious pathway, it was not included in the validation tool. The validation tool was used to corroborate the researcher's findings.

The respondents ranked the most important strategy with a "1" and proceeded with the other strategies until the least important strategy was ranked with a "20." Respondents were given the opportunity to

disagree with any strategy by not ranking it at all. In so doing, the respondents indicated that they felt the strategy was not career enhancing or that it was not practical.

In analyzing the results from the Strategic Feedback Tool, the researcher added up the rank order given by each respondent to each strategy in order to obtain a mean score for each strategy. The strategies were then rank ordered by the mean scores with the lowest mean score indicating the greatest importance and the highest mean score indicating the least importance. Table 8 provides a list of these strategies in order of the mean score for each strategy.

Eighteen of the 19 respondents completed the Strategic Feedback Tool. The one administrator who chose not to rank the strategies wrote a narrative statement explaining how some of the strategies were used to overcome the effects of not utilizing others. Instead of seeing one strategy as more important than another, she spoke of their cumulative effects. Her narrative follows:

"It is too difficult to order these strategies from 1 to 20 in order by importance. In the directions, you indicate 'your' advancement which I assumed meant my own personal experience. However, the twenty strategies are stated in general terms. For any individual, any one or combination of these strategies may be important in her particular set of circumstances. For me, increasing my visibility; dealing positively with racism and sexism; gaining interpersonal skills; information skills, being goal directed and competitive overcame the fact that I did not obtain a doctoral degree; did not have a mentor; did not plan early

Table 8

Strategic Feedback ToolRanking of Strategies by Respondents

Career Enhancement Strategies	Source	Rank	Mean	Disagree
Gain interpersonal skills	M	1	6.3	
Find a mentor who can assist in one's career development	R	2	7.3	3
Learn to deal positively with racism and sexism	L	3	7.8	
Gain decision making skills	M	4	8	
Obtain a doctoral degree	R	5	8.3	
Obtain a broad base of experiences to include budgeting, financial management and communication skills	R	6	8.5	
Be aware of organizational politics	L	7	8.6	
Frequently evaluate yourself and commit to excellence	R	8	8.7	
Empower others	R	9	9.5	
Be willing to take risk	L	10	10.5	
Be goal directed	B	11	10.6	

Table 8 (continued)

Career Enhancement Strategies	Source	Rank	Mean	Disagree
Gain information processing skills	M	12	10.6	
Effectively utilize your power	L	13	10.9	
Take on additional assignments and committee work on campus to increase one's visibility	R	14	11.5	
Give yourself opportunities and options	R	15	12.8	
Become competitive in terms of skills	R	16	13.5	6
Begin to network, utilize national and professional organizations	R	17	13.7	
Plan for an administrative career and begin early	R	18	13.9	9
Dress appropriately, according to organizational culture	R	19	14.3	
Recognize and share the values and symbols of the institution	B	20	15.2	7

N = 18

Note: Nine strategies marked R came from the respondents. Six strategies marked B or M came from Bolman & Deal (1984) and Mintzberg. Five strategies marked L came from the literature review.

for this career; did not give myself opportunities and options and was certain that I did not share many of the values and symbols of this institution.

"My own opinion is that (1) the more of these strategies used, the more likely one will be able to advance--thus, the effect is cumulative--and (2) in some circumstances, one particular strategy may be necessary but not a sufficient condition for advancement."

The number of respondents who disagreed with the strategies was not factored into the rank ordering of the strategies. Only one of the higher ranked strategies, finding a mentor, accumulated any disagreement notes. The other strategies which produced some disagreement were all lower ranked strategies.

The top three strategies included: (1) gaining interpersonal skills, (2) finding a mentor who can assist in one's career development, and (3) learning how to deal positively with racism and sexism. These data would suggest that these top three strategies are paramount to enhancing one's administrative career.

As noted earlier, 18 of the respondents ranked the twenty strategies according to their importance to them. They were also asked to agree or disagree with the strategies.

Sixteen percent of the participants disagreed with the necessity for mentors as a strategy in their career growth and development. In addition, 50% were not convinced that planning early would lead them to successful administrative careers.

Because these women began their careers at a time when Black

administrators were almost non-existent, it is not surprising that they would not see the value of planning and mentors for their own careers. However, in today's world, it would again be ludicrous not to plan early for a career in administration. Current research on mentoring has documented its positive effects on both men and owmen. Mentoring can assist the novice in cutting through red tape and validating credibility and self-worth, in addition to other benefits. Mentors have contributed an enormous amount of support to people of both genders.

Gaining interpersonal skills was ranked number one on the feedback tool, but it was not mentioned as a strategy by the respondents in the interviews as reported in Table 7. Instead, the strategy of obtaining a broad base of experience received the greatest percentage of support as a successful strategy in response to the interview question although it was ranked sixth when considered among the 20 general strategies.

Fifty percent of the respondents disagreed with planning early for a career in administration and seven (39%) did not see the need to recognize the symbols or share the value of their institutions.

Based upon the mean scores, the administrators appear to have placed more value upon the strategies abstracted from the literature review than upon their own. Tables 9, 10, and 11 present this information in summary form.

Table 9

Ranking of the Interview Strategies from the Interviews That Were
Abstracted from The Literature

Strategies	Source	Rank	Mean
Racism & sexism	L	3	7.8
Politics	L	7	8.6
Take risks	L	10	10.2
Power	L	11	10.3
Competitive	L	16	13.5
Average mean			10.1

A breakdown of the 20 career enhancement strategies into their mean scores indicated that:

1. The average mean score of the strategies abstracted from the literature was the highest.
2. The average mean score of the respondent strategies was second to those from the literature.
3. The average mean score of the organizational management strategies was third after both the literature and respondent strategies.

However, the differences between the average mean scores are not significant since the scores are so similar.

Table 10

Ranking of The Strategies Reported by Respondents

Strategy	Source	Rank	Mean
Mentors	R	2	7.3
Doctoral degree	R	5	8.3
Experience	R	6	8.5
Evaluate self	R	8	8.6
Empower others	R	9	9.5
Visibility	R	14	11.5
Opportunities	R	15	12.8
Network	R	17	13.7
Plan	R	18	13.9
Average mean			10.4

Table 11

Ranking of Career Enhancement StrategiesBy Bolman & Deal and Mintzberg

Strategies	Source	Rank	Mean
Interpersonal skills	M	1	6.3
Decision making skills	M	4	8
Be goal directed	B	12	10.6
Information skills	M	13	10.6
Dress appropriately	B	19	14.3
Share values & symbols	B	20	15.2
Average Mean			10.8

Among the interview question strategies (see Table 9) identified by the literature review, three of the five are ranked among the top ten strategies. The strategies include learning to deal positively with racism and sexism, being aware of organization politics, and being willing to take a risk. The average mean score ranked these strategies first among the three groups.

The remaining two strategies called for an effective utilization of power which were ranked 11th and having a competitive spirit which was

ranked 16th. Six (33%) of the respondents disagreed with the use of a competitive spirit as a viable strategic approach to success. The word, competition, much like the word power, carried negative connotations. As noted earlier, some of these women were much more interested in a collaborative approach to management and therefore saw themselves as team players, competing primarily with self.

Fifty percent of the respondents disagreed with planning early for a career in administration, and seven (39%) did not see the need to recognize the symbols or share the values of their institutions.

