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The roles and perceptions of black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

Norvell Jackson
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THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS
IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
EDUCATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA

A Dissertation Presented
By
NORVELL JACKSON

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

FEBRUARY, 1985

Education
Norvell Jackson, 1985

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THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA

A Dissertation Presented

By

NORVELL JACKSON

Approved as to style and content by:

Dr. Norma Jean Anderson, Chairperson

Dr. Horace C. Boyer, Member

Dr. Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education
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I could not close this acknowledgement page without recognizing three other individuals: my parents, Irma and James H. Hamer, who helped create the person that I am. And, last, but not least, my thanks to God, for through him all good things are possible.
ABSTRACT

THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA

FEBRUARY, 1985

Norvell Jackson, B.A., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Norma Jean Anderson

The main objectives of this study was to ascertain the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area and to address salient issues and challenges which confront Black female administrators as the recently emerging group of administrators.

This study employed the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The qualitative data was acquired through four in-depth interviews and the quantitative data through questionnaires disseminated to eighty-five members of professional organization, the New England Minority Women Administrators (NEMWA).

The findings of this study suggests that the numbers of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area are relatively small and that they have not progressed since the 1960s. Very few Black female administrators are found in the higher echelons of our predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.
Furthermore, the majority of Black female administrators continue to be concentrated in entry-level, staff, service-oriented positions characterized as student/minority affairs, admissions, recruitment, and counseling, et cetera.

Black female administrators who hold line positions face some of the same problems faced by Black female administrators who hold staff positions, i.e., racism, sexism, isolation and career mobility. However, the issues of involvement in the decision making processes, autonomy, power and being associated with the hierarchical structure are less salient.

In order for Black female administrators to increase their numbers they must break down the various forms of prejudices and help create new expectations of the Black woman as an administrator. They must work with parents, educators and employers to destroy the past socialization processes and to raise the aspirations of other Black females. They must encouraging other Black females to maximize their potential, seek out mentors, be supportive, learn how to delegate responsibilities and be willing to learn.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historically, research related to management and administration has been designed primarily for a very selected population—white men. Because white males tend to occupy most of the top positions in both private and public institutions, it follows, therefore, that they would be the primary source from which information is attained. In general, there is an abundance of research in the area of management and administration. There is, however, a dearth of information about Black administrators in general and Black female administrators in particular. Because Blacks are moving into administrative positions in ever increasing numbers, it is imperative that we begin to examine factors associated with their success/failure in administration and management. This problem is particularly acute when one begins to examine the phenomenon of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

A review of the literature suggests that Black female administrators are seldom, if ever, mentioned as a discrete group with aspirations held by others who have traditionally filled such positions. They are usually studied within the context of minority women. Unfortunately, the practice of grouping Black female administrators with other minority women diminishes the significance of problems Black female administrators face on the job. The
experiences of Black female administrators in colleges and universities represent a special challenge because these institutions have had a history of male dominance. The intrusion of Black female administrators into the male dominated hierarchy has resulted into some interesting social arrangements. This study, therefore, is designed to examine the experiences of selected Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

The movement of Blacks into administrative positions of higher education was strengthened as a result of the 1954 Supreme Court decision (Brown vs. the Topeka Board of Education). The Court concluded that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Denying black children admission to schools attended by white children deprived Black children of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In essence, the Court's decision placed great emphasis on the issue of equal educational opportunity. Consequently, the Court found itself in the unique position of establishing criteria for policy making in many areas of higher education. As a result of the Court's decision, the federal government began to enact civil rights legislation to enforce the law. The civil rights legislation was the primary vehicle responsible for the influx of Black students at traditionally white institutions of higher education during the mid-sixties. In fact, as the presence of Black students increased on white campuses, it became
readily apparent that Black faculty and administrators were also needed to address many of their concerns. While the role of the faculty was understood, the function of the administrator in many cases, was not clearly defined.

Statement Of Purpose

The general purpose of this study is to describe from the standpoint of today's Black female administrators how they perceive themselves and their roles in a predominantly white institution of higher education in the New England area.

We are at a time in history where Blacks and other minorities are in administrative positions never previously held outside of the Black colleges. They hold positions as Chancellors, Presidents, Vice Presidents, Directors of Budgets and Deans to name just a few. As the results of the influx of Blacks and other minorities into positions that have been traditionally held by whites in general and white males in particular, their roles and functions were not always clearly defined. Thereby, many Blacks were placed in ambiguous positions without clearly defined responsibilities. Consequently, many Blacks were placed in the position of enhancing the stereotypical perception that they were not prepared for critical administrative positions in institutions of higher education. These perceptions were further exacerbated as more and more Black women began to move into administrative positions in higher education. In other words, because of historical perceptions about the traditions of administration and
administrators, Blacks were often considered the exception rather than the rule.

The Black female administrator's presence on predominantly white campuses has raised some significant issues which need to be addressed. For example, what unique contributions can the Black female administrator make to predominantly white institutions of higher education? How are Black female administrators treated in a predominantly white institution of higher education? How does Affirmative Action affect the Black female administrator, if, in fact it does? What type of rapport does the Black female administrator have with the institution and its clientele? These and other relevant questions will be addressed in the context of this study.

This study addresses factors such as past socialization and its ultimate effect on the success or failure of Black female administrators. Issues encompassing prejudices manifested in stereotyping and ultimately in societial and organizational discrimination, such as unfair hiring and promotional practices will also be discussed.

The main objectives of this study were therefore to:

1. ascertain the roles, functions and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

2. address salient issues and challenges which confront Black female administrators as the recently emerging group of administrators.
Definition Of Terms

Black female administrator - Any Black woman who holds a professional position within an institution of higher education whose job title and function involved, at least in part: management, supervision, leadership and authority, development and program planning.

Management/Administration - For the purpose of this study management and administration are synonymous. The administration of an educational institution is considered as a process similar to management of other types of organizations.

Predominantly white Institution Post-secondary schools in which the student, faculty and administrative population are over 50 percent Caucasian.

Perception The process of becoming aware of, or coming to understand something through the senses.

First Level Administrator administrator who functions in the administrative capacity of chief administrator, chancellor, or president of educational institutions.

Second Level Administrator administrator who functions in the administrative capacity of vice president, deans (assistant and associate) or provosts at their designated institutions.

Third Level Administrator administrator that functions in the administrative capacity as department chairmen, division chairmen, program coordinators or directors of programs at their designated educational institution (Mims, 1981, p. 169).
Entry Level Administrator an administrator who functions in the capacity of counsellor, staff assistant, or "assistant to" position of an educational institution.

Limitations Of The Study

This combination qualitative/quantitative study is limited because it focuses primarily on the perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education. The respondents in this study are members of a professional organization, namely, the New England Minority Women Administrators; thereby, the total population in this study is limited.

Significance Of The Study

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to sensitizing the reader to the issues and challenges of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education. It will provide insightful information on the profile of Black female administrators and the barriers they encounter most often. Examples of these barriers include racial and sexual discrimination, lack of administrative openings, financial problems, job/home conflicts, lack of acceptance in social situations dominated by white male administrators, resentment from subordinates and peers and organizational politics.

Over the years many studies and self-help guides have addressed the new working woman, however, very little attention has been paid to the unique experiences of the new working woman who is Black and an administrator.
This chapter reviews the literature pertinent to this study on the issues and challenges of Black female administrators working in predominantly white institutions of higher education. There is not a great deal of literature available addressing any particular aspect of Black female administrators and the unique circumstances surrounding their presence on white campuses. Therefore, in order to create a conceptual base, the literature review has been divided into four sections:

Section One: Introduction

Section Two: The background and history leading to the presence of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education and the resultant effects. The historic time period involved in this section is 1964 to the present.

Section Three: A review of the literature on selected management theories.

Section Four: Current Perspective on Black Female Administrators

From the aforementioned, the author presented the complex issues that confront Black female administrators and issues with which they must contend with in their efforts to survive and function effectively in the present American educational system.
Section One: Introduction

The socialization process in this country by which individuals learn appropriate sex-roles has contributed enormously to the success or failure of both men and women, white and Black. A voluminous amount of literature on the topic of sex-role socialization attests to the complexity of the problem and places it far beyond the scope and intent of this study. However, the author feels it is imperative to address the underlying assumptions that are usually associated with the failure of many female administrators (Lips & Colwill, 1978).

If we look back on past socialization processes, we find boys are encouraged to show strength and be more aggressive from birth. Men acquire the attributes of being competent, independent, rational and logical because these traits are highly valued in this society. At the same time, traits typically attributed to women are completely opposite and negatively valued, i.e., incompetent, dependent, irrational and emotional (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz & Vogel; Broverman, et. al., 1972; Grump, 1972; Mussen, 1961, 1962; Rosenkrantz, et. al., 1968).

In general, the sex-role stereotypes for women, with the exception of Black women, entail being docile, caring and nurturing. For the American Black woman, however, the socialization process differs considerably. Her sub-culture calls for the Black woman to be aggressive and to endure significant societal pressures while simultaneously assuming the dual responsibility of economic provider and homemaker. Black women have long been recognized for their
endurance and their ability to maintain the Black family structure (Cox, 1976; Ladner, 1971; Staples, 1973). On the other hand, their survival mechanisms were also viewed negatively by certain segments of our society which described the Black woman as being dominating and castrating. For example, Moynihan (1965) described the role of the Black Matriarch as pathological. Black Matriarchs are Black women who are dominant in family relationships. They are the ones who keep the family together. He argued that "In essence, the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole, and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male and, in consequence, on a great many Negro women as well" (Moynihan, 1965, p. 29).

Wrightman (1977) defined a stereotype as "a relatively rigid and over-simplified conception of a group of people (usually by another group) in which all individuals in the group are labelled with the so-called group characteristics" (Wrightman, 1977, p. 672 cited in Basow, 1980). Implicit in this definition is an over generalization about a social group's behavior and personality traits. This rigid over-simplification becomes, in part, a sex-role stereotype. Even though stereotyping is applicable to all groups, it has particular importance when people tend to make simplistic generalizations about women and their roles in this society.

The sex-role patterns and stereotypes of human beings are shaped and influenced by the cultural group into which they are born and/or identify, as well as by forces within the larger society (Billingsley,
The perceptions of what are appropriate characteristics, behaviors, or attitudes are, to a large extent, influenced by one's cultural group. However, what is appropriate in one cultural context may not be acceptable in another. Hence, we find the dominant issues of race, sex and classes being intertwined with the perceived problems most Black female administrators face in our contemporary society.

The variable of race in the United States, have been found to be important in the sex-role socialization process (Hess, 1970); however, it is frequently overlooked. Most empirical studies reported have consistently used white middle-class subjects and are based on white norms. The ramifications of the inequities instituted in this country toward people of color make race one of the largest problems in our society. The ideology of Blacks and other minorities being inferior to whites is so interwoven into our citizenry that it is the most dominant force which contributes to the failure of Blacks and other minority administrators.

The intervention of the federal government through the Civil Rights movement, Affirmative Action and other movements was the impetus to radical changes in the professions of Black females. Among Blacks, women are a higher percentage in the occupational group white collar workers than their male counterpart. According to Blitz (1974, pp. 34-39) more than fifty percent of the Black female professionals are in teaching, social work and nursing. Black women have constituted more than half of all Black professionals since 1940. In 1970 for example, 5.4 percent of all American professionals were Black. Of that group 61.2 percent were women.
The white collar professional occupations for the Black females in teaching, nursing and social work goes back further than 1940. F.B. Williams (1904, p. 96) stated that Black women were among the sole trainers of Black teachers. Their efforts to train nurses in the many unaccredited nursing schools are still discussed among Blacks in the medical field. Many believe that their pioneering work in social work was the forerunner of current field work in the social services. The rudiments of our modern counseling concepts have their prototypes, if not their origins, in the Black colleges and under many models suggested by Black women (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, pp. 158-159).

The Black female led the pioneering efforts of counseling, guidance, recruitment and financial aid as it was carried on in the early Black colleges. These activities were implemented by individuals who were untrained as guidance personnel and who were not fully reimbursed for their achievements. Today, similar economic conditions prevail; trained counsellors, nurses and administrators under the caption of white collar and manager occupational groups are still underpaid for their professional endeavors (See Table 1 ).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Mean Earnings</th>
<th>Percent Distribution</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar Workers</td>
<td>10,193</td>
<td>15,018</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Workers</td>
<td>10,830</td>
<td>16,108</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried</td>
<td>11,064</td>
<td>15,225</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>24,509</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar Workers</td>
<td>6,631</td>
<td>5,853</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Workers</td>
<td>8,678</td>
<td>7,542</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried</td>
<td>8,753</td>
<td>7,542</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>10,901</td>
<td>16,732</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried</td>
<td>12,160</td>
<td>17,874</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11,678</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>8,066</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>9,707</td>
<td>10,014</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>7,699</td>
<td>7,540</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>8,115</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4,388</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>2,775</td>
<td>3,086</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>5,936</td>
<td>5,398</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


a/ Percent of the total number of workers within the racial group who worked within particular occupational groups. Components may not add to totals because of rounding.
Black women make up a substantial percentage of the Black working force and this is true of the poorest Black family as well as the so-called "middle-class" family. Most Black women have to work to help feed, house, and clothe their families. Kilson (1977, p. 38) stated:

Since 1890 Black women have constituted a larger proportion of the Black labor force than have all women of the total labor force, both Black and white women have had greater representation in the professions than in the labor force since 1910 (See Table 2).

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>U.S. WOMEN AS PROPORTION OF U.S. LABOR FORCE</th>
<th>PROFESSIONALS</th>
<th>BLACK WOMEN AS PROPORTION OF BLACK LABOR FORCE</th>
<th>PROFESSIONALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kilson (1977) stated that although Black women comprise over 50 percent of Black professionals, 60 percent of Black female professionals are concentrated in the traditional fields of nursing, teaching, library science, and social work, with only 10 percent in the less traditional fields such as architecture, dentistry and engineering.

Kilson further expounded:

To comprehend the professional participation of Black women in 20th century America, one must explore the consequences of their membership in two economically disadvantaged groups. As Blacks, relatively few women have become professionals, although Black women are more represented among Black professionals than American women generally in the professions. As women, Black women have been overrepresented in a few professions than other women. Thus, an understanding of the paradoxical complexity of Black women in the professions depends upon an appreciation of how Black professional women are both like and unlike other Blacks—especially Black professionals—and how Black professional women are similar to but different from other American women—especially professional women (p.40).

Epstein (1972, pp. 914-915) reported a larger percentage of Black females (47 percent) are in the labor force than white females (44.5). Epstein (1972, p. 925) further suggested that being Black and female made Black women "superunique" in the labor force, which gave them an advantage over their white counterparts. She feels white men do not view Black women as having the same "womanly deficiencies" (looking for a husband, etc.) as white women; therefore, they are taken more seriously as workers and given more opportunities. Epstein also felt Black women were unfettered in their attempts to enter non-traditional careers such as administration. The later statement is misleading
and requires some clarification. Epstein's analysis was based on the larger percentage of Black women in law and medicine. Her analysis would be better explained by the utilization of education as an "insured path" to success, a course of action common among minority group members.

Wright (1981, p. 216) enunciated:

When the percentage of Black female administrators are compared to those of white female administrators it becomes quite clear that being Black and female is in no way an advantage in career development. Black women are well represented in the nontraditional fields which require many years of training. However, in administration, where the requirements for entry and selection are less tangible, white women exceed their proportion in the female population. Ninety-six percent of the female administrators in this country are white (Wattenberg, 1978).

Black women are consistently exploited by the system. They are often seen as different from white women. They are often paid less for the same work done by white men and women. The factors of race, sex and income relate heavily in the belief that Blacks and other minorities are inferior. Statistics from the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor show that in 1967 the wage scale for white women was even below that of Black men; and the wage scale for non-white women was the lowest of all (Beal, 1969, p. 388; See Table 3).
Black female administrators have received little help from their white counterpart to eliminate racism or economic exploitation, factors which have impeded the advancement of Black female administrators. The racist, chauvinistic and manipulative use of Black workers and women, especially Black women, by their male counterparts has been a severe cancer on the American labor scene. The problems faced by Black people, regardless of economic or social status, effect all Black people. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for the Blacks who have succeeded to assist those Blacks who are less fortunate (Beal, 1969, p. 389).