The researcher had anticipated that the administrators would rank their own strategies higher than those reported by the literature and/or the organizational theorists. However, such was not the case. Perhaps the respondents ranked the strategies in light of the careers of other aspiring Black women even though the researcher directed the administrators to rank the strategies in terms of their own careers.

The theory strategies included the three successful management behaviors proposed by Mintzberg (1973): interpersonal skills, information processing, and decision making. Three strategies were based upon the two frames of organizational domains used by successful managers and proposed by Bolman and Deal (1984): structural frame (goal-directed) and symbolic frame (shared values and symbols).

Mintzberg's strategies were ranked 1st, 13th, and 4th respectively, while Bolman and Deal's strategies were ranked 12th, 19th and 20th among the total of twenty.

Within this group of strategies, disagreement was noted with regard

to one strategy. Seven (39%) of the administrators did not agree that sharing the values and symbols of the institution was a good strategy for career enhancement. These values are perhaps part of the glass ceiling that has served to effectively keep qualified Black females out of higher education administration, such as the old boys network, authority posture as well as racism and sexism.

The strategies presented by Mintzberg have long been recognized as contributing to the functioning of the successful manager. These strategies are also important to successful leaders. The findings suggested mastery of interpersonal skills is paramount to the success of Black women.

Additional Strategies From The Strategic Feedback Tool

The final section of the "Strategic Feedback Tool" asked the administrators to include any strategies not listed on the tool, but which they felt were important to the development of successful Black female administrators in higher education. These strategies include the following:

1. Find a problem that no one owns and go to work on it
2. Ask for a promotion
3. Learn sales
4. Learn not to take decisions/opinions so personally but keep them in the context of what can be learned to your benefit
5. Use networks outside of your professional life to reinforce your self-worth

6. Seek out opportunities for advanced training programs
7. Acquire new or updated skills periodically
8. Be geographically flexible
9. Learn how to ask for an additional task
10. Learn how to ask for additional support staff
11. Learn how to ask for a raise
12. Learn how to ask for a promotion
13. Work through others
14. Develop public speaking skills

The additional strategies are fourteen in number and range from finding a problem that no one owns and going to work on it to developing public speaking skills.

These strategies were found to be helpful by some and were seen as worthy of documentation here. The strategies are situation dependent and should be used as necessary. Being geographically flexible has great implications for career success in light of society's use of technology for rapid transit not only within this country but throughout the world. Flexibility is frequently cited as a tactic for goal accomplishment and should be used by all who seek success.

Final List of Career Enhancement Strategies

The list that follows presents a composite of all career enhancement strategies recommended by the participants of this study. The list is arranged according to the support given to the strategies by the respondents.

1. Gain interpersonal skills
2. Find a mentor who can assist in one's career development
3. Learn to deal positively with racism and sexism
4. Gain decision making skills
5. Obtain a doctoral degree
6. Obtain broad base of exposure to include budgeting, finance, management, and communication.
7. Be aware of organizational politics
8. Frequently evaluate self and commit to excellence
9. Empower others
10. Be willing to take risks
11. Utilize your power effectively.
12. Be goal directed
13. Gain information processing skills
14. Take on additional assignments and committee work on campus to increase visibility
15. Give yourself opportunities and options
16. Become competitive in terms of skills
17. Begin to network, utilize national and professional organizations
18. Plan for an administrative career and begin early
19. Dress according to organizational culture
20. Recognize and share the values of the institution
21. Learn how to ask for additional staff

22. Learn how to ask for a raise
23. Learn how to ask for a promotion
24. Be geographically flexible
25. Use constructive criticism; don't take it personally
26. Learn sales.

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CHAPTER V

ANAYLSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Objectives of the Study

This chapter will focus on the critical analysis, conclusions, and recommendations based on the research findings. Glaser (1978) suggested that "first, summaries are not advised" for ending the written work (p. 132). Instead he noted that "writing a conclusion of recommendations can be worthwhile if the theory is relevant for practitioners" (p. 132).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) advised that, following grounded theory, a researcher could approach the analysis in different ways. However, preset objectives presented in Chapter I dictate the direction of analysis for this study. Those objectives are repeated here:

1. Explore how Black females in higher education administration acquired their positions and to what extent these women charted their own career development.
2. Identify the demographic profiles of Black female administrators according to education, age, professional experience, and level of position.
3. Explore what role, if any, internal/organizational politics played in the acquisition and maintenance of Black female administrative positions.

4. Document the successful management behaviors and strategies common to Black female administrators in higher education.

5. Determine how Black female administrators in higher education view themselves in terms of professional success and future career objectives and aspirations.

Career Choice and Acquisition

In this section, the faculty route, planning, mentors, and timing are discussed as they relate to career choice and acquisition.

The typical route for acquiring administrative positions in higher education has been through the traditional faculty approach. However, career paths for these administrators varied greatly. Lewis (1985) found that the career development of the Black female administrators in her study were also not characterized by a single linear path or primary model. Similarly, Shakeshaft (1987) wrote that "the typical woman administrator not only does not look like the typical male administrator, the path that she took to achieve her position differs as well" (p. 64).

Faculty Route

Eight (42%) of the respondents progressed through the traditional system by way of the faculty route. They suggested that becoming department chairs, progressing to assistant dean, dean, and then vice president to presidential level is the career path to follow. It is interesting to note that this number includes four of individuals who, during the initial interview, saw planning as an important aspect of their career development. They are also line versus staff administrators.

Nine (47%) of the nineteen administrators were in line positions. Line administrators potentially have the power resources necessary to influence change. They are able to make an impact on the decision making process within their organizations. The remaining ten held various staff positions ranging from assistant dean to director.

Administrators who are able to mobilize scarce resources exhibit an important aspect of leadership. And as Rost (1985) has noted, some managers can also be leaders.

Planning

Lack of planning was identified as a common thread related to the administrators' perception of their career evolution. Planning for such a career ranked 18th among the 20 strategies. Planning did not appear to be a major consideration for these administrators.

Only four of the respondents deliberately planned for their administrative positions. They were all younger women in their mid to late thirties. This may be due to the influence of both the women's movement and the civil rights movement of the late sixties, which provided increased options for the realistic pursuit of typically White, male oriented, administrative careers.

Mentors

There has been a proliferation of studies published about mentoring and career development. Since Levinson's (1978) work, researchers have studied the effects of mentoring on White males and more recently White females and their success in the business world. Primus (1984) researched this topic as it related to 28 Black professionals and

published these unexpected findings. Primus noted that:

1. Contrary to several previous studies (Kanter, 1977; Roche, 1979), mentoring did not have as strong an effect on salary and position level of subjects as did age, experience, early life influences, and academic preparation.

2. The males were provided with more mentoring and benefited from mentoring more than the women (p. 161).

She attributed the first unexpected finding regarding mentoring to the fact that other researchers did not control for variables affecting salary level. Even so, her final statement recognized the importance of mentoring in the personal and professional development of men.

In general, mentors provide a crucial relationship in many aspects of career satisfaction. Three (16%) of the respondents attributed their career development to mentors. In all three cases these mentors were male, and two of them were Black. Each contributed to the administrator's perception of career success.

Timing

Although hard to explain, timing also had an impact upon the administrator's career development. Had it not been for the affirmative action movement of the sixties, many of these women would not have been given the opportunity to gain administrative experience. It has been said perhaps erroneously that timing is everything. Timing appears to have been helpful to this group, but it certainly was not everything!

Over the next decade, almost half of the nation's 90,000 secondary school administrators (superintendents and principals) are expected to

retire, which makes the 1990s a perfect time for Black women and other minorities who aspire to this level of educational administration. In addition, the 21st century will see a large number of higher education faculty members vacating their offices as this population ages. Again, the time appears to be right for those who are qualified.

In general, these women were prepared for educational teaching positions, a typical choice for career minded female minorities. They did not, however, plan for the possibility of acquiring administrative roles. The findings in this study suggest that for their time of historical career growth, planning for traditionally White, male oriented, managerial roles was not seen as realistic. Instead, events related to the 1960s and the civil rights, affirmative action programs helped to propel these highly qualified women into their present circumstances.

Although these women were not a major force in charting their own career development, present circumstances dictate a new approach to career success for Black females. Their advice to women in the 21st century focuses on sound career planning which includes educational preparation in the arts and sciences along with the realization and acceptance of a ten year commitment to their goal. Today's advice, therefore, recognizes the importance of proper planning for the woman who knows where she wants to be ten years from now.

Demographic Profile

The second objective of this study focused on the administrators' demographic profiles.

Profile: Comments about the 1990s and beyond

Fourteen (74%) of the 19 respondents were in the same age range, between 30 and 49 years. The remaining five (26%) ranged from 50 to 60 plus years. Williams (1986) observed similar age groups among her sample. Middle and late adulthood best describes the developmental stages of this group.

The doctoral degree had been awarded to eleven members of this sample. One respondent saw the doctoral degree as the American Express card, and several respondents said that all who aspire to higher education administration should have a doctoral degree. Black women "who aspire to administrative roles in higher education must see the doctorate as a visible and viable goal to work toward when planning and living their lives" (Harvard, 1986).

Their salaries ranged from \$29,000 to \$60,000 and above per year. The greatest amount of salary variation occurred among the assistant dean and director positions. These were the same groups in which the educational background also varied. All of the administrators with doctoral degrees had salaries in the consistent range of \$45,000 and above.

Fourteen administrators were employed by public institutions, of which twelve were four year institutions. Five of these administrators were divided between the two most prestigious and well-known universities in northern California.

In California, there are 106 community colleges, 20 California State University campuses, and nine University of California campuses, which gives a total of 135 public institutions of higher education. In addition, there are 45 private colleges in California, most of which are small church related institutions and were eliminated from this study. Given the large number of community colleges, it is unusual that only three (16%) of the respondents were employed in a community college.

Public institutions outnumber private institutions 3 to 1. There are potentially more jobs available for Black women in the public sector than in the private sector by virtue of sheer numbers. Even so, both private and public institutions are equal opportunity employers based on the affirmative action laws. Whatever the reason, it is clear that more Black female administrators are more likely to be employed by public institutions than those that are private.

Twelve (67%) of the 19 respondents had been in their administrative position between one and four years. The majority of these women were hired between 1980 and 1984. These years were characterized by continued pressure exerted by interest groups for the recognition of minority quotas. The quota system has been used to operationalize the concept of affirmative action. Compliance was measured by these numerical indicators which were usually based on percentage of minority populations among citizens.

At the same time, the conservative Reagan administration was elected to the White House. His administration, along with other conservatives friends, set out to challenge the affirmative action quota

system, which resulted in major attempts at dismantling this forum. This type of backlash effect, challenged the civil rights laws and has resulted in ongoing attacks. Most recently, the President vetoed the reaffirmation of the civil rights acts. The veto was subsequently overturned by Congress and the law was passed by an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress.

Kleinman (1987), in the first of three articles on minority women in the work place, wrote that "the Reagan administration's active opposition to affirmative action plus its dismantling of regulatory agencies hurt Black women, especially professionals in corporate settings" (p. 10).

Gelman, Springer, Brailsford & Miller (1988) quoted Jack Boger of the NAACP legal defense in a Newsweek special report on Black and White people in American society concerning affirmative action. Boger stated that "The old civil rights network of academics, community service workers, government officials and foundation people has fallen apart" (p. 21). Boger's observation was also noted by Sector (1988) who stated that "the intellectual atmosphere of academia is proving to be no haven from bigotry, as reports of similar incidents--from cross burnings to hate stained graffiti and even physical assaults--have rippled through universities both large and small, liberal and conservative, Southern and Northern, in recent months" (p. 1). At present, our United States legal system is also vulnerable. The nine member Supreme Court is now composed of five conservatives and four liberals causing concerns by many liberals who support affirmative action. Boger further commented

that "the Justice Department, once the champion of affirmative action, has turned consistently adversarial toward Blacks in court cases on that issue" (p. 21).

In another recent article written for Business Week, Ellis (1988) noted that the Harris Poll revealed that Blacks and Whites have sharply different perceptions of Black progress on the job. Ellis cited the Reagan administration for its open assaults on affirmative action programs which target minority hiring and promotions as a rationale. The Harris Poll included 1,650 White and 531 Black people. The results indicated that 66% of Whites and 55% of Blacks honored affirmative action as long as it did not impose rigid quotas. Quotas were seen as counterproductive. The quota system has broken down under the Reagan administration as evidenced by the slack in minority hiring.

It would appear that the affirmative action programs of the future will emphasize the competence of the minority person rather than numbers based on color or sex. As jobs become scarcer, the willingness to share them diminishes. Kearns, a CEO for Xerox, envisions a very small number of Blacks at the top in the 21st century as "affirmative action becomes harder and more controversial with a smaller pie." "There is an elitist movement afloat. We might eventually end up with a declining number of Black managers but in more significant positions" (Ellis, 1988, p. 70). Thus, those who make it to the top 20 years from now will be highly qualified candidates for chief executives officers.

The success of Jessie Jackson's campaign for President would suggest that Blacks have become politically more sophisticated in just

25 short years. However, the full impact of this sophistication has yet to be seen.

Aspiring Black females in the 21st century will be part of the second generation of the Black middle class, a tenuous yet positive position. As Ellis found, "perhaps the most alarming threat to this middle class group is that Black educational gains--the vehicle for mobility into the middle class as well as advancement within it--have hit a solid wall. As even fewer Blacks finish college, graduate school enrollment declines. The number of emerging Black teachers, Ph.D.s, physicians and lawyers is falling" (p. 63). Education is a major key for Black success and must be pursued. Findings suggest that both education and the legal system effect the political climate of a society and will exert an impact upon the hiring practices of its public and private institutions.

Organizational Politics

The third objective of this study explores the influence that internal and external organizational politics played in the administrator's ability to obtain management positions and be successful in those roles. The political career issues discussed here include: (1) racism and sexism, (2) risk taking, (3) competition, (4) loyalty, (5) power, and (6) deciding faster than peers.

In general, the administrators in this study were unable to

positively identify the impact of politics upon their being hired and on their career enhancement. Even so, 68% of these administrators noted that some external pressure helped to precipitate their hiring. Their comments about these pressures were, in every case, political as defined in most models of political behavior.

However, these women did not want to view, for example, personal contacts, affirmative action programs, or institutional traditions as political acts. This agrees with what Miller (1976) found that the women in her study typically saw politics as a dirty word. The participants of this study were far less critical, yet they did not embrace the concept of politics with open arms. Nine (47%) denied that politics had any impact on acquiring their jobs. This may perhaps be due to the natural tendency of cognitive dissonance. It may be difficult for Black women to consider the possibility that one was hired for reasons other than her skills and qualifications.