It is extremely difficult for the Black female administrator to disprove the many stereotypes thrust upon her. When a Black female administrator is stereotyped to behave in a certain way, no matter how that Black female administrator truly acts, the real behavior will not be seen. No matter how competent, aware, knowledgeable and skilled, she will still be perceived in another light.
The stereotyping of Blacks by social scientists have greatly assisted in the negative connotations about the Black woman. Nonetheless, the Black woman has continued to achieve professionally and is taking her rightful place in society. Men, in particular, continue to feel that their administrative arena has been invaded by Black women, as well as other protective groups, and desire only to believe in the incompetence of the Black female administrator. The Black woman, to him, can only be seen as the subordinate, never the superior.

Friedan (1970, p. 304) argued that if women's need for identity, self-esteem, achievement, and expression of her unique human individuality are not recognized by herself or others in our culture, she is forced to seek identity and self-esteem in the only channels open to her: the pursuits of sexual fulfillment, motherhood, and the possession of material things. Women chained to these pursuits are stunted at a lower level of living, blocked from the realization of their higher human needs.

The social indoctrination of believing negatively about women, Black women in particular, results in their feeling isolated and inferior. It is, therefore, essential to recognize the effects that society has on women and the ways in which the socialization process inhibits the full potential of women as human beings.

The challenges for today's Black female administrators are: (1) to break down the various forms of prejudices and (2) to help create new expectations of Black women as administrators.
Traditionally, the field of administration had been dominated by white males. The emergence of Black female administrators came at a time when economic conditions were extremely uncertain. Many whites, therefore, became more fearful of the changes that were occurring and, in fact, became more resistant than ever (Woodard, 1978, p. 4). As Black female administrators attempted to become more and more integrated into educational institutions, complications seem to set in challenging their integrity and intellect as administrators. Their leadership styles became an issue; their competence questioned. In addition, sexism and racism became variables Black female administrators had to contend with in their efforts to survive and function in an effective manner.

External and internal forces associated with our educational institutions have had devastating effects on our diminishing sense of capable leadership among Black female administrators. It is essential, therefore, that Black female administrators be knowledgeable of these forces and be able to design strategies to effectively cope with forces that will ultimately contribute to their success or failure as administrators.
Within the context of this study the internal forces are those of past socialization, current expectations and daily responsibilities of the positions Black female administrators hold, in addition to the internal forces of organizational hierarchy, institutional policies and regulations. The external forces derived from state and local legislative actions, community involvement, and an individual's personality and value system are all variables that contribute to the sociological, environmental and psychological factors that relate to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of administrators. These external and internal forces have enormous implications for Black female administrators, especially those encountered through prejudice. Prejudice that is all too often manifested in stereotyping and ultimately utilized in institutional racism such as unfair hiring and promotional practices, and procedures.

Let us begin with the external forces and the ramifications they possess for Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education. The Civil Rights legislation of the mid-sixties contributed to the increase of minority representation in the national work force. Over the last few decades, educational institutions, businesses and industries have been responding to a variety of pressures and have dramatically increased their concern with social problems and conditions which had traditionally been regarded as beyond the realm of education and private enterprise (Black Enterprise, 1973).

For Blacks and other minorities, affirmative action, despite its limited effectiveness, was the usual entrance into the world of work.
This is particularly true, when Blacks and minorities aspire for leadership positions in administration.

The historical roots of affirmative action can be found in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (under Title VII). Title VII banned discrimination in employment because of race, religion, sex or national origin. This ban on discrimination refers to employment in both the private and public sectors. Based on the mandate for non-discrimination employment practices, private industry and government were required to take what is termed "Affirmative Action" in hiring minorities (U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, 1977).

The increased presence of most Black female administrators in institutions of higher education likewise can be attributed mainly to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Furthermore, the executive order (No. 11246) issued in 1965 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, and later, No. 11375 were designed to guarantee that institutions provide equal opportunities for minorities and women (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, p. 73). The implementation of the original order, however, was non-productive. As the Director of the Civil Rights Commission put it, "the higher education establishment remained unruffled" (Pottinger, 1972, p. 24).

Order No. 4 from the Department of Labor turned the tides for the academic community by declaring the government would withhold federal funds from institutions which did not develop an Affirmative Action plan to recruit and hire minorities and women. This order outlined the specific requirements and supplemented them with guidelines to assist them in completing what was considered an undesirable task.
Rather than finding ways to make Affirmative Action plans work, academicians looked for reasons why it should not. Issues developed around the implications of the terminology and meaning of quotas, conflict of interest, lowering of standards, and the inability to find qualified Blacks. These insidious assumptions perpetuated myths, created innuendoes of negativeness and totally denied Black female administrators the respect and dignity deserved of any administrator entering the profession.

Moore and Wagstaff (1974, p. 74) declared affirmative action to be both a corrective measure and at the same time a dilemma: corrective in the sense that it insured minorities and women inclusion in the hiring practices, and a dilemma in that it went against traditional sovereignty (dominance of the field of administration by white males). Now that Black female administrators are in, what do we do with them?

Dr. Alvin Poussaint (1974, pp. 8-14) suggested the problems Black administrators face in white institutions are:

1. Affirmative Action carries a stigma of inferiority. It's an insidious psychological pressure which denotes incompetence.

2. Black administrators are totally isolated, lonely.

3. The label of minority is a delineating factor to one's influence, lack of authority and responsibility.

4. Black administrators are dissatisfied with positions that denote only prestige and titles without proper functions.

The challenge confronting Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education seem to be
enormous. The stigma associated with Affirmative Action and the color of one's skin denotes to our white counterparts inferiority. Most Black female administrators know they are qualified, competent administrators. They are not, however, accepted as such. While the number of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education has increased, the freedom and autonomy to affect change is still in question. The literature on tokenism is quite limited, however, tokenism can be found in organizations and institutions all over the country. The following statement is presented to illustrate the conceptualization of tokenism—its determinants or preconditions, its interactional dynamics, and its costs or consequences. This example is from the private sector of our economy but has similar ramifications for our educational institutions. Ross (1973 p. 1) noted that:

At the same time that medium and large firms were stepping up their recruitment of Black college graduates, stories were being circulated about tokenism. Instances were cited of men given high-sounding titles and high visibility but few and vaguely defined duties—something to do with public relations or community relations. Cases were also related of graduates of Black colleges hired as accountants but assigned to what were essentially clerical duties. There were many other variations on the theme, but the motif was always the same. Black college graduates were hired as window dressing—to demonstrate to the Civil Rights Commission or to a Federal Contract Compliance Officer that the firm was an "Equal Opportunity Employer."

Smith (1981, pp. 81-85) offered several options Black administrators might take when the aforementioned situation appeared.
They may choose to function with an extremely low profile, whereby they are never seen or heard. They provide the necessary information to the appropriate individual(s) thereby never receiving the credit for their endeavors. This strategy is non-threatening to the Black administrator's counterparts and no one knows that Black administrators exist or what they do.

Another alternative Black administrators may choose is to go to their superiors and express their discomfort at being placed in such powerless, ineffective positions. Usually, this strategy is not accepted and Black administrators find themselves being ostracized. They are told in one way or another that they are unable to grasp the functionings of organizational life and are labelled as "incompetent" and ultimately isolated from the institution and its activities.

The third option is similar to the second, except Black administrators voice their concerns to individuals in the hierarchy of the institution rather than their immediate superiors. They outline the insignificance of their position, inform them of their abilities and request total reassignment of responsibilities where their skills can be fully utilized. The institution may decide to reassign their duties and still leave them in a powerless position or the institution may decide to place Black administrators in line positions, thereby giving them the power and authority to function properly within the administrative hierarchy of the educational institution.

Pettigrew (1974) in a paper he presented to the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights concluded the following concerning the presence of tokenism in educational settings:
Tokenism is psychologically difficult for Black children. Without the numbers to constitute a critical mass, Black students can come to think of themselves as an unwanted appendage, and white students can overlook the Black presence and even perceive it as a temporary situation. But once the minority percentages reaches about 20 to 25 percent, Black students become a significant part of the school to stay. They are now numerous enough to be filtered throughout the entire school structure, on the newspaper staff, and in the honor society as well as in the glee club and on athletic teams. Substantial minority group representation, of course, does not guarantee intergroup harmony, but it is clearly a prerequisite for integration.

Tokenism according to LeRoi Jones (1961, p. 73) is defined in the following manner:

"Tokenism...," is "...the setting up of social stalemates or the extension of meager privilege to some few 'selected' Negro [sic] in order that a resemblance of compromise or 'progress' or a lessening in racial repression might seem to be achieved, while actually helping to maintain the status quo just as rigidly. ..." And, "Tokenism is that philosophy (of psychological exploitation) which is supposed to assuage my natural inclinations toward complete freedom. For the middle-class Negro [sic] this assuagement can take the form it takes in the mainstreaming of American life, i.e., material acquisition, or the elevating of one 'select' coon to some position that seems heaped in 'prestige'..."

Kanter (1977) did some pioneering work on the fate of women in the dynamics of tokenism within corporations. She concluded that tokenism, like low opportunity and low power, set in motion self-perpetuating cycles that serve to reinforce the low numbers of women and in the absence of external intervention, to keep women in the position of token.
The life of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education is a peculiar one. Often times she is perceived as a token. Kanter (1977, p. 210) described three perceptual tendencies in reference to the proportional rarity of tokens: visibility, contrast and assimilation. First, tokens get attention, they stand out as different. She uses the example of nine X's and one 0:

X X x X X 0 X x X

The first most notable difference is the 0. The 0 may also be overlooked, but it is seen. The X's seem more congenial than different because of the contrast with the 0. Therefore, the assimilation of the 0 would be easier. The second perceptual tendency is contrast. In a group which is uniform, members may never become self-conscious about the culture of others. But the presence of a person who possesses a different set of social and physical characteristics increases the self-consciousness of the numerically dominant population.

Assimilation, the third perceptual tendency, involves the use of stereotypes about certain individuals. The characteristics of tokens tend to be distorted. This occurs because there are too few tokens to bring about a change. It is easier for the dominant population to retain these distortions and generalizations. So tokens are, ironically; both highly visible as people who are different and yet not permitted the individuality of their own unique, non-stereotypical characteristics. Ms. Kanter provides a very interesting and applicable example that illustrates some of the many problems that
Black female administrators face in predominantly white institutions of higher education.

In addition to Black female administrators being seen as "tokens" they are hired not only for the wrong reasons but they are also given powerless positions in the educational institutions making it extremely difficult for them to be effective. Many Black administrators were hired to pacify the Black community, to provide services to Black students and/or to demonstrate that the hiring institution is an "equal opportunity employer." The leadership the Black female administrator could provide based on her acquired knowledge, experience and understanding is neither accepted nor respected by those who must be influenced. Hence, the knowledge of Black female administrators goes unrecognized, underutilized and unrewarded by the educational institution.

Most educational institutions have line and staff positions. Generally speaking, line officers are managers with administrative authority and direct responsibility for personnel, budget, and programs related to major goal activities. These line positions are considered to be part of the hierarchy. Staff officers, on the other hand, occupy positions outside of the hierarchy. They are part of the institution, but their power and authority as administrators are based on the knowledge they possess about given issues and their ability to influence line officers to see the value of their recommendations. Most staff officers can be neither subordinate nor superior in rank to line officers, but function in consultant roles to them (Etzioni, 1964, p. 80).
Positions such as dean or director of minority relations or of special programs were created in order to hire minority administrators. The Black administrator, rather than being utilized for their professional capabilities, is instead used as a buffer between the university and outside pressures.

Jennings (1981, p. 152) argued that Black administrators were recruited into certain positions primarily as lightening rods and firemen, implying that Black administrators were brought into the educational institutions to be available to meet any criticisms from minority students, and to invariably solve any race problems. Still another role Jennings saw was the showcase role. The counterpart concept of this role is known as tokenism. The person occupying a showcase position may be given a mechanism to act as public relations individual for the institution. In some policy areas this role allows the Black administrator a degree of de facto input in policy-making. It is important for the public image of the university that the showcase minority member represent the educational institution in a positive light.

Another role that Black administrators might be expected to fulfill is that of a consultant. The solicitation of ideas might be pursued, but this is not to say that minority participation is encouraged. The mere surveying of ideas does not imply a role in the decision-making processes.
Phillips (1981, p. 112) summarized the relationship between those manifestations of racism called tokenism and organizational change:

...to diminish suffering and dehumanization as a consequence of racism—in the present and future, the past must be recalled because in large measure it shaped present conditions. The courage, resources and commitment necessary to attain justice for African-Americans require that people of the current generation fully understand the legacy which the history of slavery, discrimination and racism casts over the present. This is especially important in analyzing the affirmative action concept and policies in the modern American university.

The sources of tension and disruption in institutions and organizations are many and varied. Many administrators seem to be unable to appreciate the levels of conflict that are inevitable in all complex organizations and institutions. It would be folly to believe that organizations and institutions exists in a conflict free environment. Therefore, in order for anyone or any institution or organization to survive, the skilled administrator needs to get to the roots of conflict as well as its outcome so that it can be handled effectively.

For this study conflict refers to sharp disagreements or collisions in role objectives, functions, sexism, racism, and values and beliefs as they pertain to the different level of conflict: role conflict, goal conflict, interpersonal conflict, intrapersonal and societal conflict, all of which contribute to the confusion in institutions and organizations, particularly for Black female administrators.
Some Black female administrators perceive conflict as both negative and positive. Conflict for them is destructive when it continues or increases social disorganization or is damaging to their own personalities causing psychological withdrawal. Withdrawal may manifest itself in apathy, indifference and alienation. In some instances, subordinates tend to adopt passive, aggressive hostile behavior to subvert the Black female administrator's authority. Concealing information is one of the most popular forms of passive, aggressive behavior used against Black female administrators. Moreover, subordinates also express their hostilities in more aggressive ways. For example, subordinates will often damage property, steal company equipment, and even commit overt acts of violence. All of these factors may hinder the effectiveness of Black female administrators. Even though these factors are applicable to most administrators, the frequency and consequences are much greater for Black female administrators. In general, negative conflict may disrupt individual and organizational goal achievements and is therefore undesirable (Hellriegel & Slocum, 1974, p. 390).

Depending on the situation, conflict may be positive or negative. The positive view of conflict is its effectiveness in being very persuasive. Conflict may stimulate individuals, causing their energies to flow in positive directions. Individuals may search for methods to reduce or resolve problems or situations. From a positive perspective, conflict may enhance one's ability to make better decision because of the need to resolve situations or problem more expeditiously.
The contrived strategies of many institutions (e.g., assigning projects which are virtually impossible, inadequate staffing or delegating irrelevant responsibilities) are some of the internal forces at work today, as in the past, that tax the physical and emotional stamina of Black female administrators and have led to the demise of many Black female administrators.

Blacks have a strong sense of being promoted on merit, as opposed to politicking their way to success. They are very aggressive, but it is difficult for them to find the appropriate mechanism to deal effectively with the conflicts of racism by their white counterparts. Many Blacks desire to maintain their Black cultural heritage, but find themselves ostracized when they deviate from the white norms established in most institutions and organizations. For many Blacks, they see themselves as becoming closer to the stereotypic image of their white counterparts—overly intellectual, unemotional and ruthless—but no closer to wealth and power (Campbell, 1980, p. 102).

In all probability, the preeminently common attribute among all institutions is a strong value system. There always seems to be a communal mind set, a collection of assumptions that good employees are expected to embrace. Every institution has a cultural framework within which all employees must search for appropriate adaptations. In other words, in addition to producing a product or a service, institutions infuse individuals with values beyond the technical requirements of the job. This emphasis on institutional socialization, beyond basic job assignments, is largely a reflection of the unique way institutions fulfill personal or group needs.
Therefore, institutionalization is an effective way to promote and protect values associated with the majority society.

Such a process places an onerous burden on Black administrators because they must always accommodate the prevailing institutional culture. This means that most institutions have developed value systems without considering the needs and goals of its Black employees. Moreover, institutional values are usually so inflexible that the relatively small number of Black employees are seldom in a position to modify or change the cultural ambience of an institution (Dickerson, 1982; Kanter, 1977). In most situations, Black administrators are not linked to their white counterparts as mutual support for a common institutional purpose. Therefore, the establishment continues to undermine their authority, compromise their competence and ultimately limit their opportunities for reward and upward mobility within the institution.

Harvey (1974, p. 69) further illustrated this phenomenon:

When the project fails, some people will get fired, demoted, or sentenced to the purgatory of a make-work job in an out-of-the-way office. The atmosphere of blame, distrust, suspicion and back-biting that accompanies such failure will serve only to further alienate and separate those who remain.

Other signs indicative of the developmental stages of manipulative tactics leading to the detriment of Black female administrators or any other administrators, are cited herein below:
a) one stops receiving invitations to meetings
b) small subgroups of trusted friends and associates meet informally over coffee, lunch, and/or secret meetings
c) one's functions are reviewed without your knowledge
d) your tasks are gradually assigned to others
e) your staff decreases and are assigned elsewhere
f) your functions are redefined to tasks that are difficult to reach and are destined to fail
g) all of the above is done in the name of making your job easier

It is important for the reader to understand that these manipulative tactics are not exclusively assigned to Blacks. They are organizational power games that must be dealt with by all administrators who seek success within an institution. However, it is also important to note that the dimensions of racism and sexism creates a phenomenon in those power games which only Black administrators must contend.

There are a multitude of covert manipulative tactics of which Black female administrators must be cognizant. Often times these tactics are racially based and eventually lead to conflict for Blacks within educational institutions and organizations. Therefore, one cannot over emphasize the needed skill of having the ability to diagnose the environment.

A lot of women, unfamiliar with organizational politics undergo culture shock when they begin discovering the unique games that are played. Paula C. was hired in a top management position and became stunned when the head of her department was replaced with a man who had a radically different perspective of what her responsibilities involved. Resisting the sudden upheaval, this woman continued to
report to her former boss for months rather than dealing directly with her new superior (Weathers, 1981, pp. 34-40).

Another woman was informed of her office reorganization plans when she returned from her vacation. Others were sent to management seminars in hopes of being attracted to another educational institution. While still others returned from vacation to discover offices had been dismantled and staff reassigned to someone else.

The old addage "divide and conquer" still exists and is still another manipulative ploy which leads to conflict and eventual ineffectiveness for some Black female administrators. This particular ploy creates conflict between Blacks; be they peers, subordinates, superiors or just associates. This tactic of deception creates so much upheaval that Blacks even become distrustful of each other. They don't seem to understand that the force behind these tactics are created by the elite social structure that manipulates their lives as if they were pawns in a chess game (Doughty, 1977, pp. 1-9).

A classic example is the manipulative tactics employed to create conflict between the Black male and Black female. Traditionally, the Black male has been employed by predominantly white institutions of higher education long before the employment of Black females. The institution brings in a young, bright, talented Black woman who is a doctoral graduate. Competition begins, each tries to out do the other. They both begin to vie for recognition and support. They actually begin playing some of the same games their white counterparts play on them. One begins putting psychological pressure on the other, questioning one's Blackness and one's ability to relate to Blackness.
because one has supposedly assimilated to the white man's culture and denied his own. Isolation and alienation begins and of the few Blacks employed within the predominantly white institutions they no longer have any commonality and no support system. Many times the pressures become so intense, one gives up and resigns. The records indicate that the educational institution complied with the regulations of Affirmative Action. Thereby, the educational institution has done its duty and can either recruit for another minority, which would probably be a woman, or it might choose not to fill the position. The question is who has actually lost and at whose expense?

Why do we do this to ourselves? Or better still, why do we let them do this to us? Why do we lack the confidence in one another and in ourselves? Can we contribute it to the work environment or can we contribute it to some ingrained indoctrination? The author contends that the political manipulations of the work environment has enormous implications for all people, Black and white. It may be submitted that our past socialization process has contributed immensely to the conditions of Black people. Unfortunately, some educational institutions, corporations and various organizations, the pillars of our community, still thrive on the mandates of inequality and unfair hiring and promotional practices.
Section Three: Selected Management Theories

It is clearly understood that there is always a dialectical relation between theory and practice of management. Therefore, an understanding of management theories is of vital importance to the Black female administrator's survival in a predominantly white institution of higher education. In addition, she must also have a functional knowledge of the relationships between institutional policies, politics, and human behavior.

The behavior of an administrator is influenced by one's own values and beliefs and by the values and beliefs of the individuals whom she manages. One's behavior is also influenced by one's environment and interaction with others in the institution/organization. If one's values and beliefs are incompatible with the values and beliefs of the institution/organization conflict is inevitable.

Black female administrators seem to be less accepted than other administrators within the field of administration. This lack of acceptance suggests serious problems within our educational institutions. One of the primary reasons for their non-acceptance may be the color of their skin. Calvin Hernton (1965, p. 174) noted:

Our society structure; our economic and political system; and the way power, jobs and life opportunities are distributed in America is on the basis of physical characteristics.

Based on that non-acceptance, Black female administrators must have a strong conceptual base. For that conceptual base will be the foundation of her knowledge. The usefulness of theories ties into the increased possibility of predicting outcomes, designing and
implementing strategies for the survival of her existence in an educational system that has traditionally been closed to Blacks and other minorities.

Therefore, the author shall begin this section of the study with synopsis on noted motivational theorists such as Maslow (1970), B.F. Skinner (1969), Herzberg (1966), McGregor (1960), McClelland (1961) and Hennig (1975). These theorists are most frequently mentioned in the literature and have substantially influenced the practice of management. The majority of these theorists are white males and most of their research is based on the white male population. It is obviously understandable that the theories presuppose specific personality profiles which are not always applicable to Black female administrators. Consequently, selected models are not appropriate because they do not incorporate the growth and development of most Black female administrators. Although most of these theories are not designed specifically for their effectiveness, just knowing these theories will provide a conceptual framework to analyze organizational behaviors and thoughts. With this information, one is able to diagnose the environment and select specific strategies on leadership effectiveness to be implemented when the need arises.

It has been stated by behavioral scientists that all behavior is motivated to serve specific needs. A.H. Maslow's theory (1970) of human motivation is concerned with five basic needs. These needs are (1) physiological, (2) safety, (3) belonging, (4) esteem, and (5) self-actualization. Maslow postulated that needs could be categorized into several different levels. At the bottom of his hierarchy of
needs are physiological needs (food, shelter, sleep, etc.). The next level of the hierarchy is safety needs (protection from the threat of danger and deprivation). Only after these needs have been met can the next order of needs be pursued. These are social needs: belonging (acceptance, affection, warmth) and self esteem (status, recognition, respect). At the highest level of the hierarchy is the need for self-actualization, which leads to self-fulfillment, the realization of the full potential and creativity of each individual (Josefowitz, 1980, p. 271).

B.F. Skinner (1969), another motivational theorist, has contributed to management thought with his idea on behavior modification. He maintains that people will repeat behavior that is rewarded and avoid behavior that is punished. However, rewards and punishments have significantly different value from individual to individual, especially for the Black female administrator.

Frederick Herzberg (1966) who is best known for his motivation-hygiene theory wrote about what motivates workers. His theory is based on personal satisfaction. He feels motivators satisfy and lead to high performance. These motivators are: achievement, recognition, the work itself, challenge, variety, autonomy and promotional opportunities. Hygiene factors enter into this theory which determine whether one stays on the job but does not push to perform. These hygiene factors are wages, benefits, the work environment and the type of supervision. This theory is also referred to as the "two factor" theory—one set that satisfies and a second
(different) set that dissatisfies, which is also known as the "hygiene" factors (Hellriegel, Slocum, 1974, p. 313).

Herzberg's research concludes that there are some conditions of the job which operate primarily to dissatisfy employees. These dissatisfiers are associated with the context of work rather than work itself. The most important of these dissatisfiers are company policies, technical supervision, interpersonal relations and working conditions. In addition, he suggests there are job conditions which, if present, operate to build a strong level of motivation and spur the individual to superior performance. The satisfiers, or motivators, are achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, advancement and upward mobility.

David McClelland's research (1961) also deals with what motivates people—successful people—those who have made it to the top or are well on their way. He found four common factors:

1. These people were able to set goals and to stretch themselves to achieve those goals.

2. The goals were set within a parameter that the people themselves could influence—that is, goal achievement was not left to chance or within the control of others.

3. The people enjoyed work for the work itself. Success was for its own sake, not for any rewards it brought.

4. They preferred receiving feedback on their performance; they needed to know the score. (Josefowitz, 1981, p. 272).

Douglas McGregor (1960) who is best known for his Theory "X" and Theory "Y" postulated the following concerning workers.
Theory "X" states:

- Most individuals are dependent upon others, they look towards others for decisions, like to be led or controlled.

- Most individuals avoid work

- Most individuals avoid responsibilities, and are not ambitious and/or are incapable of handling it.

- Most individuals seek gratification outside of the world of work.

- Most individuals will resist change because it lacks security for them.

- Most individuals can be easily misled because they neglect to take the time to think.

Theory "Y" states:

- Most individuals enjoy being independent, making their own decision, prefer to lead, rather than be led.

- Most individuals are capable of assuming responsibilities and desire to get ahead.

- Most individuals find satisfaction, recognition and achievement in their world of work.

- Most individuals prefer to work.

- Most individuals enjoy the opportunity of a challenge and are capable of handling it.

- Most individuals possess creativity and look forward to the opportunity to use their creative talents.

Hennig (1975 p. 89) provides a summary of Matina Horner's research on the effects of achievement motivation in women:

.....(1) that achievement motivation in women is a double-bind situation; (2) that, hence, achievement is a source of high anxiety for many women; (3) that some women develop a 'negative achievement motivation' or the motivation to avoid success or to stop it at a point of intolerable an-
xiety over conflict between achievement and femininity; (4) that even among women who did evidence achievement, they evidenced higher achievement when working alone, and not when in direct competition with males. Thus, in fact, because of previous points, women will often consciously or unconsciously reduce their achievement when working in competitive situations with men.

The author has reviewed the motivational theories of Maslow, Herzberg, Skinner, McGregor, McClelland and Hennig to assist the reader in acknowledging what motivates various individuals. The author thinks that it is appropriate to advance this study further by addressing leadership theories, styles and behaviors to assist administrators with their effectiveness as they endeavor to accomplish their specific goals and objectives.

Normative theories suggest that there is a "best way" to manage. Contingency theories argue that there is no single ideal management style that will fit all situations and all people all of the time. The works of Fred Fiedler (1967), Rensis Likert (1961 & 1967), Hersey & Blanchard (1977), Wofford (1967), Robert Blake and Jane Mouton (1978), Goodstadt (1973) and Lanzetta and Hannan (1969) are the sources reviewed in this section on leadership theories, styles and behaviors. Hersey, Blanchard, Natemeyer (1979), Etzioni (1975, 1961), Josefowitz (1981), Kanter (1980), French and Raven (1959), Salancik & Pfeffer (1977), and Dumas (1975), are the sources used to address organizational politics and the issue of power.

Fiedler (1967) states that there are three characteristics which determines the most effective leadership styles. They are:

1. the power of the leader
2. the quality of relationship between leader and those being led
3. how much certainty or uncertainty there is in the task

Rensis Likert (1967) developed a normative leadership theory. He established a hierarchy of management systems that were descriptive of basic styles of management according to effectiveness. A System I manager is exploitative-authoritative. A System II manager is benevolent-authoritative, a sort of paternalist taskmaster. A System III manager is consultative, which means that he or she checks with others but makes the final decision alone; and a System IV manager is one whose participative-decision making is shared with subordinates whenever feasible. Likert stresses that, System 4 as the ideal system since it establishes an atmosphere of trust among employees that tends to lead to high performance and more effective leadership (Josefowitz, 1980, p. 275).

Paul Hersey and Ken Blanchard (1977) advocate the contingency style of leadership. They have developed a model based on subordinate maturity (task ability and willingness to learn) which states that the more mature the subordinate, the less authoritative the manager has to be.

Wofford (1967, pp. 467-496) derived five factors regarding managerial and leadership behavior:

1. Order and Group Achievement Behavior - refers to a manager's neatness and accuracy in planning, organizing and controlling.

2. Personal and Enhancement Behavior - refers to the leader's use of power and pressure to achieve employee compliance.
3. Personal Interaction Behavior - refers to the maintenance of interpersonal relationships.

4. Security and Maintenance Behavior - refers to or the avoidance of, insecurity feelings.

5. Dynamic and Achievement Oriented Behavior - include aggression and setting specific goals.

Robert Blake and Jane Mouton (1978) created a managerial grid that asked individuals to rate themselves accordingly on a continuum from all-concern for production to all-concern people. They are five different types of leadership styles based on those concerns of production and people. They are as indicated:

**IMPROVERISHED**
- Exertion of minimum effort to get required work done as appropriate to sustain organizational membership.

**COUNTRY CLUB**
- Thoughtful attention to the needs of people for satisfying relationships leads to a comfortable friendly organization atmosphere and work tempo.

**TASK**
- Efficiency in operation results from arranging conditions of work in such a way that human element interfere to a minimum degree.

**MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD**
- Adequate organization performance is possible through balancing the necessity to get out work while maintaining morale of people at a satisfactory level.

**TEAM**
- Work accomplishment is from committed people; interdependence through a "common stake" in organization purpose leads to a satisfactory level (Hersey, 1975, P. 37).

Personality characteristics play an important part in how a leader's behavior correlates with a specific leadership style.
Attempting to determine which leadership style is the most appropriate for an individual is a difficult task to undertake. However, one should be knowledgeable of the various styles and use them when necessary to create a congenial atmosphere for all who are involved in a particular world of work.

The studies on subordinates' behavior has been found important in affecting a leader's behavior. Goodstadt (1973, pp. 190-196) and Lanzetta and Hannan (1969, pp. 245-252) found subordinate behavior had tremendous effect on a leader's behavior. Along with the task assigned to be performed, such as complexity, technology, and size of project. Other variables which contribute to a leader's behavior are: stage of development, leader's supervisor's style, group influence and norms, supervisory level, span of control, external threats and stress, variation in leader power, time demands, organizational/institutional size and organizational/institutional climate.

Many of these environmental characteristics hinder one's behavior to act effectively and efficiently. The leader's behavior is one that constantly influences the efficiency of subordinates and one that always on display. For many administrators the complexity of the leadership phenomenon and a lack of a universally accepted comprehensive theory on leadership behavior creates problems. Nonetheless, it may be suggested that appreciation of certain scientific theories of leadership provides the administrator with appropriate tools of perceiving one's behavior in specific situations and environments.
Rensis Likert (1961) states that there are a variety of ways an administrator can have a highly effective group. His suggestions are as follows:

- listen well and patiently
- not being impatient with the progress being made by the group, particularly on difficult problems
- accepting more blame than may be warranted for any failure or mistake
- giving the group members ample opportunity to express their thoughts without being constrained by the leader pressing his/her view
- being careful never to impose a decision upon the group
- putting one's contribution often in the form of questions or stating them speculatively.

Appreciation of work environment and attitudes of the workers provides the means for the Black female administrator to motivate the workers to be professionally and morally effective and productive. Any negative attitudes should be addressed immediately. If the attitudes appear to be a group norm, then the issue should be addressed as a group. If it is a personal attitude which prevails among a member of the group, a private discussion would prove fruitful. It is important that Black female administrators recognize they are the leaders and ultimately, any inefficiencies within the group is their responsibilities.

The leader strengthens the group by seeing that all problems are dealt with by the group, except, in personal matters. One should never handle problems outside the group nor with individual members of the group. One should be equally alert not to undertake in a group
meeting agenda items or tasks which do not concern the group (Likert, 1961).

Another interesting facet of a highly effective group addressed by Likert (1961) in his article, is that the group becomes so tight that it sometimes deals with members who are insensitive, who are hostile, who talk too much, or who otherwise behave in ways adversely affecting the capacity of the group to function in an effective manner. In handling situations of this matter, the group makes member aware of their deficiency, but does it in a sensitive and considerate manner and in a way to assist each member to function more effectively in the group.