In any case, it would appear that affirmative action legislation has had a significant effect on the increased hiring of Black females in administrative positions between 1980 and 1984, a direct result of politics.

Rost and Cosgrove (1987) have suggested that lack of political savvy is not impossible when one considers that "until recently, politics has been left out of most of the academic literature on leadership" (p. 37). The same is true in management. Management theories are based upon a rational model that does not consider the political nature of organizations. Managers are therefore not taught to

operate within a political environment. These women need to expand their political education as the use of politics is crucial to both managers and leaders.

Racism

Less than 50% of the respondents (9 out of 19) felt affected by either racism or sexism or both. This finding is a surprisingly small number considering that "white institutions are inherently racist, but it is invisible to all except the victims (Gelman, Springen, Brailsford and Miller, 1988, p. 26). The United States is not color-blind. Race still matters. "Virtually every Black person functioning in a White environment, of course, at one time or another deals with prejudice or just plain discomfort from co-workers and supervisors" (Ellis, 1988, p. 70).

Even though less than 50% of the respondents stated that they were affected by racism and/or sexism, almost all of the line administrators were familiar with such encounters. Eight (89%) of the nine administrators occupying the higher level positions experienced discrimination. It would appear that the higher one climbs the ladder to success, the more likely one is to experience discrimination. The competition is keen when the stakes are high.

Further results of the Business Week Harris poll of March, 1988 revealed that "a third of Blacks and only 20% of Whites, thought

American has become more racist in the 1980s" (p. 65). Yet these findings are only slightly encouraging when one considers the fact that a Black lynching occurred in Forsythe, Alabama in 1987. The conclusions of both Harris's poll and this study are mixed at best as a majority of Blacks continue to perceive the effects of racism. However, it would appear that progress is indeed being made.

Charles King, head of the Atlanta based Urban Crisis Center, has spent nearly 20 years conducting workshops on American racism. King begins his seminars by asking the participants to define racism. King argues that "Whites cannot perceive their racism because racism is by definition the normal practice, customs and habits of a majority group that tend to disadvantage a minority group (Gelman et al, 1988, p. 26). King discovered that in all of his seminars no one wanted to state that the cause of racism is White people and their attitudes. Black women as well as society in general must admit that the problem of racism in the United States stems primarily from the attitudes of White men, attitudes which have been reinforced by our society.

The society of university administrators is primarily composed of White males who establish the standards and set the tone. Shakeshaft affirmed that "very little has been done to change the nature and behavior of male school board members and administrators" (p. 127). Rodman (1987) opined that she "had difficulty finding reasons why more women aren't being hired . . . . I have the feeling that it just ends up being discrimination" (p. 17).

Charles R. Thomas, president of the Alliance of Black School

Educators, is very skeptical about the potential for minority women to obtain many of the projected secondary school administrative positions. Thomas referred to both racism and sexism in the system and predicted that "if the system traditionally used to place people still exists, and people's attitudes do not change, then things will be no better in the future than they are now" (Rodman, 1987, p. 16).

To change our system, we must change the androcentric nature of our society. Shakeshaft (1987) coined this term to describe the male dominated attitudes of men and women, and our legal system. She further asserted that "If we are to make lasting change, we must confront a system that is white male centered and white male dominated and change that system" (p. 144).

Results from this study indicate that both racism and sexism are alive and well in institutions of higher education but to a lesser degree. Black women in the 21st century who aspire to top administrative roles are bound to be exposed to discrimination, even though society is slowly but surely changing. Women can serve as catalysts to accelerate this change.

Interestingly, change is occurring at a steady pace in our major corporations. This change in the way corporations view women, immigrants and minorities is primarily due to the fact that "from now until 2000, according to the U. S. Labor Department estimates, women, minorities and immigrants will constitute 84% of new entrants to the American work force" (p. 14). Gelman et al (1988) were aware of these findings and noted that "business is taking a new look at racism and

sexism" as projections indicate that the labor force of the 21st century will be increasingly drawn from minorities" (p. 21).

Some observers point to the recent flood of foreign investments in United States corporations and see this trend as one rationale for the gradual decline of White, male dominant, power structures. In a recent Los Angeles Times article, Edward W. Jones, a Black corporate consultant, stated that "for the first time, White males are in institutions where they are not in power" (p. 4.).

Much of the impetus for the movement to recognize cultural diversity has been spearheaded by major institutions of higher education in California. Schachter (1988) reported that UCLA and UC Berkeley are part of a handful of California employers demonstrating their alertness to the changes sweeping the work force. Both universities sponsor seminars on the issue of valuing diversity. Sector (1988) reported that "both Columbia and Stanford universities have recently revised Western Civilization courses to include works by women and minorities. And the faculty senate at Berkeley is considering a controversial plan to require all students to take a course in ethnic diversity" (p. 22). In addition, Schachter documented that, "on a percentage basis, more women and minorities have achieved managerial or professional rank in California than in the nation as a whole, reflecting the state's historically high minority population and the crowding of native and foreign born Asians into technical fields" (p. 16).

Black women in higher education who reside in California will have

an excellent chance to reach the ranks of upper management. The present movement within academia, coupled with the movement in business, provides an atmosphere of great opportunity in the 21st century.

Opportunity and performance will ease the way as women aspire to managerial ranks. But, as Vernon Jordan, former President of the Urban League notes, "you have to be where the opportunity is and wherever white people are, there is opportunity" (p. 1). "The reality of it is that biasedness, racism, sexism, and all cultural differences exist and you have to accept them as hurdles on the track" (Schachter, 1988, p. 1).

It would appear that because of the large influx of minorities into the work force, our society is now ready to address the issue of racism and its spin-off effects.

Sexism

The women in this study viewed the problem of sexism much like that of racism because, as one respondent put it, "we embody two minority labels at the same time." Black women are affected by what has been coined the "Double Whammy." One respondent recalled raised eyebrows in response to a missed meeting caused by taking her child to the doctor. Another noted that she felt the strength of sexism being one of few Black women on campus. Others stated that it was a primary issue because they worked by and large with White males.

The numbers of women managers in general have not increased

significantly enough to have an impact on this gender related finding. Women in general are scarce among managers in higher education.

Sexual stereotyping is an additional limitation for Black women. For example, in primary and secondary education men are often favored for the assistant principalship. Assistant principals have traditionally been viewed as disciplinarians, who were males. But because entry into the secondary schools' administrative ranks is often through the assistant principalship, Rodman noted that "women get excluded" (p. 17). In addition, he observed that declining enrollments and increasing school closures and consolidations have exacerbated the problem of gaining entry into this system. It limits the number of administrative openings. Universities, thus far, unlike secondary education, have not been forced to consolidate or close their campuses. And, the large scale retirement of university administrators has not been documented as yet. However, the large scale retirement of higher education faculty is documented in the Chronicle of Higher Education (1986, p. 45).

Shanlik, director of the American Council on Education's office of women, reported that the "12 year growth in the number of female presidents has slowed since 1984" (1988, p. 15). Women now occupy only 296 of the approximately 3,000 college president positions, less than 10%. This figure primarily reflects appointments made between the years of 1975 to 1987. Only 10 women were appointed between 1984 and 1987.

However, in elementary and secondary education, the tables appear to be turning. The San Diego Unified School District has 436 management

positions. These include the titles of superintendent down to central office managers. Forty-eight percent (210) are women and 10% are Black. Similar findings were quoted for the Sweetwater School District. Sweetwater has only 92 management positions and approximately one-third (32%) are women, but none are Black. This increase in the number of women administrators shown here must be considered in the context of this limited regional sample.