It seems virtually impossible for one to create such an effective environment, but Likert states that it can be done. The main ingredients to an effective group seems to be a trusting and caring attitude for and about each other. These attitudes create harmony, encouragement and a desire to see that everyone contributes to the overall success of the group. It is essential to understand that the leader is included not excluded as a member of the group. Status has no leverage in the implementation of a highly effective group.

Organizational politics is an endless phenomenon, therefore, knowledge of organizational politics is the key to survival for anyone in any institution. Organizations tend to allocate power systematically and strive to ensure that the power is used in conformity with the organizational norms and values. Many people believe that power is concomitant to leadership positions. In other words, they feel that power is a function of a leader's ability to
mobilize others toward the attainment of a leader's objective. However, this is not necessarily true. Power does not come automatically with the designation of titles or with the delegation of formal authority.

A cursory view of the situation indicates, in most cases, Black female administrators have been given responsibilities but they have not been given power and authority in the formal administrative structure of the educational institutions commensurate with those responsibilities. Therefore, they are hindered from exercising the power that has traditionally been designed to specific individuals and specific positions. To administrators in institutions of higher education, power includes the authority to form policy, modify and implement programs, to have freedom to make decisions that affect the overall survival of the institution and student life. Power and authority is a must in order for one to function effectively, particularly as a line administrator in any institutional setting.

Black women have historically been the victims of power and not the wielders of power (Simpson, 1981, pp. 20-25). Therefore, many Black women have been conditioned to think of power as a negative force. Many Black administrators tend to shy away from asserting authority and being aggressive. Black women, however, must learn to deal with power, feel comfortable with it and make it work to their advantage.

The concept of power and leadership often causes confusion in relation to management thought. Leadership is typically defined as the process of influencing the activities of an individual or group to
accomplish set goals. Power is well described as the leader's influence potential: it is the resource that enables a leader to induce compliance from or influence followers. It is important for Black female administrators to acknowledge the difference and become familiar with integrating the concepts of power to her specific leadership style. A leader cannot automatically influence others; she must utilize power to succeed in any influence attempt (Hersey, Blanchard, Natemayer, 1979, p. 1).

The word "Power" is derived from a French word "pouvoir," which means "to be able." Power includes the capacity (the role) and the ability (the competence) to get things done by either influencing others or having access to resources. It also grants autonomy to those with less power. Power indicates two diametrically opposite connotations; negative and positive. The negative connotation relate to furthering your own end at the expense of others, verbal or physical aggression, or the threat thereof. Positive connotation is seen as helping people formulate their own goals and providing them with the means to achieve them. It's major concern is for others (Josefowitz, 1981, p. 4).

Etzioni (1975, p. 5) postulates a classification of three kinds of power which influence others to carry out directives or any other norms. Power differs according to the means employed to make the subject comply. These means may be physical, material or symbolic.

COERCIVE POWER rests on the application, or the threat of application, of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity, or death; generation of frustrations through restriction of movement; or
controlling through force the satisfaction of needs such as those for food, sex, comfort and the like.

RENUMERATIVE POWER based on control over material resources and reward through allocation of salaries and wages, commissions and contributions, "fringe benefits," services and commodities.

NORMATIVE POWER rest on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations through employment of leaders, manipulation of mass media, allocations of esteem and prestige symbols, administration of ritual, and distribution of "acceptance" and "positive response."

Etzioni (1961, pp. 326-375) dwelled upon the difference between position power and personal power. His definition of the concept of power is the ability to induce or influence behavior. Power is derived from an organizational office, personal influence or both. Position power is sanctioned because of a position one holds which can induce another individual to do a certain job while an individual who derives power from his followers is considered to have personal power. Some people have both position power and personal power, whereby others may have only one and still others have none.

Kanter (1980, p. 166) suggested power is a loaded term that has many connotations and has multiple meanings. Power can be seen as positive or negative depending on its use. She defines power as the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs done to meet the goals he or she is attempting to meet. She distinguishes power from concepts such as: authority, influence, force and dominance. Power refers to
interpersonal transactions; and ability to do whatever is needed for the doing. She accredits credibility as an additional plus to power. People who get things done are listened to for everyone assumes that they know what they are talking about. They have room to make more mistakes and can take greater risks. They are seen as going places and having the ability to take people with them.

French and Raven (1959, pp. 150-167) felt the ability to influence comes from five sources of power; (1) legitimacy, (2) control over rewards, (3) coercion, (4) expertise and (5) referent.

**LEGITIMATE POWER**
derives from the position in the organizational hierarchy.

**CONTROL POWER**
is based on the ability of the manager to reward the subordinate. He/She has the ability to influence the right individuals to reward them if they comply with directives.

**COERCION POWER**
is the opposite of reward power. Individual has the ability to influence the right individual to punish them if they fail to comply with directives.

**EXPERTISE POWER**
refers to the ability of an individual to influence others because of his/her extra ordinary knowledge or specialized skill.

**REFERENT POWER**
is based on a follower's identification with a leader. People are attracted to this individual and want to be like him/her.

Paul Hersey, Kenneth Blanchard and Walter Natemeyer (1979, p. 1) acknowledged seven important power bases. Five of these descriptions (coercive, expert, legitimate, referent and reward) have been adapted from the work of French and Raven (1959).
COERCIVE POWER is based on fear. A leader high in coercive power is seen as inducing compliance because failure to comply will lead to punishment such as undesirable work assignments, reprimands, or dismissal.

CONNECTION POWER is based on the leader's connection with influential or important persons inside or outside the organization. A leader high in connection power induces compliance from others because they aim to gaining the favor or avoiding the disfavor of the powerful connection.

EXPERT POWER is based on the leader's possession of expertise, skill and knowledge, which, through respect, influence others. A leader high in expert power is seen as possessing the expertise to facilitate the work behavior of others. This respect leads to compliance with the leader's wishes.

INFORMATION POWER is based on the leader's possession of or access to information that is perceived as valuable to others. This power base influences others because they need this information or means to be "in on things."

LEGITIMATE POWER is based on the position held by the leader. Normally, the higher the position, the higher the legitimate power tends to be. A leader high in legitimate power induces compliance or influences others because they feel that this person has the right, by virtue of position in the organization, to expect that suggestions will be followed.

REFERENT POWER is based on the leader's personal traits. A leader high in referent power is generally liked and admired by others because of personality. This liking for, admiration for and identification with the leader influences other.

REWARD POWER is based on the leader's ability to provide rewards for other people. They believe that their compliance will lead to gaining positive incentives such as pay, promotion, or recognition.
Because power derives from activities rather than individuals, if the activities of Black female administrators are limited, their power will also be limited. The amount of power an individual has at any one time depends not only on the activities, but also on the existence of the other persons or means by which the activities can be achieved and on those who determine what ends are desired and critical for the organization. One's own power always depends on the other people, or group, or organization (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977, pp. 3-21).

The whole issue of power for Black female administrators resides within the policy making sector of the educational institution. The negative connotations of power within an educational institution are the racist, sexist, manipulative tactics employed when Black female administrators are hired. The titles issued make it appear as a prestigious position, when in actuality, it is limited in responsibilities and promotional opportunities, thereby limited in power. Dumas (1975, p. 84) expounded:

There is a general resistance to having Black women perform competently in formal, high status positions. Rather, the people around them see a greater need for their assistance in helping them deal with the threats, anxieties, and stress of organizational life. The preference is to have the Black woman assume a variety of functions.

George Peabody (pp. 521-532) stressed some important facts on power of which all Black female administrators should be cognizant. He explains that strategy is the policy selected for exerting power. Tactics are the maneuvers made to effect the strategy and action
begins when one individual moves to confront another. One can collaborate with another to build power, fight to take other's power or negotiate for a desirable exchange of power.

There is no single leadership theory that is congruent with Black female administrator's leadership styles or behaviors. Leadership effectiveness is, therefore, based on the behavior of the leader, the group members and various situations. Powerlessness results in ineffective leadership styles. All to often this powerlessness is associated to positions allocated to women. Leadership styles are not associated with sex differences, but rather power differences.

It is important to realize that all people can increase their effectiveness in leadership roles through education. What our educational institutions need to begin are workshops, classes, or training sessions that incorporate into their curriculum the unique experiences and problems of the Black administrator. The inclusion of the issues and challenges of Black administrators could prove to be a positive learning experience for all administrators.
Section Four: A Current Perspective On Black Female Administrators In Predominantly White Institutions of Higher Education

Needless to say, while a disproportionate number of Black female administrators were hired during the early sixties and seventies, an increasing number have left institutions of higher education. Since that time many have left because of non-appointment, shifting of duties, no promotions, lack of upward mobility, organizational politics and sheer frustrations. They found themselves caught in a "revolving door" situation; where they were in one day and out the next (Stapp, 1979, p. 14).

Four years ago, retrenchment was the latest euphemism employed which had done away with many of the positions where large numbers of incumbents were Black. The results of retrenchment led to demotions, transfers and firings. Mims (1981, p. 52) defined retrenchment as the reduction, subtraction, restriction or economy of educational programs, personnel and services. He stated it relates to duties, functions, responsibilities, positions, funds and other changes which individuals perceive as negatively effecting institutions, or the potential for individual personal growth and development. Retrenchment, according to Mims, may manifest itself in covert or overt mechanisms which seek to control, manage, evade or avoid the utilization of personnel and policies. The impact and effect may result in a trend which "maldistributes" human resources and personnel and contravenes upon the general objectives of an institution and its general mission.
Researchers Levitan, Johnson and Taggart (1975), Levitan and Taggart (1976) and Glazer (1975) addressed the issues of retrenchment as it relates to income, education, marital and family patterns, health, housing and power and control. They have also addressed the effects and impact of federal programs. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) and Johnson (1974) addressed the status of Blacks in academia with respect to the issue of retrenchment. The implications and consequences of retrenchment and its effects upon Black administrators is so subtle and profound that it is disguised to operate under the mantle of economic, budget cuts, seniority or consolidation of services. The range of the retrenchment phenomenon is wide. When retrenchment is reviewed the question of racism and the effectiveness of affirmative action must be raised, because Blacks are particularly effected. Blacks become a part of the "last hired, first fired" syndrome (Mims, 1981, p. 62).

The 80s is a very political period for Black female administrators. All over the country, Black female administrators are leaving institutions of higher education for various reasons, i.e., sheer frustration, nonappointments, institutional policies and politics, organization games, etc. The most dominant external forces today, however, which have and will continue to assist in the decrease in the presence of Black female administrators on predominantly white educational institutions are the legislative decisions of the Reagan administration and the recent court decisions of Bakke, Memphis Firefighters v Stotts and Grove City College v Bell.
The implications of Reaganomics and the aforementioned cases reinforce the future decrease in the number of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education. The Bakke decision has impacted the decrease of Black female administrators because of the issue of reverse discrimination; which in essence means whites are feeling they are the ones who are presently being discriminated against because of their color. The establishment of a quota system for Blacks and other minorities at educational institutions is viewed to be detrimental to the dominant segment of our society.

The Firefighters v Stotts case addressed the issue of seniority and has purveyed enormous implications for Blacks. As stated earlier, Black female administrators began entering institutions of higher education in the 60s. If the future forecast for education is based on budget cuts, which will ultimately lead to the reduction of Black students in predominantly white institutions of higher education, the Black female administrator, who was hired to assist those Black students, will be the first to go (Black Enterprise, March 1984, p. 19).

The Grove City College v Bell case embarked upon the issue of sex discrimination by schools and colleges that receive federal funds which applies only to the specific department that are recipients of that aid and not the education institution as a whole. Although this case deals with sex discrimination it has ominous implications for Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits
discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin (Black Enterprise, September, 1984, p. 25).

Today, the latest euphemism is Reaganomics. The results of this philosophy has far reaching enormous effects on this country. The influential individuals of this country find Reaganomics to be a positive force socially, politically and economically. Some members of the middle class and the poor in particular, seem to view Reaganomics as a negative force which has a devastating effect on their lives because of its impact on policies relating to educational institutions, social programs and the elderly. Needless to say, the results of Reaganomics will affect everyone, but Blacks and the poor will receive the blunt of Reagan's administrative actions.

The current legislative actions of this country reflect a discontinuation of future equal opportunities. There are many fervent supporters of Reaganomics and the recent court decisions. The present prevailing attitudes of many people in this country is that the time has come for Blacks and other minorities to stand on their own two feet. America has allowed Blacks and other minorities the opportunity to take advantage of some of the equal opportunities; to enter predominantly white educational institutions of higher education, to acquire prestigious positions, to live in previously restricted neighborhoods. Some Americans feel that they have made amends for the past injustices of slavery and its after effects. They believe they have displayed ample sorrow for the hundred of years of injustice and inequality that their ancestors placed upon Blacks and other minorities. For those Blacks and other minorities who were fortunate
enough to take advantage of the various educational and employment opportunities their plight for survival would not be as difficult.

Black female administrators in their plight to increase their numbers in predominantly white institutions of higher education must seek out people in the profession who will serve as mentors. The selection of a mentor should not, however, be limited to Black women. Black female administrators must have a positive image about themselves and seek out other potential Black women to join the profession. Black female administrators must be competent, willing to learn and develop a personal administrative style that will demonstrate their capabilities to function effectively and efficiently in predominantly white institutions of higher education all over the country.
CHAPTER III
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the design of the study. It also contains a review of the literature pertinent to the principles associated with qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

The purpose of this study was to describe the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

This study was divided into two distinct sections. The first section was a case study of four Black female administrators in institutions of higher education in the New England area. The case studies provide the personal perceptions of level one and level two Black female administrators. The second section of the study was a survey of the total membership of the New England Minority Women Administrator's professional organization (NEMWA). This section provides representative coverage of the population being studied on the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education.

Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

This study combined qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The case study of four Black female administrators in institutions of higher education employs the qualitative method. The survey of the total membership of the NEMWA professional organization consisted of both qualitative methods with five open-ended questions
and quantitative methods with fifty-one questions which used a Likert Five-Point scale response mode. The analysis of this study on the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in institutions of higher education relied heavily upon data acquired through both methodologies.

This study does not attempt to address which research methods are superior or inferior. There is no "best" type of research in general; each kind may be "best" for a particular purpose (Good, Barr, Scates, 1936, p. 294). The researcher of this study feels the use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are most appropriate for this particular study. The most important consideration is whether the method provides the answers to significant questions. The ultimate goal is to produce a rather comprehensive study of the issues.

Qualitative methodology can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, however, the utilization of this particular research methodology was limited throughout the 1940s and into the fifties with the growth of prominence of positivist theories and quantitative methods. The 1960s and 1970s was the revitalization period of qualitative methods. Numerous studies using qualitative research methodology were published thereby enhancing the interest, understanding and usage by others (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

Bogdan and Taylor (1975) define qualitative methodologies as research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior. Qualitative
methodology relates to totality; the individual and the environment. It does not relate to an isolated variable or to an hypothesis.

When we reduce people to statistical aggregates, we lose sight of the subjective nature of human behavior. Qualitative methods allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own definitions of the world.

We experience what they experience in their daily struggles with their society. We learn about groups and experiences about which we may know nothing (Bogdan and Taylor, 1964, p. 4).

The quantitative method provides representative coverage of the population under study. The researcher can at best present numbers, illustrative graphs and statistical percentages, which have value of their own. Nonetheless, to fully understand the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators, personal information must be acquired to express their attitudes, values and beliefs to provide a richer, probably sounder interpretation (Denzin, 1970).

Survey research in the United States can be traced back to 1909 when a social survey was administered to study the various forces that affected the lives of steel workers in Pittsburgh. Completion of this study in 1928 stimulated others to try to address their problems through the same vehicle. During the 1940s and later, relatively few social surveys were undertaken by individual researchers. However, interest increased among social agencies and of federal and state government which is evidenced by the large masses of census data and other government reports on a variety of problems, i.e., social security, economic conditions, employment and unemployment, wages, income, health, child-welfare services and crime and delinquency. The
research methods employed in the complex social surveys included statistical analyses, case studies of individuals and organizations, group and personal interviews; and schedules and questionnaires (Good, 1959, p. 174).

The questionnaire is a direct effort to sample the opinions. The opinions and attitudes are facts of opinion. They represent the feelings of the group tendencies which may be either right or wrong, helpful or detrimental to society, generally good or generally bad. These facts of opinion are different from opinion about facts, which are normally untrustworthy (Good, Barr, Scates, 1936, p. 332).

Today there are more Blacks and other minorities working in prestigious positions than ever before in our history, nonetheless, very little has been done to examine this phenomenon. A search of the literature reveals that writers only allude in passing to Black female administrators in colleges and universities. Black women find themselves under broad categories "women" or "minority women". And just as the term minority group conceals the situation of a specific minority group, so the category "women" hides what is happening to a specific group of women (Wagstaff and Moore, 1974).

To acknowledge the specific thoughts of today's Black female administrators the researcher recognizes that the most effective manner to proceed was to validate this study through qualitative and quantitative data. According to Rummel (1964) combining research methodologies are acceptable procedures. The methods employed to study people influences the ways we view them, therefore, the
qualitative methodology seems to be logically compelling. This methodology allows the personal involvement that is needed to express the realities of one's world.

...qualitative methods enable us to explore concepts whose essence is lost in other research approaches. Such concepts as beauty, pain, faith, suffering, frustrations, hope love can be studied as they are defined and experienced by real people in their everyday lives (Bodgian and Taylor, 1975, p. 5).

In addition, the qualitative methodology affords the researcher with the opportunity to observe individuals and groups and learn facts, opinions, and beliefs which may vary with particular persons in particular situations.

The literature supports the use of combining research methodologies:

It may serve to corroborate data already obtained from various independent sources or to disclose apparent contradictions or other discrepancies among sources. It can aid in the critical evaluation of other sources of data and act as a check on the reliability of data obtained by other techniques (Rummel, 1964, p. 174.)

It is a common error to group together the terms "quantitative, statistical, and experimental," setting them in opposition to "qualitative, clinical, and non-experimental." Some phenomena of behavior cannot be studied satisfactorily in the laboratory, and some quantification of clinical evidence is desirable. What is needed is a balanced approach in selecting techniques appropriate for the problem at hand (Good, 1965, p. 168).
Subjects

The primary focus of this study was to access the status and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area. The New England Minority Women Administrator's professional organization was selected as the population base for this study because of its philosophy and membership. The New England Minority Women Administrators is an alliance of minority administrators that developed in 1973. It was designed to establish a support system as a vehicle in which to share common experiences, construct programs for self-development, enhance employment opportunities and provide skill development.

NEWMA's membership, at the time of this study, totalled eighty-five. NEWMA is comprised of minority administrators located at private and public institutions of higher education throughout the New England area. The members of the organization hold positions as deans, admissions officers, financial aid officers, academic service program officers, library and media center managers and equal opportunity officers in addition to numerous other positions.

Qualitative Methodology

At the time of this study the membership of NEWMA consisted of eighty-five members. However, for the qualitative data only four administrators were selected as case study participants for personal interviews. The selection criteria for the case study interviews was based primarily on the administrative level of the Black female
administrator, their ability to communicate effectively and the length of service in the position.

According to Rummel (1964, p. 104) the process of the interview is to seek well-authenticated facts, or at least informed judgments, therefore, the selection process must be handled with great care. Determining which individual has the necessary information, whether or not they have the authority to divulge certain information, and if they do, are they willing to do so. One of the worst mistakes a researcher can make is to misclassify a respondent. The researcher should make every attempt to find out as much as possible about the interviewee's responsibilities, present and past experiences, possible biases and so forth.

Some of the specific questions explored in this study were:

1. Does the Black female administrator perceive herself in the role to:
   a. develop and implement policies
   b. participate in decision making processes
   c. prepare budgets
   d. prepare job descriptions
   e. select staff
   f. terminate staff
   g. promote staff
   h. prepare proposals, if applicable
   i. recruit minorities

2. Does the Black female administrator feel she is able to execute her responsibilities effectively?
   a. what is your job title?
   b. what are your responsibilities?
   c. do you perceive any internal or external forces which can hinder your effectiveness?
   d. how did you acquire your position?
   e. what is your perceived relationship with your superior?
f. what is your perceived relationship with your subordinates?
g. how do you perceive yourself as an administrator?
h. what is your feeling regarding affirmative action and quotas?

3. demographic, personal data questions which will assist in the characterization of the subjects.
   a. birth place
   b. education
   c. marital status
   d. children
   e. salary

As a distinctive qualitative research technique, the standardized open-ended interview approach was utilized. Cohen and Manion (1980, p. 241) defines the interview process as "two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-related information, and focussed by the interviewer on content specified by research objectives of systematic descriptions, predictions or explanations." The standardized open-ended interview is one in which the content and procedures are organized in advance. This means that the sequence and wording of the questions are determined by the researcher prior to the interviews. Sociologist John Lofland (1971) suggests that there are fours elements in collecting qualitative data. First, the qualitative methodologist must get close to the people or situation under study. Second, the qualitative methodologist must aim at capturing what actually takes place and what people actually say. Third, qualitative data consist of a great deal of pure description of people, activities and
interactions. Fourth, qualitative data consist of direct quotations from people, both what they speak and what they write down.

The basic purpose of the standardized open-ended interview is to minimize interview effects by asking the same questions of each respondent. Moreover, the interview is systematic and the necessity for interviewer judgment during the interview is reduced. The standardized open-ended interview also makes data analysis easier because, it is possible to locate each respondent's answer rather quickly and to organize questions and answers that are similar in nature (Patton, 1980, p. 202).

The researcher developed a three page interview guide which consisted of an outline and thirty-one questions to be presented in each interview. The questions developed for the in-depth interviews were products of personal concerns as a Black female administrator and the concerns raised by other Black female administrators. Patton (1980) states that there are six kinds of questions which can be asked during an interview. Experience/behavior questions focus on what a person does or has done. Opinion/value questions are aimed at understanding the cognitive and interpretative processes of people. Feeling questions are aimed at understanding emotional responses of people to their experiences and thoughts. Knowledge questions are designed to find out factual information the respondent has. Sensory questions purport to examine what is seen, heard, touched, tasted and smelled. Background/demographic questions are concerned with identifying characteristics of the persons being interviewed. The
specific areas addressed during each of the interviews in the study are: (1) professional preparation, (2) professional performance, (3) salient issues and challenges and (4) personal demographic data.

The researcher contacted each of the administrators by telephone and requested personal interviews. The conversation began with an introduction and continued by informing the individual of the purpose and value of the study and why she was selected as a possible case study participant. She was guaranteed anonymity and asked if she would be willing to participate in the study. After agreeing to be a case study participant, the researcher verbally thanked each individual and later forwarded a letter of thanks acknowledging their commitment to participate along with the date, time and location of the interview.

The interview process began with an introduction which included: identifying the researcher, purpose of the study, assurance of anonymity and that any future reference to the city and college in which she worked would take the form of pseudonyms in the presentation and analysis of the data (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 97). The researcher expounded on her personal interest and experiences in the study and requested permission to tape the interview. Researcher offered to share the results of the study with case study participant. Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956, p. 171) stated:

The interviewer can do much to establish the tone of the interview by clarifying, at the outset, the purpose of the inquiry and by defining his role as well as that of the other interviewees. It is for him to set
the stage so that others will have a genuine interest in playing their parts.

Each interview ranged from one and half hours to two hours in length. All interviews were taped (with prior approval) and later transcribed for inclusion into Chapter IV, Data Presentation and Analysis.

One of the greatest advantage of personal interviews is the possibility of gaining in-depth information, in that it attempts to understand the whole person in the totality of her environment. It often provides an opportunity for a researcher to develop insights into the basic aspects of human behavior which one can not acquire through other research methodologies.

Upon completion of the interviews, a thank you letter was forwarded to each case study participant.

Quantitative Methodology

The second section of this study explains the procedural steps for the acquisition of the quantitative data. The researcher developed a questionnaire using the Likert's Five Point-Scale as a model. The response modes consisted of "Very Great Extent or Degree," "Great Extent or Degree," "Some Extent or Degree," "Little Extent or Degree," "Very Little Extent or Degree."

Tuckman (1978, p. 178) reported:

Scales are devices constructed or employed by researchers to quantify the responses of a subject on a particular variable. Scales may be used to obtain interval data concerning subject's attitudes, judgments or perceptions about almost any subject or object.
The questionnaire consisted of fifty-one questions, five of which were open-ended questions. Where appropriate the respondents were requested to select one of the five responses which best reflected their opinion to the specific question. The structural design of the questionnaire consisted of four specific areas: Professional Preparation, Professional Performance, Salient Issues and Challenges and Personal Demographic Data.

As a preliminary precaution, the researcher pretested the questionnaire by disseminating it to five individuals outside the sample population. This measure was taken to identify construction defects and any inadequacies (Dillman, 1978). Donald Ary, Lucy Jacobs and Asghar Razavieh (1972, p. 72) offered the following suggestions to help increase the percentage of questionnaire returns:

1. The questionnaire must deal with a significant topic in the particular field in which it is being used. A respondent is not likely to bother with a questionnaire that is considered trivial.

2. Careful selection should be made of the respondents for the sample.

3. The instrument must be constructed in such a way that it reflects quality.

4. Keep the questionnaire as brief as possible.

5. A cover letter addressed to the respondent by name and title must accompany the questionnaire. This letter explains the purpose and value of the study and the reason why the respondent was included in the sample. It may be helpful for a person well known to the respondent to sign the cover letter. If there is a sponsor for the study, such as a foundation or some
agency, this should be explained. Assure respondent of confidentiality and offer to share the findings of the study. Always enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Urge immediate return of the questionnaire.

6. A planned follow-up is necessary if one is to reach the maximum percent of returns. If the questionnaire has not been returned soon after the initial mailing, a post card reminder should be sent to the respondent. After that, a second mailing along with a new cover letter is recommended.

The advantages of the questionnaire (quantitative methodology) is that it tends to be more reliable; because it is anonymous, it encourages greater honesty; it is more economical than the personal interview in terms of time and money; and there is the possibility that it may be returned by mail. Its disadvantages, on the other hand are: too often, there is a low percentage of returns and the interviewer is unable to answer any questions about the study or clarify any misunderstandings (Cohen, Manion, 1980, p. 254).

Rummel (1964) acknowledged the same disadvantage of the questionnaire and noted it as an advantage for the interview process:

The questionnaire method frequently results in a lack of communication of ideas between the researcher and the respondent. This may be due to the poor phrasing of the questions or the inability of the respondent to understand the questions, or both. When interviewing, it is frequently possible for the questioner to detect when ideas are not being communicated and to formulate his question so that they are understood in the way they were intended to be (Rummel, 1964, pp. 174-175).

Tuckman (1978, p. 196) averred:
Questionnaires and interviews are used by researchers to convert into data the information directly given by a person (subject). By providing access to what is "inside a person's head," these approaches make it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs). Questionnaires and interviews can also be used to discover what experiences have taken place (biography) and what is occurring at the present time. This information can be transformed into numbers or quantitative data by using the attitude scaling or rating scale techniques, or by counting the number of respondents who give a particular response, thus generating frequency data.

The questionnaires were mailed to the eighty-five members of the New England Minority Women Administrator's professional organization. Each respondent was asked to respond to each question which related to the topic under investigation. A cover letter, on NEMWA's stationary, signed by the President of the professional organization accompanied each questionnaire. The cover letter addressed the following concerns: purpose and value of the study, reasons why the respondents were selected, a guarantee of anonymity, an offer to share the results, request for immediate return and a thank you for your participation. A stamped, self-addressed envelope was also enclosed.

Each questionnaire was assigned an identification number so that follow-up mailings would be sent only to those who had not responded to the earlier mailing. Below you will find the follow-up procedures implemented after the original mailing (Dillman, 1978).
TWO WEEKS  A post card reminder sent only to the nonrespondents. It served two specific purposes: a thank you and a courteous reminder.

FOUR WEEKS  A letter, requesting return of questionnaire and another stamped, self addressed envelope.

Analysis of Qualitative Data

The interviews with the case study participants were tape recorded and transcribed. Copies of the interview transcripts were forwarded to each case study participant for review and approval for inclusion in the study. Upon receipt of approved copy, the researcher reviewed and evaluated the data making judgment about and assigning value to what was presented during the interview sessions.

Analysis, interpretation and evaluation are not simple, technical processes. There are no formal, universal rules to follow in analyzing, interpreting, and evaluating qualitative data. Analysis is the process of bringing order to the data, organizing what is there into patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units. Interpretation involves attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions. Evaluating involves making judgments about and assigning value to what has been analyzed and interpreted (Patton, 1980, p. 268).

The qualitative data from the five open-ended questions from the questionnaire were analyzed using the same methodology applied to the case study analysis. These responses were acknowledged in the body of this study and contributed immensely to this study.

The findings from the qualitative data are presented in narrative form using direct quotes in four specific categories:
Analysis of Quantitative Data

The statistical analysis of the quantitative data involved a simple computation of percentages of the frequency of each response. The use of the Statistical Package For The Social Sciences (SPSS) assisted the researcher in acquiring the absolute frequency, relative frequency percentages and the adjusted frequency percentages. These data are presented in table form and bar graph form to visually illustrate the findings in this study. The statistics served to confirm or disaffirm the information gained through the case study interviews and added to the overall development of insights into and the understanding of the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.
CHAPTER IV
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents and describes the analysis of data obtained through a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The presentation of data is divided into two sections. The first section represents, in narrative form, the issues and concerns of four case study participants who are level one or level two administrators in institutions of higher education in the New England area. The second section presents the frequencies and percentages of responses as they relate to the attitudes and opinions of the population group under study, namely, the New England Minority Women Administrator's (NEMWA) professional organization. Each of the aforementioned sections are sub-divided into four specific categories:

1. Professional Preparation
2. Professional Performance
3. Salient Issues and Challenges
4. Personal/Demographic Data

Qualitative Data

Professional Preparation

Most black professional who are now on white campuses have "paid their dues," "picked themselves up by their bootstraps," and made sure that they were qualified as demanded by their white colleagues. They sacrificed, attended college, studied hard, were appropriately penitent when accused of some minor infraction of rules, and fulfilled all of the other prerequisites for entry into the academic community (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, p. 2).
Of the four Black female case study participants in this study, one has a Ph.D. in Sociology; two have Ed.D.'s in Counseling and one has completed all doctoral requirements except her dissertation. Her area of concentration is Educational Administration and Finance. Below is a breakdown of the respondent's professional experiences.

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANTS PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES:

Social Group Worker
Executive Director, Youth Serving Organization
Teaching
Administrator in higher education

Director, Special Program
Teaching
Finance
Administrator in higher education

Teaching
Counseling
Assistant Superintendent
Administrator in higher education

Teaching
Counseling
Executive Director, Youth Organization
Administrator in higher education

It appears quite evident that the four Black female administrators in this study possess the necessary credentials and professional experiences for the positions they currently hold. For most Blacks, education is the major route to try to obtain success. This study reinforces the fact that Blacks are attending colleges and universities in increasing numbers; with Education being the most dominant field of study.

Each case study participant was asked their feelings regarding their formal academic preparation for the field of administration in higher education. The unanimous response was that their academic
programs did not prepare them for the role they assumed as an administrator in higher education. A number of respondents reiterated that they gained more rewarding experiences in the course of their job then in the process of their formal education. One of the participants responded in this manner, "I am not sure how much formal training there really is available." Another one responded, "Yes, what I received was adequate as far as what was available. In order to be successful in administration, it takes the application of those academic courses into the work environment and then comes the 'trial by fire'."

When asked how they acquired their present positions, their responses were quite interesting. For example:

RESPONDENT #1

I read the advertisement in the newspaper. I talked with various politicians, community and education leaders to seek their support and then applied.

RESPONDENT #2

I was nominated for the position. I believe I was the first woman in the history of the campus to be a principal administrative officer (P.A.O.). At the time of my nomination, I had a job and was not thinking about leaving. However, after assessing the political environment, I accepted the nomination. I applied for the job, was paper-screened to death, had three days of interviews, was chosen to meet the President, and then offered the job. It was about a six month process.