It would appear that sexism in American society will perhaps no longer be tolerated. Women are now coming into positions of power in large enough numbers to really make a difference in the scenarios of the past. The 21st century has the potential to be one of increasing equality.

Competition

Being competitive is a value prized by our society and the respondents of this study. Fifteen (79%) of the administrators remarked that having a competitive spirit was important to their career development. They used such adjectives as "very," "extremely," and "absolutely essential" to describe the importance of a competitive spirit. One administrator exclaimed that "in fact, your competence is measured by how well you do compared to the mainstream." She further stated that Black females "must be able to compete with other professionals."

On the other hand, the remaining four (21%) of the administrators

felt that having a competitive spirit was not important to their career advancement. Instead they saw having a cooperative spirit as more important and excluded competition all together. One administrator said, "I have never particularly wanted to be one of the pack of hounds chasing the mechanical rabbit." Another expressed the notion of team play, saying: "I am more interested in moving groups of people along." Competition was not seen as the major motivator for these four respondents. Fifteen (79%) of the respondents recognized the importance of being competitive, but all 19 agreed on the importance of cooperation. Being cooperative allows one to benefit from increased information, which can be used to be more competitive. Being competitive does not preclude cooperation. On the contrary, it becomes a necessary ingredient.

These women exhibited a style of family management built on team spirit in the ranks, rather than fostering adversarial relations. What some of these women failed to realize is that one must be competitive in order to be considered for the team. Members of a team are chosen based upon their ability to compete. Yet, once the team is chosen, the members must be able to cooperate in order for the team to accomplish its goal. The bottom line remains, may the best team win, and a winning team means a win for each member.

Fisher (1981) reported that middle managers, male and female, compete for a very small number of positions at the top and that "much has been written about the plight of middle managers now in their thirties and forties who find the corridors to advancement clogged with

too many warm bodies" (p. 34). She reaffirmed the fact that Black women must accept and understand that they are competing for very scarce positions. Men, women, minorities, and immigrants are all competing for the same or similar prize.

Developing mentor relationships with other women serves to foster both a cooperative and a competitive spirit. Black women and women in general must begin to cooperate with one another, thereby increasing their competence and overall ability to be competitive.

Having a competitive spirit was ranked sixteenth on the Strategies Feedback Tool, suggesting that in general, competitiveness was not seen as crucial to the career development of these administrators, a fatal oversight in today's competitive world. Black women must accept the notion that competition is a fact of life. Everybody competes. Competition for highly desirable administrative roles is keen.

Loyalty

The administrators described loyalty as:

1. Supporting the policies of the institution,
2. Being a team player,
3. Being able to participate in the decision making process and thereby support the results of that process,
4. Being familiar with the goals and objectives of the organization,
5. Doing what is expected,

6. Caring about quality, people, and the institution,

7. Being responsive to the institution.

Eight (42%) of the administrators described loyalty as the act of understanding the mission and purpose of the institution and effectively buying into it. In general, the respondents stated that loyalty was an important value to them and to the organizations in which they worked.

In addition, two of the women agreed that loyalty involved caring. The ethic of caring is a gender related finding and has been documented by Gilligan (1987) and others. Women are the care takers of the world. They therefore "have a special responsibility to assure its future preservation" (Boneparth and Stoper, 1988, p. 300). A large degree of participation in the decision making process usually occurs among line administrators in the university setting and nine of these women were in line roles. Eight of these nine women are the same respondents that said loyalty involved understanding the mission and purpose of the institution. They saw themselves as loyal, but not to the point of compromising their integrity.

These data suggest that the amount of loyalty in an organization is directly proportionate to the amount of decision making activity experienced by the individual. Being loyal to the organization did not relieve the administrators of their moral responsibilities.

Risk taking

Risk taking was seen as essential among all of the respondents.

This unanimous response was not, however, viewed without caution. Risk taking involved taking calculated, nonhazardous risks. And when things don't go as planned, one must be able to deal with disappointments in a positive manner. Risk taking was ranked 10th on the feedback tool. Rost (1984) reported that leaders exhibit high risk taking behavior, while managers in general practice low risk taking behavior. One could say that the women in this study practiced the old cliché: nothing ventured, nothing gained.

These women "as adults have replaced the illusion of parental protection; they can take calculated risks in order to be free" (Gould, 1978, p. 43). They control their own lives from deep inside themselves. They have reached adulthood which enables them to escape the childlike disregard for safety. Gould (1978) implied that the trauma of near-misses and almost-consequences experienced during our youth prepares us for risk taking in adulthood. His "definition of acceptable risk becomes a product of one's own experience" (p. 61).

Gender related research has shown that men and women react to the possibility of risk on different levels. Hennig and Jardim (1977) found that "women see risk as entirely negative, affecting the here and now. Men see risk as affecting the future; it is risking one's own potential, risking future gain, risking career advancement" (p. 47). The women in this study are more closely aligned with the male oriented view of risk taking.

Accomplishing More and Deciding Faster

Findings in this section of the study are based on a continuum scale relating to confidence. The respondents were asked to describe how their ability to accomplish more and decide faster than their peers affected their career success. The response was somewhat unexpected. Only 4 of the 19 women were confident in their skills and talents in deciding faster. Three held the title of president and the other held the title of dean. These women who occupy top level positions were indeed confident in their abilities and realized that hard work and educational achievements were at the base of that confidence. "Smart players promote themselves" (Harragan, 1977, p. 237).

Seven other respondents were somewhat confident but hedged their responses in collateral issues that served to validate and help foster their ability to perceive themselves as confident. These women spoke of willingness, being thorough, and being in the right place at the right time. Two of the women were clearly not confident at all, if these responses measure confidence.

The second largest group of respondents were the most disturbing. This group chose not to respond to the question. Six (32%) stated that they did not understand the question, a rather unusual finding in that the 13 other women did respond. If, indeed, smart players in the game of work promote themselves, these women will perhaps find it difficult to advance in this game. It appears that women and their work are much less regarded and known than men and their work. Thus women tend not to value their skills and abilities. Therefore, deciding faster and accomplishing more than their male peers was not valued by the majority

of this group. Attaching value to one's work serves to build confidence in the ability to act.

Harragan (1977) explained that "without the motivation of showing his friends and rivals how much he has improved his physical skills; it's a rare boy who would willingly spend hours practicing how to throw or catch a ball" (p. 78). This researcher would caution Black women to reevaluate their positions on the question of confidence and would encourage them to make public their accomplishments, whenever appropriately possible. Of course, no one likes an egotist, but everyone likes a winner!

Harragan continued her analysis by cautioning women about wrong assumptions related to their job status. She found that one major wrong assumption of women involved "the delusion that having a job means you are automatically in the game. For men, yes. For women, no. We must apply and qualify for the team. Otherwise they [women] are routed to a peripheral role" (p. 78). Confidence will enable Black Women to withstand the obstacles that confront them in their attempts to qualify for an administrative team.

Power

Power is a term that has masculine connotations. Typically, managers and leaders use either their personal power or positional power to achieve their goals and draw others to these goals and

collaborate in achieving them. The managers in this study used their personal power most frequently. Fifteen (80%) of the women embraced this notion and used adjectives such as influence, persuasion, and relationships to describe power. Ten of these women attributed their ability to use this power to the office they held.