RESPONDENT #3

I have never applied for a position. I have always been nominated or recommended. When I was in graduate school studying for my doctorate, I knew upon receipt of my degree exactly where I was going to be employed.
RESPONDENT #4

My present position was acquired through contacts. Board members of the organization where I was working became knowledgeable of the position and suggested I apply.

At NEWMA's Eleventh Annual Conference on May 24, 1984 at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut the importance of being nominated or recommended for a position was emphasized by the panel participants. Being nominated or recommended for a position is one of the most effective means of communicating one's personal interest and confidence in another's personal growth and development.

Professional Performance

This sub-section of the qualitative data addressed the perceived professional performance of the four case study participants. Issues such as their involvement in policy and decision making, institutional change, leadership styles, superior/subordinate relationships are addressed.

It is the researcher's contention that in order to be an effective administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education, or any organization, one must thoroughly comprehend the environment and unless the environment is conducive to the administrator, one is unable to function effectively. An effective administrator must be able to diagnose the demands of the environment and then make a decision to either adapt to those demands or develop the means to affect change within an educational institution.

Every administrator needs to understand the political process and one's role in it and how the two can be meshed to achieve both the
goals of the individual and the institution. It was agreed by the
four case study participants that goal setting and organizing one's
professional objectives are of top priority. Unrealized goals and
objectives, and misdirected energy result in ineffectiveness. Knowing
specifically one's job functions is crucial to the effectiveness of
any administrator.

A question was put forth to the four case study participants
relating to the specific responsibilities associated with their
particular positions. Their responses were as follows:

RESPONDENT #1

Level one administrator. Chief Executive Officer
responsible for all aspects of the college. Duties
include: development and implementation of policies,
budget and personnel.

RESPONDENT #2

Second level administrator. Responsible for
developing, administering and monitoring the total
university operating budget of $228 million dollars.
During my four years here I have also taken on
several interim responsibilities beyond the scope
of my position.

RESPONDENT #3

Second level administrator. Major responsibilities
entail administering several components of graduate
studies: admissions, advising, degree granting, re-
cruitment, alumni and corporate affairs, and publica-
tions. In addition, I teach two courses and act as
liaison for the School. I make budgetary decisions
for my specific area and serve on multi-faceted com-
mittees.

RESPONDENT #4

Second level administrator. Functions consist of
academic advising, orientation to transfer students,
teaching one course a semester, serving on committees
appointed by the President and serving as an
advocate for the Third World students on campus. Those Third World students include: Black Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans. I advise all students across the board, not just Third World students, but I am particularly interested in the academic performance of Third World students, whether I am their advisor or not.

Each case study participant was able to verbalize her specific responsibilities, however, some acknowledged discrepancies with their job titles, descriptions and the duties they were actually performing.

RESPONDENT #2

I am presently on assignment in an area which is outside of my job title and description. This is the results of the change in leadership and difference in philosophies.

RESPONDENT #3

Actually, my job title and job description is pretty clear. I find no discrepancies therein. I have had the privilege of writing the job descriptions that is appropriate for my title. The job has been one that has evolved over a period of time and with that evolution the job description has changed somewhat. Every year, I update it.

RESPONDENT #4

When I was interviewed for the position, I requested a job description. I was told the announcement in the newspaper identified my responsibilities. I informed them that I did not feel it was adequate, they responded to that comment with, 'Oh, in your position, at your level there is no job description, we only have job descriptions for the support staff.

From these comments it is clear the Black female administrator cannot allow herself to be immobilized nor can one sit back in a particular situation and ignore what is happening to them and around them. Accordingly, she must always be cognizant of her roles and responsibilities in any organizational setting. It would seem that a
titles would mean nothing, if she does not know what she is doing and why. Black female administrators owe it to themselves to have a functional knowledge of the relationship between institutional policies and politics.

Trying to cope with the pressures of administration, requires a broad understanding of issues with respect to the positions of Blacks in the struggle, as well as, a broad understanding of specific issues and factors underlying the mounting success in one's career and the goals and objectives of the educational institution.

In many instances, an administrator can facilitate her goals and objectives by minimizing the number of conflictive situations by evidencing keen sensitivity to the expectations of her constituents and the maneuvering of relevant groups by utilizing her full power of perception. Administrators have accomplished this task by constantly asking the appropriate individual(s) what their expectations are and by investigating the environment before accepting the position offered them. One of the case study participants expressed her acceptance of the position was based on the mutual agreement with her superior, that they would meet once a week to discuss present and future plans so the institution would be knowledgeable of her actions. This was done to protect herself because there was insufficient information available to clearly define her roles and responsibilities within the educational institution.

The literature has a great deal of information suggesting that the number of Black administrators involved in the decision making processes of educational institutions is practically nil. The case
study participants responses tended to support this position. The level one administrator acknowledged her involvement in the decision making processes, but the level of participation of the second level administrators varied. Their comments were:

RESPONDENT #2

Yes, one of the key things that I liked about the job was that I could, in fact, recommend policy to the Executive Committee and we could pass on that policy. That is what I really pride myself on; my ability to implement policy once it has been approved.

RESPONDENT #3

I feel I am totally involved in the decision making processes in the School of which I am affiliated. My years of experience in the School brings insights and experiences of which many of my colleagues are not familiar.

RESPONDENT #4

I am involved in the hiring and firing processes through search committees at my educational, however, my activeness in the budgetary process, is limited to my specific area. I submit a budget once a year to the Dean of Studies Office.

When presented with the question have you implemented any changes in your educational institution since your tenure in your current position, the four case study participants expounded:

RESPONDENT #1

Yes, I have. In terms of personnel, we have people who are now better prepared for what the job requirements are. We have two grants which are really related to the peripheral. They are transfer opportunities programs. We receive $100,000 a year for three years from a Trust and $25,000 from a Foundation. Both of those grants are designed to extend transfer opportunities for our students. One grant is working with surrounding colleges to have our curriculum really articulate with theirs. This will allow our
students to move into those colleges without any difficulty. One grant is to allow for liberal arts transfer. It gives the faculty an opportunity to really look at what they are doing and the results. It avails them of the opportunity to talk to faculty at other colleges and to expand their own ideas of why they are doing what they are, assorting the methods to the students that we have.

So, we find that to be very exciting. Our Bilingual program and our ESL program have expanded. We have a curriculum developer who was hired on Title 3 money to really work on the Bilingual curriculum. Our developmental staff has been enlarged because so many students come in with inadequate academic preparation. One out of every five adults in this area is illiterate. So we are working on that aspect. We also co-sponsor with a university a Literacy Research Institute where the technical staff is housed here. They work with professionals in fourteen community agencies providing literacy training. We do G.E.D. programs and then bring them into collegiate work. We don't think there is a college in the United States that is doing what we are. It has made a significant impact on the college and it really meets the needs of the people.

RESPONDENT #2

I think some of the biggest changes I have made were (1) development of a budgetary procedure for the university. When I came here there was no standard budgetary development process; (2) another major procedure that I developed along with the Provost was a procedure for bringing policy to the Executive Committee and how those policies are going to be acted upon by the Executive Committee and how, in fact, we can monitor the implementation of something once we passed it. I think those of us in higher education know that we talk things to death in committees. Then we have to have a committee to understand what the first committee did; nothing ever gets done. (3) another change was the reorganization and development of a new executive area at the University. About a year and a half after I was here my supervisor asked me to undertake an analysis of the areas that reported to him and make recommendations on an organizational change, which I did. By creating a whole new executive area we were able to devote our energies to a specific type of activity which, in fact, so many public institutions are currently doing. We did that in 1982 as a result of my analysis and reorganization; (4) another thing I pride myself on was the involvement with min-
ority or women's groups. I think that my presence as an active participant with those groups caused me some consternation, but was also very positive for identification and role modeling for young, future minorities and women; (5) in addition, I had three administrative interns through the Master's of Public Administration program. I believe that having them and working with them as a mentor, has allowed them to develop their professional careers and assisted them in their success.

RESPONDENT #3

I developed a graduate academic program to assist professional individuals who have obtained success in their professional endeavors without the baccalaureate degree to further their education on a graduate level; (2) I have assisted in the decision making policies that have affected the school in general, and the academic performance of students, in particular; (3) I have been an active participant in the decision making processes and implementation of new programs and concentrations within the School and (4) have served on many decision making committees within and outside of the School structure.

RESPONDENT #4

I developed the Third World Advisory Committee. I felt a need for this committee, which is composed of faculty and students, to provide a mechanism that can used as a forum to discuss and direct the various concerns and issues of both faculty and students. In addition, I requested the librarian develop bibliographies on Third World writers on Third World people. They developed a bibliography for Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans and Native Americans. It has been circulated to students and faculty and I have received positive feedback as to how helpful it has been for both faculty and students in terms of research and sources for term papers.

Another issue which appears in the literature about Black administrators is their leadership styles. In terms of leadership styles leading white theorists have conducted research and stated that Black administrators are more likely to use a relations-oriented
leadership style over their Black subordinates than are nonblack administrators (Hellriegel-Slocum, 1973). It was pointed out that this leadership style might be ineffective. In situations where a Black is a leader over nonblacks, it has been found that they exercise more general than close supervision. They would more than likely encourage subordinates to interact with them, rather than initiate such interaction themselves.

Many Black administrators feel their leadership styles differ from their white counterparts and rightfully so. Although Black people possess some of the same educational, social and even political aspirations as their white counterparts, Black people are different. They not only possess different physical characteristics, their linguistics are unique and their psychological patterns and life styles differ considerably, thereby contributing to their specific style, whatever it may be.

When the question concerning their feelings regarding supervisory techniques with Black subordinates was presented to the four case study participants their responses were:

RESPONDENT #1

I am now beginning to talk about the way in which Blacks and Hispanics treat one another. I have tried to institute standards of performance. We are beginning to get grievances by Black staff who don't want to do their work. Last summer, one of the faculty members who was working as a recruiter came into my office dressed in a tank top and shorts and I said, "You're going out to represent the college, you can't go out there like that." He said, "This is a ghetto school and I'm going into the ghetto, so what difference does it make." I immediately called the Director of Admissions and she agreed that this is not the kind of image we
want to portray to anyone. You see, its those kinds of things, plus the fact, although this is not a Black college, the students think because the college enrollment is predominantly Black, they can scream, yell and carry on at me and everyone else in a way they would never do at other institutions. That is one of the things I have been working on; respect for one another. We are more competent than most whites because we have to be and they ought to recognize that and treat us as such.

RESPONDENT #2

Somewhat, if I said I did not, it would be unfair. In a lot of ways I believe that I'm probably more at ease supervising minority staff. I don't think I am more lenient in my supervision, but I do feel I am more relaxed in how I supervise them. I do sense more comarkaderie with minorities, particularly Black staff, then I do with white staff. I think my actions appear to follow that.

RESPONDENT #3

I would agree, I think Black people and their culture is more relationship oriented. Even though Blacks get the job done, it is done in more of a relationship manner. I think it has to do with their culture in terms of our feeling of 'Soul'. The way we operate, its just with more feelings. When we were brought over here as slaves we had to have that type of relationship in order to survive. So, I think it's part of our culture.

I have read about the supposedly different styles Blacks use and if they are different, I attribute it to the feeling that Black administrators feel their Black staff has to be better, so they tend to supervise them closely to make sure that they are better. I think it is a combination of pressures and it is a reciprocal type of thing. Which comes first, the chicken or the egg? Because of those expectations, you feel you have to do better. It gets engrained within you, but I think it started from outside pressures and expectations. Sometimes you have to be better, and do more, they expect it. It is pervasive in this society.
RESPONDENT #4

No, I would hope that it does not. There are instances, however, where I would say something different to a Black student than I would say to a white student because of my particular educational concerns for that individual.

Empirical studies tend to show that there really is no normative style of leadership. Successful leaders are those who can adapt their leadership behavior to meet the needs of their followers and the particular situation. Effectiveness is dependent upon the leader, the follower, and other situational elements. In managing for effectiveness the Black female administrator must be able to diagnose her leadership behavior in light of her environment.

Some of the principal factors that create problems for Black female administrators as opposed to their white counterparts are: a compulsion to prove oneself to whites as well as Blacks, a feeling of pressure to learn and succeed more quickly than is realistic and a general unfamiliarity with the contrived principles, norms, customs, procedures and routines of administrative and bureaucratic life. They also feel that the demands and expectations placed upon them are incoherent, inarticulate and conflicting (Henderson and Cook, 1969). When the question was put forth to the four case study participants as to their perceived relationship with their superiors they responded:

RESPONDENT #1

Trustees at this institution are an interesting group because they are less educated. They are, for the most part, not in high paying jobs. Our Trustees are different from the Trustees at other colleges; primarily because it did not matter to the former governor who served on our Board of Trustees. So, for me, it means working with
them, helping them understand what it means to be a Trustee. It means working with them so they do not become involved with the gossip of the school and that they understand policy and their role to totally support the college. In terms of the Chancellor and the Regents, I become an advocate for the college. I insist they take this college as seriously as they take other educational institutions.

RESPONDENT #2

I usually work well with my superiors. It is very important for whom I work. So before I take a position or as I am in a job, if a new superior comes on, I make sure he/she understands clearly what my directions and ambitions are and that we see as eye to eye as possible. I think I am well respected by my supervisors because of my energy and also my abilities.

RESPONDENT #3

My perceived relationship with my superior is one I can trust; both professionally and personally. I believe we are truthful with each other, therefore, we do not beat around the bush. We do not always agree, but we are knowledgeable of each others objectives.

RESPONDENT #4

My perceived relationship with my superiors is one that is strictly business. I have a very good relaxed relationship, however, I don't allow it to become too relaxed. I do my job, and have a clear understanding of what is expected of me. If there is anything new I would like to try I discuss it thoroughly with my superiors. Strictly business, occasional social interactions.

When asked their perceived relationships with their subordinates each responded:

RESPONDENT #1

We just had a session this morning on team work which two of our Directors led. For the first time, monies were made available for professional development. We, therefore, sent two women to participate with a national group, 'Leaders In The 80s'. Since we in-
vested in them, I felt they should return something back to the college. So, they led the session on team building. It was very exciting. It is very hard to get people to begin to work together. Again, that is part of them seeing themselves as minorities and feeling they have to pull in on themselves and unable to trust anyone. We have set up groups so that people are forced to work together. That is really the style out of which I come, group process.

RESPONDENT #2

I think subordinates like me and I think I am fair. I have been called a slave driver and a hatchet lady because I am very result-oriented and sometimes believe that with subordinates, if they are not performing at the level I expect them to, it is best to terminate or reassign them. It goes back to my basic belief and the behavior of the organization and such theorist as Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs where a person has to get some self-actualization out of his/her work. If a person is not performing where he/she receives a pat on the head everyday or some type of positive reinforcement, that person cannot feel very good about him/herself, nor can they perform very well. I am very demanding, but I am very fair with my subordinates. They know what I expect and if they don't perform they won't be around much longer.

RESPONDENT #3

I perceive my relationship with my subordinates as a positive one. My staff is very efficient, very loyal and very dependable. They respect me and I respect them.

RESPONDENT #4

I have a very fine line there too. I don't let them get too familiar. I have a good working relationship that I keep strictly on a working level.

The next question presented inquired of the case study participants how they perceived themselves as administrators?
RESPONDENT #1

Very much oriented to working with people and being concerned about helping them to be creative and do a job. It is a lot easier for me, if other people take on their responsibilities. I get satisfaction from seeing individuals grow with responsibilities. I don't know if that is a female trait, or where it comes from but, I feel, that is the best kind of legacy.

RESPONDENT #2

I perceive myself as a very strong, very self-directed, very competent administrator. One who has a certain amount of sympathy for the organization as well as the people I work for and with. I see myself as a participatory manager to a point. If, in fact, I am responsible for an office, or a group of offices, the buck stops here. I welcome input and evaluations, I use a lot of it, but there are times when I must do what I feel is best.

RESPONDENT #3

Secure, calm, at peace. I am self-actualized. I don't have performance anxieties. I don't get shook up trying to do, trying to be somebody, trying to show others what I can do. I feel I have arrived to an extent that I feel comfortable. I don't think about getting all shook up in terms of being an administrator.

RESPONDENT #4

I perceive myself as a good administrator. I think I am fair, competent and firm. I believe those that work with me perceive me the same. I am always trying to learn and grow to be an even better administrator.

Do you perceive any internal or external forces which can hinder your effectiveness as an administrator?

RESPONDENT #2

I think, clearly, there are people in this particular institution, who do not want any minorities or women, or both, to succeed. I believe, there is an insidious old boy network at play in organizations that have allowed themselves to "deteriorate" the way this campus
has. This campus suffers from lack of leadership or not directed leadership. There are too many Indian chiefs. People say to me, "It is like this everywhere." I disagree. I have been a lot of places in my professional career. I think, Black women, in particular, are threatened or being held down in what they can achieve. I don't have any data on this, however, I do know within the last six months, I have known five minority women administrators who have been relieved of their duties. I do believe that those women were more competent than some of the white individuals they left behind. We are definitely an endangered species on this and other campuses.

RESPONDENT #3

The internal forces which can hinder my effectiveness have to do with whether my role is communicated effectively with the faculty and whether they understand that what I do is at the request of my superior. It also has to do with the fact that how they view me is an indirect relationship as to how they view themselves. Those who are not satisfied with themselves usually tend not to be satisfied with others. If one is working to their full potential they feel good about themselves and thus in turn allows others to work at their full potential.

RESPONDENT #4

I think there are a number of internal and external forces which could hindered my effectiveness as an administrator. The people I work with can easily affect me, Black or white. Example: the person I am accountable to when my evaluation was due asked my subordinates some questions about me, without my knowledge, which he did not do when he was evaluating them. It would seem appropriate, that he would question me about their performance, as he did them about me. When I asked him why he took such an action, he stated, "when it is time to evaluate them, he will ask me questions." Well, I know when it comes time to evaluate them, he will be in another position. It was bad procedure and I told him so and I also informed him, I could take this even further.

Has there been a time that you have felt totally inadequate for the position you presently hold?
RESPONDENT #1

Oh yes, I have felt bad at various times when I have taken on a job. I just keep plugging away and get a chance to learn. Budget was the biggest thing that worried me and I think that is true of a lot of women. In fact, I think it is also true of men; I found it here. Deans have said they don't totally understand the budget, and they were fearful because they didn't want to say or show what they did not know.

RESPONDENT #2

No, I have been very comfortable in my abilities. I think I am also a good appraiser of what I can do, so I would not take a position if I felt inadequate for it. I would feel I would not be giving that organization its due. However, I need to be challenged and I don't want a job I can do with my eyes closed and my hands behind my back. We always think we are not good enough for certain jobs. The recent literature on the Imposter Syndrome is a way the power structure continues to reinforce our thinking that we are not good enough.

RESPONDENT #3

No, I like working with students and I know I can facilitate their progress, assist them in entering school and getting their degrees. I love it. Inadequacy is the least of my problem.

RESPONDENT #4

Yes, many times I have felt inadequate for the position I presently hold and I ask myself, "What am I doing here?" Sometimes the internal pressures become so heavy, you really feel like giving up, but you don't. You continue to do your best and what is best for the students.

Salient Issues and Challenges

It is apparent that Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education have a number of issues and concerns that are quite similar to the issues and concerns experienced by other administrators. The difference is, however, that certain issues and concerns are more acute when they affect Black
female administrators negatively. The issues and concerns that Black female administrators tend to be most concerned about are: rewards, upward mobility, acceptance, conflict, isolation, affirmative action, long range goals, and the Black male. Three of the case study participants felt their jobs were challenging and that they received adequate financial rewards for their efforts. However, Respondent #4 stated:

No, I do not feel that I am properly rewarded. There are a lot of things I do that are recognized, but nothing is ever said. I believe this to be a thankless job.

In terms of job being challenging, three case study participants gave positive responses. One case study respondent averred:

RESPONDENT #2

Yes, it used to be. I loved my job, really loved it. Now that I am on an assignment outside of my official area, title and responsibilities, I do not find my present assignment challenging.

Long range planning is essential in terms of developing a route to future career advancement, the following responses address the question of long range planning. Where do you see yourself in the next five years?

RESPONDENT #1

Functioning on a state level, Chancellor of Higher Education, Commissioner of Education or in a foundation where I can give money away instead of always requesting it.

RESPONDENT #2

Becoming a College President or an Executive Vice-President. A college president at a smaller college of two or three thousand
students or Executive Vice-President at a larger university of twenty thousand students.

RESPONDENT #3

In five years I see myself remaining at the same institution. I am an administrator and I hold faculty status. If I am to decide in the next five years, to give up administration, I shall return to teaching full time or work full time in my own corporation.

RESPONDENT #4

Self employed, working in a counseling capacity with high school youth. Assisting them with strategies on entering and remaining in college. There are so many things our students are not knowledgeable of when they enter college. The decrease in the Black student population is due in part to our students not having the experiences or know-how. It is so difficult for them to stay on top when there is so much catching up to do academically.

All organizations have values and norms and it is stated that people work best when they are with others most like themselves, i.e., having the same background and sharing the same interests (Josefowitz, 1981). With this in mind, the case study participants were asked the following question. Do you feel that in order to be successful Black female administrators you must adapt to the norms and values of your educational institution?

RESPONDENT #1

No, I think there is an advantage in being a Black woman. It is one that took me awhile to grow comfortable with. To say, "O.K., I am different." So, if I am different, they have to recognize that difference. I can be and say things that are not like them [whites] because I will never be like them. That gets tiring because you are always cast aside, or people tend to look for something different, critical or the conscience of the group.
RESPONDENT #2

In some cases, yes, because you have to become a team player. You have to be a part of the group. Even as a child of the 60s I never believed you could openly get as much by demonstrating and rioting. I was very active in student government, therefore, I always believed you must work inside an organization to accomplish your goals. I have adapted the dress and behavior norms. I feel, however, I have retained the values of a minority woman in carrying out my duties. Carol Gilligan, author of In A Different Voice, acknowledged the various experiences of women and how they tend to be more sympathetic, compromising and caring. I really pride myself on carrying the values and practices of a minority woman and applying them in the administrative setting. I have often felt that I don't want women who act as the majority. I can clearly hire a white male if I wanted someone who is going to behave like a white male, but I have wanted to hire women and minorities because they bring a different kind of sensitivity, different kinds of experiences to the job then do people who have not had those experiences.

RESPONDENT #3

Yes, I feel to be a successful Black female administrator one must be aligned with the norms and values of the work place. I feel if the norms and values are not yours you should be about using your influence to change things. If that is not possible, you should seek employment where you can maximize this discrepancy.

RESPONDENT #4

No, I don't and that is something I fight against and will stand up for the things I believe in. I clearly understand the missions and goals of the institution, but when some of those policies really go against the grain of my belief, I will express it. I am not afraid and I will take risks. I will not change myself in order to fit in and I don't expect students
to do so either. A colleague of mine is presently in a situation where she feels she has lost her self-esteem and dignity and cannot stay in this environment. If I were in her situation, I think I would have sensed something was wrong much earlier. Many individuals refuse to believe or accept what others, who are supportive, try to point out. I think some of us become so involved in our own little world, we do not see what is happening around us.

Over the past two decades, a number of people have sought to use legislative action that would result in a significant increase of minorities in administrative positions. This increase of minorities into administrative positions undoubtedly has created factors in the working environment among administrators; superiors and subordinates. The case study participants were asked the extent to which they felt they were accepted by their white counterparts:

RESPONDENT #1

Accepted in the sense of being different and exotic because I am not like them [whites]; of having a different kind of appreciation, mostly from white public presidents now that there is some order in the college and it is functioning as a college. I have to work three times as hard to get notices in the paper, to get grants, so they can say, "Well look where they are going." Where at the same time, we work with them so they do not start undercutting us.

RESPONDENT #2

To a point. When I had tremendous power in administration I was, oh, so accepted. In fact, my secretary use to say, "there is always a line of people out there to see you." That was because I had something they wanted approval for expenditure, lobbying for something, whatever. Now, that I am somewhat out of there, I clearly, am not accepted by them as before. It is acceptance to a point. It
comes down to a point of economics. Every job we have is one less they will have and they cannot get beyond that point. It is much easier for the individual to be a white male. They can golf together, play tennis together, go to the john together. The acceptance to that level, I don't think, any woman, Black or white, will ever have. It keeps my guard up too because I have seen so many of us who thought they were accepted, let their guard down, which makes them very vulnerable.

RESPONDENT #3

As a confident Black female administrator I know I am not accepted by most of my white counterparts. I see it everyday in their actions. I feel, if I were not the individual that I am; confident, knowledgeable and to the point, that I would be accepted, because they could then feel comfortable.

RESPONDENT #4

I feel accepted by my white counterparts, although I do have doubts about how genuine they really are.

When the case study participants were asked if they felt that their resources were fully utilized their responses were positive with the exception of one case study participant. "Not at this point. In the past, before my former boss left I felt my resources were fully utilized. I believe he and other administrators realized I was a work-alcoholic and utilized me, maybe, too much to do some of the dirty work they did not want to do."

Conflict is inevitable in all organizations and institutions. It does not necessarily have to be good or bad. Conflict can present opportunities to realign relationships, provide motivation for reassessing interaction norms, and prevent boredom and stagnation. Although improper management may lead to destruction, one should not
forget that conflicts are essentially the external manifestations of need and opportunity for change.

Two of the case study participants expounded upon their perceived conflicts with other administrators in their educational institutions that had difficulty accepting them [black women] as their equal or above. The responses of the other two case study participants gave a different perspective.

RESPONDENT #1

There is a great tendency here and I don't know where it comes from to be like the chameleon. We get into a group and people say all the right things. Then they go off into their own management areas and hide. They make decisions and don't follow them through. They fail to work with their own people to make sure that they are knowledgeable of what is going on. So things back fire or explode. They had been using the excuse of being Black for so long that the institution floundered all over the place. They never felt accountable, therefore, it was easier to point the finger in another direction.

RESPONDENT #2

Higher education academia as a whole is a very vicious administrative arena. Paul Dressel, author of Administrative Leadership talks about why administrators are so vicious. He calls it the primadonna syndrome. There are a lot of people who know a whole lot about a little, bitty subject. And that is the most important thing in their world. I think that is the milieu for administration in higher education that we, as administrators, develop some of that and clearly have conflict with accepting each other and each other's opinion because they are not the opinions we are used to.

The response given by each of the case study participants were unanimous concerning how they dealt with conflict or difficult
situations. They all agreed they confront the situation immediately.

One response was particularly interesting:

RESPONDENT #1

By confronting it and trying to bring it out into the open. One of the most difficult things here is dealing with the racism of the white missionaries who came out of the 60s and who feel they are doing good for us while at the same time they are so hostile to me or any Black in a position of leadership. They will do all sorts of things to undercut and really put themselves in the position of being powerful. Those are the worst types of conflict to deal with. They simmer underneath the surface. When people are unconscious of their own biases and bigotry it is harder for them to deal with it.

Henderson and Cock (1969) state that Blacks have a compulsion to always try to prove themselves. The case study participants expressed themselves in the following manner:

RESPONDENT #1

As a Black and an American I think the 60s and early 70s threw us off course. I grew up being told we have to be twice as good in order to be in the back of the line. In the 60s we allowed ourselves to think we were going to make it without having to work twice as hard and it did not work.

RESPONDENT #2

Yes, in a presentation I am giving at a conference, I state that many people believe that women and minorities have to be 110 percenters; that we have to give more of ourselves. And there are those of us who believe, that is not true. We have to be as good as the men; white men, in most cases. My belief is that I have to be better than they are. I owe it to myself, I owe it to Blacks and other minority women coming after me. And to be perfectly honest, I do not want to be "half-ass" as I have seen some of the men
in administration of higher education. I think for my own personal satisfaction that I must be better.

RESPONDENT #3

As a Black female administrator I do not feel I have to prove myself. There were, some years ago, in the past, when I was building my career, making sure people knew what I could do was foremost in my mind. I have integrated this value within myself so as I perform my role it becomes natural to be as excellent as I can; not for others to see, but for me to feel good about myself.

RESPONDENT #4

At this stage, I do not. If you asked me this question at an earlier stage in my life, I would have said yes. Now, however, I must say I am not trying to prove myself, although I am always on guard, but I do not consider that proving myself. I know who I am, I know what I can do, I go beyond what is required of me, and I always do my homework thoroughly before attending a meeting. I feel, I must have my facts, even if no one else does. I personally feel I must be prepared at all times.

The implementation of affirmative action to eliminate inequality in hiring in higher education surfaced attitudes, fears, anxieties and bigoted behavior of academic community to be the "enfant terrible" of all governmental involvement in higher education. Black educators of both sexes, feel, regardless of their qualifications, this plan is the only vehicle they have left to gain entry into the administrative ranks of predominantly white institutions of higher education. When questioned about their feelings regarding Affirmative Action, the case study participants stated:
RESPONDENT #1

Blacks and Hispanics do not know how to use it. White women have been able to manipulate the system. Last week the figures were on the increase for white female managers over the ten year period from 3% to 30%. That is not true in terms of Blacks and Hispanics. So I think it is a whole elaboration of the system.

RESPONDENT #2

I believe that is the only way any of us have gotten where we are. There are those of us who want to deny that Affirmative Action has helped us, but clearly, it has opened the doors for minorities and women in this country. I feel very strong about Affirmative Action. I do not believe in quotas. I believe in ethnic balance. That in fact, this institution has "X" percent of certain types of minorities or women that percent should also be reflected in the governing or educational body of the institution.

RESPONDENT #3

In terms of Affirmative Action, fewer people are getting jobs than ever before. Originally when it was straight Civil Rights, Blacks were getting jobs. I understand it was a Southern Senator who passed the bill into Congress adding white females, handicap, near-sighted, veteran, whatever to prevent Blacks from getting the jobs because if they had to consider everybody along with Blacks that within itself would cut the job market for Blacks. Since Affirmative Action white females have secured more jobs than Blacks since the time of Civil Rights.

RESPONDENT #4

A successful affirmative action policy will enhance institutional quality by achieving diversity in faculty and students. I truly wish it worked in this manner. I think Affirmative Action is losing whatever effectiveness it had. I certainly know from the attitudes of many of the individuals in institutions of higher education that they
pay little attention to Affirmative Action. As far as quotas, I would rather us not put labels on quotas, it is too limiting and I would hate for us to narrow it even more. I had one president tell me they had such a good lawyer they could get around any Affirmative Action policy. So, you see, they really don't care.

The issues of race and sex and what is perceived by others as a result of being a certain color or sex is still one of the major problems Black administrators face. When asked if any of the case study participants have faced any issues of discrimination since their tenure in their current positions, they all felt they had been discriminated against in one form or another. One participant considered the evaluation process as a form of discrimination; another felt the external forces associated with the college were discriminatory; while another felt colleagues discriminated against her. One interesting response, which every Black administrator can relate to follows:

RESPONDENT #2

Yes, one and a half years ago when I was moved on the organizational chart to a position, I thought was inferior. It was discriminatory. First, I dared to have power and recommend budget allocations to areas that were not the priorities of mainstream people. Secondly, I had done a lot to support other minorities and women in progressing in the administrative ranks. This was one specific case, but there were several. Clearly it was discriminatory and I have had it happen to me several times.

Isolation is another issue Black female administrators face. It is quite evident that Black single women who become more educated and career oriented are perceived by others as being on another level
because they are seen as being successful. They, therefore, are even ostracized by individuals who were at one time considered friends. In term of a social life for many single Black women administrators, they face an even lonelier life. Male association is limited because they [black males] perceive this type of educated woman on another level. They either feel insecure about having a relationship because of the educational attainment of the Black woman or they have alternative motives which relate to their egos. All too often, the educated Black man is either already married, or engages in a relationship with women of other nationalities.

In addition, the isolation continues from their personal life into the work environment. Being a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education reinforces that loneliness. The responses below from the four case study participants deal specifically with their work environment, since all four of the case study participants are married and living with their spouse.