Empowering others was a concept typically found among these women. This is similar to Kanter's (1983) statement that women tend to minimize the authoritative exercise of power and maximize subordinate autonomy and learning through delegation. Kanter defined empowerment as the circulation of power through open communications, networking, and decentralizing resources (p. 159). Shakeshaft (1987) observed that "this sharing of power is based on the notion that power is not finite but rather that it expands as it is shared" (p. 206). She further commented on women's collaborative approach to decision making, noting that research findings have supported this style for effective leaders.

The style and approach to the use of power resources varied among the administrators in this study. They viewed power much like Burns (1978) who stated that "power is first of all a relationship" (p. 13).

Successful Management Strategies

The fourth objective of this study required the documentation of the successful management behaviors and strategies common to this group of administrators in higher education.

The initial face to face interviews with the 19 administrators

identified nine common strategies which include: (1) obtain a broad experience, (2) earn a doctoral degree, (3) obtain a faculty position, (4) plan early, (5) find a mentor, (6) take advantage of opportunities, (7) develop visibility, (8) use networks, and (9) evaluate self (see Table 7).

The ranking of the strategies changed with the introduction of additional variables found in the literature on barriers to women's advancement in school administration and business corporations, as well as in organizational management theory. A final list of 20 strategies is found in Table 8. Eighteen of the 19 respondents ranked these strategies in a feedback tool mailed to the administrators after the interview. One respondent did not agree with the method used to rank the 20 general strategies in the order of importance to her own career. She saw the use of the strategies as cumulative, no one being more important than the other.

Using mean scores, the researcher identified the top three strategies of the 18 respondents as: (1) Gain interpersonal skills, (2) Find a mentor who can assist, (3) Deal positively with racism and sexism. The numerical differences in mean scores were minor and cannot be viewed as statistically significant.

The data suggest that in general Black females who aspire to an administrative management position in higher education have a better chance to succeed if they possess all of the top three strategies.

Additional strategies reported as successful by the administrators are presented in Table 12. The typical but difficult faculty route was

prized for its rigors and academic clout. But few of these Black women followed this path exclusively. This trend must change if Black women desire to be competitive in this academic arena. The faculty route requires that the administrator obtain a degree in one of the mainstream arts and sciences and that she be willing to devote at least 10 years to climbing the line versus staff administrative ladder in tenure track faculty positions.

Future Vision

The fifth objective was to determine how these administrators viewed themselves in terms of professional success, future career objectives, and aspirations. Future visions centers on the administrator's need to make a contribution to society. Such a contribution may require creating structures and processes that further human and economic development.

On behalf of the National Institute for Women of Color, Parker presented testimony at a legislative hearing on December 4, 1987. She testified to combat what she identified as "the myth that women of color are not preservers of the future, as society often views them as relatively powerless and data collection agencies deem them statistically insignificant. Both are rooted in racism and sexism" (Moritz, 1988 p. 2). Parker went on to describe the fact that "women of color--like most women throughout the world--have a major responsibility for the future. We bear and raise children, maintain and pass on

traditions, serve and nurture communities" (p. 2). This unique role enables women to take a long range perspective on life.

In describing his theory of ego development, Erikson (1963) addressed the issue of generativity. He presented generativity as the developmental task of middle adulthood concerned with the sense of having contributed to the future. Of course, the concept also includes such conventional terms as productivity and creativity.

The respondents in this study expressed a willingness to assume a responsibility for others. Fourteen of the 19 administrators fall within the category of middle adulthood. All 14 of these Black women were concerned with some aspect of generativity. The respondents made such statements as: "I feel responsible for sharing in the guidance of our next generation;" "I am concerned with the development of our youth who will ultimately control our society;" "I've made a positive effect on social problems and the community;" and "It is an humbling experience for a student to return to campus and say that I was very instrumental in his/her higher education." Additional statements included: "I am committed to make the world a better place;" "I am participating heavily in the community;" "I am committed to making the world a better place even if it impacts only one little student;" and "I am working towards creating an environment that's conducive to the academic success of minority students and all students."

Repayment to those who fought for the administrators' freedom of opportunity were expressed by such statements as: "We all feel a need to pay back society;" "I want to make at least some small contribution to

those who helped me along the way;" and "I am here because there are a lot of people who opened the way."

The findings of this study indicate that making a contribution to society was seen as most important to these administrators in terms of their professional success and future career objectives. All of the administrators felt a sense of responsibility to the next generation. It was a repeated theme, centering on their ability to make a difference and their repaying those who had fought for their right to educational freedom.

Summary

The categories of the administrators sampled included the following: three presidents, four vice presidents, two deans, six assistant deans, and four directors. The majority of this group represents a high level of administrative positioning within higher education.

All of the administrators were employed in their present positions since 1980 and the length of employment ranged from one to seven years. The average age of the administrators ranged from the early 30s to the late 40s. Only four were in the age group from 50 to 60 years.

Eight of the administrators had salaries in the range of \$60,000 or above. Eleven of the participants have doctoral degrees and one reported being enrolled in a doctoral program. Ten of the eleven degrees were conferred by traditionally White universities. Although

only three respondents had mentors, it was thought to have a positive effect on salary level. The women mentors expressed great satisfaction in their mentor relationships and their ability to provide necessary assistance.

Four categories emerged from the interview questions. The first category concerned career choice and acquisition and included the narration of the paths taken by the administrators to secure their positions in higher education. The second category dealt with organizational politics and spoke to the issues of racism and sexism, competitive spirit, risk taking, loyalty, power, and accomplishing more than one's peers.

The third category related to the strategies the Black female administrators felt were important in securing administrative positions and from them a list of nine strategies repeated by at least four participants was developed by the researcher. Eleven other strategies were added to the nine to make up a final list of 20 general strategies. The 20 strategies are a combination of the nine personal strategies of the participants along with six strategies based upon the researcher's review and synthesis of the literature on barriers to women's entry into management, plus five based on specific management theories.

The fourth category focused upon future visions and discussed the middle adulthood developmental task described as generativity or making a contribution to society and, thus, the future.

Methodology

Because there was a dearth of literature which dealt specifically with the successful administrative behaviors and strategies used by Black females in higher education, the review of related and available literature focused on the problems faced by women in general, the underrepresentation of Black female administrators, and the very limited data on Black women in higher education administration.

The qualitative research approach was utilized because of its ability to yield insight into the values, perceptions, and motivations of Black female administrators in higher education not found in quantitative studies. The study did not seek to verify any given theory or set of a priori assumptions, but rather sought to understand the reality of the administrators under study and how it related to their success in their careers.

The data were collected through in-depth personal interviews with the 19 respondents. The interviews were tape recorded and transcripts of the interviews made. The transcripts were analyzed according to the constant comparative method of analysis.

Conclusions of this investigation are organized around the five research questions.

How Black Females in Higher Education Acquired Their Positions

This study indicates that the career development of Black female administrators is not characterized by a single linear path. However,

most of these women traveled the familiar faculty route. Timing appeared to play a role in this group's career mapping as they were positively affected by both the period of affirmative action and the women's movement of the sixties.

Planning early for an administrative career would at first glance appear to be a generally accepted strategy. However, nine (47%) of the administrators disagreed with this approach. One cannot expect people to answer positively when they hadn't planned for their own careers. These findings would further suggest that these administrators in general did not take an active role in charting their own career maps.

The Demographic Profiles of Nineteen Black Female Administrators

A large majority of these administrators are between the ages of 30 and 49 years, a period described by Erikson and Levinson, among others, as middle adulthood. Seven out of 19 held the title of vice president or above, which perhaps indicates a change in the acceptance of Black women as administrators. Their salaries appeared to be competitive compared to White women in similar roles and ranged from \$45,000 to \$60,000 and above. But great salary variations were noted among the titles of assistant deans and directors. One might conclude that these positions are not as consistently appraised as to the criteria used to set salary levels. An alternative conclusion would be that they are staff positions, the responsibilities of which vary greatly, and, as a result, do not command consistently high salaries.

The doctoral degree was viewed as important by eleven of the administrators who held this degree. Most of the administrators perceived it as the American Express card; you don't become a high ranking administrator without it.

The Role of Internal/External Organizational Politics

Politics was defined in Chapter I as the bargaining among regularized circuits between individual members of an organization. A more appropriate definition of politics for this group would be, who gets what, when, and how (Lasswell, 1936). Data gathered in this study suggest that politics did play a role in the acquisition or maintenance of these administrators' positions. Nine of the administrators answered "no" to this question. However, upon closer analysis, one recognizes that politics did exist among this group and included mentors, the use of affirmative action, empowering others, increasing one's visibility, being competitive, and networking. All are considered by this researcher to be political factors. They were used by the administrators to increase their bargaining circuits and therefore can be labeled political.

Politics was viewed as a masculine, profanity and thus was not openly embraced by many women. Yet, even the sociological view of organizations, expressed by Selznick (1957) and Parsons (1966), emphasized the political bargaining and negotiation behavior practiced by educational institutions. Bolman and Deal (1984) also see politics

as one way of viewing organizational behavior.

Further, recent findings by leadership scholars encourage a wider acceptance of the political nature of organizations. Like it or not, all organizations are political. Appropriate political practice can lead to organizational and personal success. Politics and power are both crucial aspects of leadership. Leadership can also be practiced by managers.

Documented Successful Management Behaviors and Strategies

The five most popular behaviors and strategies initially advocated by the participants were: (1) obtaining a broad base experience, (2) obtaining a doctoral degree, (3) taking the faculty route, (4) planning early for an administrative career and, (5) finding a mentor who can assist in one's career development.

The top five ranked career enhancement strategies included: (1) gaining interpersonal skills, (2) finding a mentor who can assist in one's career development, (3) learning to deal with racism and sexism, (4) gaining decision making skills, and (5) obtaining a doctoral degree.

Obtaining a doctoral degree and finding a mentor who could assist with one's career were consistently noted among both groups and, therefore, must be viewed as the most important indicators for career success.

Future Visions

These administrators saw themselves as role models for both the community at large and the educational community specifically. They appeared comfortable with their positions which afforded a level of generous autonomy and prestige.

All of the administrators viewed themselves as competent and hard working individuals who were concerned with contributing to the future of society and leaving a legacy to improve that society.

Recommendations

Progressing through the ranks of academic administration will continue to be a challenge for the Black women. While the responsibility for maximizing career development should not rest solely with the administrators, this investigation yields information that can be used by Black females to facilitate their own career growth. The final list of 20 strategies presented for Black women who are contemplating a long term career in higher education administration is found in Table 12. The top five strategies are highly recommended and should be taken seriously by all Black women who seek higher education faculty and administrative positions as their goal.

In addition, it is suggested that:

1. Academic institutions realize and assume their responsibility for enhancing the career growth of Black female administrators. If institutions continue to not address this issue, business entrepreneurs

and private industry will reap the benefits of these qualified Black candidates.

2. Black women who are interested in holding top ranked line positions in higher education should plan to spend time gaining experience, progressing through the traditional faculty route.

3. Established line administrators should serve as mentors to provide valuable experiences for Black women who are graduate students, young faculty members, and beginning administrators.

4. Black women should learn to compete for scarce resources without abandoning their ethic of caring and collaboration.

5. Black women should engage in serious discourse with progressive White males (Alderfer, 1982, p. 163) about the persistence of racism and sexism.

6. Black women should explore the use of sharing power with others and develop the skills of empowering others to significantly impact on an organization.

7. Educational institutions should explore the potential for increasing the number of Black female professors of educational administration.

8. Organizations should design workshops to address specific barriers experienced by Black women and other minorities in higher education administration.

9. Organizations should develop workshops to address the use of politics within organizations by Black women and women generally.

10. Black line administrators should explore ways to impact the

hiring practices of human resources personnel as they relate to racism and sexism.

Recommendations for Further Research

The following suggestions are made for future research,

1. A replication be made of this study with administrators in other geographical locations with several modifications. To improve the study, the length and depth of the interviews should be expanded to allow for more structured and unstructured conversation. Secondly, the administrators were the only source of data on themselves. Additional written surveys and interviews with the colleagues of the administrators would be very helpful.

2. Qualitative transactional and transformational leadership studies should be conducted on Black women who approach their followers with a desire to exchange one resource for another; or the ability to recognize and satisfy the higher needs of their followers. These leaders will have a power base and a vision generally recognized by their peers. They will also exert an impact on the future of our society.

3. Similar qualitative studies should be conducted with Black women in corporations, K-12 school districts, and with public administrators in city, county, state, and federal offices.

4. In-depth qualitative research on the childhood and young adult lifestyles of Black female administrators may provide an understanding

of the events which help to shape the growth and development of these women, thus providing a more incisive and insightful study.

5. Qualitative and quantitative research on the issue of racism and its effect on women should be encouraged. Findings may assist in solving one of society's most devastating and pervasive problems.

Concluding Remarks

Managers who operate within organizations use power, are goal oriented, maintain high visibility, motivate people by mobilizing resources, and engage in transactional behavior or exchanges in order to get needs met.

Rost, Jeffries & Henrickson (1988) recognized that "the problem of confusing and/or equating leadership with management is evident in the mainstreams of many scholarly traditions" (p. 3). In the past, researchers have made the mistake of studying people who occupy elite positions within our organizations in an attempt to study leadership. This research is, by design, management oriented. Nineteen Black female managers were studied in both line and staff roles in higher education administration.

All women, no matter what their ethnic background, should be aware that as a group, they occupy a very small percentage of all administrative positions in higher education. It is conceivable that at some point, women in general and Black women in particular, will be in enough decision making positions in academic communities to change the

hiring and promotion patterns. Until then, Black administrators must continue to network in order to prevent isolation, seek the doctoral degree, develop mentor relationships, have good interpersonal skills, become political, and deal effectively with racism and sexism.

Major institutions today are frequently run by managers and educational institutions are no different. Therefore, scholarly research dedicated to the understanding of both Black female managers and leaders in academia is sorely needed. The quest for knowledge in this case and at this time transcends the need to distinguish leaders from managers. Instead, the findings of Simeone (1987) presents an even greater concern. She noted that "the scholarship of women may be different in style and substance when compared to mainstream academic scholarship" which has the tendency to "focus on the perspectives, accomplishments and experiences of men; the gatekeepers" (p. 74). Even so, the focus of this research has deliberately addressed the issue of Black females who constitute 2% of the United States' academic women. Their scarcity in numbers, however, does not negate the duty of the intellectual communities to identify and understand them.

It has been little over 20 years since society has accepted the fact that what women say about their lives is important. Given this short amount of time, it is understandable that "the experiences, contributions and ideas of Black women are virtually invisible in all disciplines." And to further compound the problem their achievements "often receive secondary prominence in both Afro-American and women's studies" (Simeone, 1987, p. 70).

Even when research on Black women is undertaken, they are often

described in limited and sometimes inaccurate ways. Qualitative research such as this study can be helpful in providing meaningful, clear, and relevant information about this virtually invisible group. Research designed and conducted by Black women increases the possibility that truthful sharing and accurate interpretation of data will occur. The purpose of research is to rigorously seek answers to a problem or issue and to share those answers with others and perhaps is the reason why these women chose to participate in this endeavor.

The respondents in this research understood the need to create a fuller and more accurate body of knowledge on Black female administrators. As educators, these women have committed their lives to the process of learning. Learning requires a change in both attitudes and behaviors. And as Grant (1988) has noted, "we only teach that which we had to learn" (p. 28). The administrators in this study have learned a great deal, and so too has the researcher. All of these women agreed to share their experiences in the hope that others might benefit from their learning. They realize that if Black women do not contribute to scholarship, White, male dominated, disciplines will continue to define acceptable research content and methodology. They may also understand that White and Asian women share this problem, but their focus has primarily involved their own unique point of view.

Today, unlike ever before, the potential for change spearheaded by Black women is greater than ever before. The past two decades have perhaps offered Black women more cause for hope than despair. "One can only hope that in two decades hence, this potential [for change] will

have been realized" (Simeone, 1987, p. 144).

Black women of the future can be excited by the possibility of making a small but important step towards changing the balance of power in academia. All women, no matter what their ethnic background, should be aware that currently they occupy a very small percentage of all administrative positions in higher education. It is conceivable that at some point in the future, women in general and Black women in particular will be in enough decision making positions in academic communities to change their research, hiring, and promotion patterns.

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Appendix A

Letter Requesting Interview Participation

Appendix A

1445 Hunsaker Street
Oceanside, CA 92054

Date

Dear :

The presence of Black female administrators in higher education has grown over the past two decades. Despite this increase, however, their numbers continue to be small. In addition, there has been relatively little attention in the literature regarding Black females in higher education.

As a Black female and doctoral candidate at the University of San Diego, I have chosen the area of Black female administrators in higher education for my dissertation. I hope that the information gleaned from this research will not only add to the limited body of knowledge, but will also provide successful strategies for career advancement to be used by Black and other minority females who seek to hold high level administrative positions in higher education.

To complete this investigation, I need your assistance. You have been referred to me because of your potential to contribute to this study. I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to provide you a complete explanation of my research and to secure your participation in this study. I will contact you by phone to discuss this possibility.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia A. Harvard, M. Ed.

Appendix B

Interview Questions for Black Female Administrators In Higher Education

Appendix B

Directions: There is no right or wrong answer.

1. Starting with your current position, tell me how you got there.
2. Tell me about the role that politics has or has not played in the acquisition of your administrative position.
3. Describe some specific strategies you would suggest for increasing the participation of Black females in higher education.
4. If you have been affected by either sexism or racism in your career development, tell me how you successfully overcame these obstacles.
5. How important is having a competitive spirit to your career advancement?
6. Do you believe that risk taking was paramount to your success? If so, in what respect?
7. How would you define loyalty to the organization?
8. Describe how you derive power from your position.
9. How has your ability to accomplish more and decide faster than your peers figured in your career success, if at all?
10. How much does making a contribution to society contribute to your feeling of success in your career?

Appendix C

Demographic Data Questionnaire

Appendix C

Please complete the following questions.

1. Official Position Title _____
  - a. Date of appointment _____
  - b. Number of years in this position _____
2. Status of employing institution: _____
  - a. Private _____
  - b. Public _____
3. Type of employing institution:
  - a. Community College _____
  - b. University _____
  - c. Four year college _____
4. Size of employing institution:

Less than 1,000 _____	10,000 - 12,000 _____
1,000 - 3,999 _____	13,000 - 15,999 _____
4,000 - 6,999 _____	16,000 - 18,999 _____
7,000 - 9,999 _____	19,000 - above _____
5. Age

(21-29) _____	(30-39) _____	(40-49) _____
(50-59) _____	(60+) _____	
6. Highest degree held:

None _____	
AA _____	ABD _____
Bachelor's _____	Doctoral _____
Master's _____	Other (please specify) _____

7. Present salary range:

\$29,000 or under _____	\$45,000 - 49,000 _____
\$30,000 - 34,000 _____	\$50,000 - 54,000 _____
\$35,000 - 39,000 _____	\$55,000 - 59,000 _____
\$40,000 - 44,000 _____	\$60,000 - over _____

8. Type of institution where education was completed:

Undergraduate Degree: Year completed _____

Predominantly White institution _____

Predominantly Black institution _____

Master's: Year completed _____

Predominantly White institution _____

Predominantly Black institution _____

Doctoral: Year completed _____

Predominantly White institution _____

Predominantly Black institution _____

9. Please list titles and dates of all other administrative positions you have held.

Title	Dates
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form

Appendix D

I have heard the explanation of this study and understand that my participation is entirely voluntary.

It is understood that my answers will be held in strict confidence and that my name will never be publicly associated with the study without my specific written consent.

I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded, and give my permission to Patricia A. Harvard to use direct quotations.

If excerpts from my interview are included in the dissertation, any publication, or in any discussion of this research, all identifying information will be disguised or deleted.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Phone: _____

_____

Appendix E

Covering Memo: Strategies Feedback Tool

Appendix E

TO: All Participating Administrators

FROM: Patricia A. Harvard
1445 Hunsaker Street
Oceanside, CA 92054

SUBJECT: Doctoral Dissertation

Dear:

I am now in the process of writing the final chapter of my dissertation on the successful administrative behaviors of Black Females in higher education.

Because this research is of a qualitative nature, validation of the findings should come from the participants. Once again I need your help.

Please find enclosed a list of 20 strategies taken from interviews with 19 administrators residing in California. Rank the 20 strategies in order of their importance to you. In addition, indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

It is important that I receive your response prior to September 15, 1987. Therefore, I have included a self-addressed stamped envelope for the prompt return of this data.

Again, thank you for your cooperation.

PH:vh

enclosures

Appendix F

Strategies Feedback Tool

Appendix F

Directions: Please rank the identified 20 strategies in order of their importance to your career advancement. If you disagree with the statement, please explain.

Strategies	Disagree	Agree	Order of Importance
1. Obtain a broad base of experience to include budgeting, financial management and communications skill.			
2. Obtain a doctoral degree.			
3. Take on additional assignments and committee work to increase one's visibility on campus.			
4. Find a mentor who can assist in one's career development.			
5. Begin early to plan for an administrative career.			
6. Dress appropriately, according to the organizational culture.			
7. Be willing to take risk.			

Strategies	Disagree	Agree	Order of Importance
8. Learn to deal positively with racism and sexism.			
9. Be aware of organizational politics.			
10. Effectively utilize your power.			
11. Empower others.			
12. Gain interpersonal skills.			
13. Gain information processing skills.			
14. Gain decision-making skills.			
15. Be goal directed.			
16. Frequently evaluate yourself and commit to excellence.			
17. Begin to network, utilize national and professional organizations.			
18. Become competitive in terms of skills.			
19. Give yourself opportunities and options.			
20. Recognize and share the values and symbols of the institution.			

Below, please include any strategies not listed above that you feel are important to the development of successful administrators in higher education.

Additional Strategies

1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____

NAME: _____ TITLE: _____