RESPONDENT #1

No, I am in contact with more people now than ever before; in terms of community and inside the college. Sometimes, I wish I were isolated so I could catch up on the mail, and telephone calls. The personal contacts, the meetings, they certainly draw me into more than I anticipated and maybe its because it is a big city. There is certainly more going on here than in Northampton.

RESPONDENT #2

If you are the type of administrator who is hard-nosed and walk the straight and narrow, you are very lonely; especially among your minority friends. When you go to conferences or large meetings, and you are the only woman among a group of fifteen
white males who are all in their fifties, and they report to you; yes, you feel lonely. In my current position, I am isolated. I have been shelved. But soon I will move on and will not be isolated again. It is par for the course that strong people will be isolated from time to time. It goes with the turf.

RESPONDENT #3

Being a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education is isolation because there are not too many of us. However, because I view loneliness in a certain way, I do not feel lonely. One can feel alone but not feel lonely and that is how it is with me.

RESPONDENT #4

Sometimes, I feel very isolated and there are times I feel integrated into the institution because I consider the institution as much mine as it is theirs. However, as stated earlier, I do feel isolated, as there are times when I feel I am not competent, when I question my ability. I do not know if I would feel less isolated in a totally Black environment. For we all know, you have to be selective when talking to Blacks as well as whites.

The issues of reward, affirmative action, conflict, discrimination, long range plans, and isolation have been discussed. Each case study participant addressed in their own way their perceptions of their life as a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education in the New England area. When asked what they could share about their experiences as a Black female administrator which might help future Black female administrators the following four responses were given:

RESPONDENT #1

I think they need to have a better sense of themselves. Even to the point of bluffing, taking risks, not being so cautious about
staying in entry level positions. Paying attention to how organizations function, creating networks, so they know when jobs are open and consider themselves as possibilities. One of the things about men is that they have to get used to someone, seeing someone, talking to them, so Black women should not isolate themselves.

RESPONDENT #2

Clearly, to have future Black women administrators understand first, you have to work very hard, particularly now, with the reverse trends of affirmative action, recent supreme court decisions and finances of institutions of higher education. There is not going to be enough money for everybody that is currently employed to continue to be employed. Secondly, know the political arena of the organization. Who really runs the place, who can get whom to do what. Thirdly, I think they should have a lot of initiative and belief in their abilities; really believe they can do something. They must get up each morning with a purpose and goal in mind and fourthly, have integrity. They can take almost anything away from us, but once you lose or drop your integrity you are vulnerable in many ways. I was always full of integrity and stood up for what I believed in. I never let them rearrange my direction. They want people they can coopt.

RESPONDENT #3

My experiences as a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education has been a long one and I am sure that some of the things I have learned can be of help to future Black female administrators. First, I feel one should know who you are and that you are more than a position. I feel one should know where the power is. The power is not outside ourselves; the power is within us to do what we can visualize and act upon. I feel Black female administrators should be about mentoring. That is, helping other Black female administrators find opportunity for advancement and inclusion within the system. I believe Black female administrators should be about always learning and integrating knowledge, helping themselves, so they can be better prepared to help future administrators. I feel Black female administrators should not take
a back seat to anyone; that they should feel that positions are there to be filled by those who are capable. I feel Black female administrators should not lose touch with their history; the influences and factors that gave them their support in terms of where they are today.

RESPONDENT #4

I think when you go into an institution, you must learn the institution. I have read all the materials I could gather from cover to cover and it paid off. I bring information with me to meetings that others may not know or may have forgotten. Know your institution, be visible, make acquaintances and network throughout the institution. Do your homework and be sure you have the facts. Become as much a part of the institution as your white counterparts. Do not isolate yourself and feel that the institution is not yours because you are Black and the majority are white.

The following indicates the opinions of the case study participants as to what they perceive as the most crucial problem(s) facing Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education.

RESPONDENT #1

Racism. That is all it boils down to.

RESPONDENT #2

First, survival. As mentioned earlier, in New England I have known a number of minority women, particularly Black female administrators, who have been, in fact, relieved from the duties or not being renewed in their jobs. They are generally being replaced by white women or males. I am concerned that the survival of minority women and all women may very well hinge upon the recent decisions: supreme court decision, the Memphis case, the Grove City College case during the Spring semester, as well as the financial difficulties higher education will be facing in the next several years. Clearly, areas where minorities and women dominant, Student Affairs, Special Programs, student related areas will be the first areas to be cut when higher education faces the real financial crunch in the middle 80s and
late 1990s. What many of us have not done, as minority women administrators, is to broaden our areas. We have stayed, for whatever reasons, in our little niche. Let me give you an example. Many of the white women administrators I know from the project HERS, which is a New England based project called Higher Education Resource Services, where I have taught Financial Management for four years, are there learning everything about finance and development and the areas that are going to be hiring people in the future. The minority women, are few in number because it is an expensive program. However, out of a yearly enrollment of forty people, two or three minority women have been present in four years. With the exception of two or three of the ten in the last five years, they are totally disinterested in finance. I am up there teaching and they are looking out the window. What I believe is happening to minority females is that we are pulled more than white female administrators to serve on committees because there are fewer of us. But we are not broadening our skill base. We are only being counsellors, if that is what we are being, and we are specializing in that so much, so when they cut counselling, there is no place to relocate us because we have not broadened our skills. One of the challenges facing minority women administrators in addition to survival is being able to know all you can about an organization, being able to function in other activities. If you cannot afford to go to projects like HERS or other relevant programs, offer your time at other offices around the campus, white women do that all the time; they broaden their skill base.

RESPONDENT #3

I just attended a conference of predominantly white female administrators and they felt their biggest problem was being heard. If they have this problem, I think Black female administrators would also have the same problem. I think Black people, if they don't attend to being up front and out there that is another problem they can easily have. In terms of being heard, just making sure of what you contribute is being heard and acted upon. Men have a style of just saying things and expecting those things to just happen. I think women have to take on the same style. I think the majority of Blacks have not had the experiences of being an administrator, so if you do not have the experiences of being an administrator there are certain kinds of styles that you will be deficient.
Whatever the skills, if you don't have the experiences, you don't have the skills, so you have to learn them.

RESPONDENT #4

Opportunity for advancement, survival and statutory protection are the most crucial problems. Many of the positions Black female administrators find ourselves in are dead-end positions. No opportunity for advancement. We must begin to ask, at the interview, what are the chances for advancement? When we are hired, they hire knowing we are going to be there until they are ready to let us go. It has to be an innovative person to make it other than a dead-end position. Many of us have too much to do, wearing more than two hats; there is no opportunity to be innovative or creative or do research. We just do not have the time.

Below you will find the responses of two case study participants in reference to the question; do you feel Black male administrators assist or hinder the success of Black female administrators? The other two case study participants acknowledged their involvement with Black male administrators were limited and therefore, they were unable to address the question.

RESPONDENT #1

They tend to be very individualistic and concerned about themselves. They form alliances with whomever will be helpful to them and very little racial solidarity. So that their alliances would be with white men or white women before they would turn to work with Black women. Reasons being, they are mainly victims of the system too.

RESPONDENT #2

Last night at a dinner meeting the speaker said, "We really have to work to crack the Black colleges of the one hundred or so predominantly Black institutions in this country. Only three are headed by minority
women, the rest are headed by minority males." In my professional life, I have found a real difference with the Black male administrators in New York where I have worked for ten years and the Black male administrators in Massachusetts. In New York, I had many supportive Black male administrators. We formed professional organizations together in the early 70s, we lobbied together, we did things together, we suffered together, we laughed together. In Boston, I have some of those, only one on this campus and a couple in the Boston area. But, on the whole, I find the Black male administrators here in Massachusetts are very insecure in their positions. He, therefore, is very insecure in making alliances with minorities or women, particularly when he has to take a position to support someone or something. The Black male is not about to go out on a limb. There is a very high powered Vice President in the Boston area who is Black. Yet, many individuals state he will never take a position of importance. I have seen some Black male administrators set up Black female administrators and that really bothers me. I think it has to do with Massachusetts having a way of doing subtle forms of racism. To allow an incompetent Black, an incompetent white male or female is a subtle form of racism and sexism. They don't deal with them, they just keep them there being the front nigger; really knowing they can't do anything.

It is important to state that all four case study participants were married and living with their spouse. In answer to whether their spouse or mate assisted or hindered their success as Black professional women, they all unanimously agreed that their spouses assisted them in their professional life rather than hindered their growth and development. They also acknowledged the appreciated support of their husbands with the raising of their children.

RESPONDENT #1

He is my best friend. He has pushed me in a way that I have fought against for a long
time. First, of my speaking up. Second, pushing me into situations where I would be rather reluctant to go. He is always keeping after me. Sometimes when I go home and inform him about a situation and state, "I cannot do anything about it." He pushes me out the door and says, "You have to do something." I tell him he picked up where my mother left off.

RESPONDENT #2

My spouse had been very supportive of me in my professional endeavors. However, he was much more supportive before we got married. I find he is very insecure, jealous. He does not want me to travel unless he is with me. That is just not part of my operating style. So I find he has become insecure in how I deal professionally, but he has been supportive. He has never said, "Oh, you should not try for this job or that job," but I find something missing in the translation of that to our personal life. There has been times when he may have been too supportive or his style of being supportive did not correspond with what I thought it should be.

RESPONDENT #3

My spouse has been one to continually assist and promote my success throughout my professional career. There has not been a desire or need in terms of this area, where he has not been there to help make it manifest. This help began long before I was prepared professionally; even at the beginning of my academic undergraduate years. His help has continued throughout. I owe a lot of whom I am today to his belief in and support of me.

RESPONDENT #4

My husband has assisted my professional development. He has always been supportive in my professional endeavors. While I was a graduate student he was most supportive and continues to be such as I continue to proceed professionally.
Personal Demographic Data

The profiles of the case study participants for the qualitative data of this study are:

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANT 1
Age Bracket: 51-55
Marital Status: Married, living with spouse, children away
Income Bracket: Over $40,000

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANT 2
Age Bracket: 35-40
Marital Status: Married, living with spouse and children
Income Bracket: Over $40,000

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANT 3
Age Bracket: 51-55
Marital Status: Married, living with spouse and children
Income Bracket: Over $40,000

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANT 4
Age: Over 55
Marital Status: Married, living with spouse, children away
Income Bracket: $21-25,000

With the exception of one case study participant the ages of the Black female administrators in this qualitative section of the study ranged from 51-55. All the case study participants were married and have children. The income bracket for three of the case study participants was Over $40,000. The income bracket for one of the case study participants was $20-25,000. This lower salary could be attributed to the fact that she was employed at a private four-year college. Private colleges have a tendency to pay lower salaries than public four-year state colleges and universities.
Quantitative Data

This section presents the findings from the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires disseminated to members of the professional organization, namely, the New England Minority Women Administrators. This section of the study reveals in statistical and graphic form the perceptions of selected Black female administrators. The statistics serve to enrich the information gleaned from the in-depth case study interviews and provides further insights into the understanding of the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area. This section was sub-divided into the four specific areas utilized throughout this study:

1. Professional Preparation
2. Professional Performance
3. Salient Issues and Challenges
4. Personal/Demographic Data

Summary of Returns

The respondents were Black female administrators in predominantly white educational institutions of higher education. The total survey population was eighty-five members, all of whom were members of the NEMWA professional organization. Table 4 indicates the number of surveys sent, the number of surveys returned and the percentage of returns.
TABLE 4
SUMMARY OF SURVEY RETURNED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF SURVEYS SENT</th>
<th>TOTAL SURVEYS RETURNED</th>
<th>PERCENT RETURNED</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black female administrators of NEMWA</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total 73 surveys returned, 11 could not be used because the respondents were nonblack minority female administrators. The researcher contributes the high rate of return to the support she has received from members of NEWMA and their interest in the subject matter.

Professional Preparation

Of the sixty-two administrators who completed the questionnaire, three (4.8%) held associates, or were completing a degree; thirteen (21.0%) Black female administrators held bachelor's degrees; thirty-three (53.2%) held Master's degrees; two (3.2%) held the Certificate of Advanced Graduate Studies; five (8.1%) held doctorates in Education; and six (9.7%) held Ph.D's.

Five (8.1%) held degrees in the Humanities; twenty-nine (46.8%) held degrees in Education; two (3.2%) held degrees in Art; Eighteen (29.0%) held degrees in the Social Sciences; seven (11%) held degrees in either Science, Mathematics or Engineering and one (1.6%) did not indicate a major. (See Figure 1, Academic Disciplines In Which Respondents Held Their Degrees).
FIGURE 1

ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES IN WHICH RESPONDENTS HELD THEIR DEGREES

RELATIVE FREQUENCY PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Disciplines</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science, Math, Engineering</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At one time in our history, Blacks received their education from Black educational institutions because Black colleges were the only educational institutions open to them. Today, because of societal and governmental pressures of the sixties, Blacks are receiving an education from predominantly white educational institutions in increasing numbers. According to the findings in this study two (3.2%) of the respondents attended Black undergraduate and graduate educational institutions. Thirteen (21.0%) attended a Black undergraduate institution and one (1.6%) attended a Black graduate educational institution. Forty-six (74.2%) of the sixty-two respondents attended predominantly white institutions of education.

Traditionally, Black females have always held service type positions, i.e., teaching, nursing, social and domestic work. However, as Blacks became educated they aspired to enter fields that were historically closed to them. More than half of the respondents indicated that they had aspirations to be administrators in institutions of higher education.

Twenty-four (38.7%) of the respondents felt they received adequate training in the field of administration. While twenty-five (40.3%) felt they did not receive adequate training in the field of administration. One contributing factor to this response could relate to the fact that many of the administrators in the survey majored in fields other than educational administration, thereby, they would not be prepared for higher education administration. Many of the administrators entered the field of administration because of their vast experiences and knowledge in the teaching profession. The
statistics reveal that education continues to be the most popular field of study for Blacks and minorities. Or can we assume that is the only field where Blacks are most widely accepted.

There was a general consensus among the administrators that the experiences gained through working on the job seemed to be more beneficial to their effectiveness as an administrator than the formal academic training. Unfortunately, the training received by most Black female administrators were based on theories and studies relating to white male administrators. Therefore, in order for these theories and studies to have any relevance to her survival she must be able to translate the materials to fit her specific situation.

It appears, in the area of professional preparation, both the qualitative and quantitative data obtained for this study were in agreement. The Black female administrators felt even though the education they received did not totally prepare them for the positions they currently hold, it was in most instances, worthwhile. The Black female administrators also felt what they learned on the job was of more value to them than the skills they acquired through the educational institutions. It was also interesting to note that most of the case study participants and the survey participants acknowledged they were in one of the following service professions (teaching, counseling, social work or health services) prior to entering the field of administration.
Professional Performance

This sub-section addressed the responses of the survey population on such issues as conflict, supervision, decision making, job titles and descriptions, acceptance, leadership styles and attitudes.

The respondents in this study are employed at various types of educational institutions: public and private, state colleges and universities, junior colleges and research organizations (See Figure 2 for the specific breakdown).

Each respondent was asked to describe their position in the hierarchial structure of their educational institution by using one of the following classifications:

FIRST LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - An administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of chief administrator, Chancellor, or president of an educational institution.

SECOND LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - An administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of vice-president, deans (assistant and associate) or provost of an educational institution.

THIRD LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - An administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of department chairperson, program coordinator or director of program.

ENTRY LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - An administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of counsellor, staff assistant, or "assistant to" positions of an educational institution.
FIGURE 2

TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHERE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS ARE EMPLOYED

RELATIVE FREQUENCY PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 yr. College/University</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Institution</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Institution</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private 4 yr. Institution</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior College</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior State College</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the quantitative data of this study there were no first level administrators. Five (8.1%) survey respondents were second level administrators. Twenty-eight (45.2%) respondents indicated they were third level administrators and twenty-seven (43.5%) reported they were entry level administrators. (See Figure 3, Administrative Levels of Survey Participants.)

At first glance, these statistics give the impression that over half of the Black female administrators in this study have made significant gains in the field of administration. A closer examination of the data indicated the majority of these positions were characterised as "assistant to" positions. These positions are basically peripheral positions which were created as a result of the social turmoil of the 60s and governmental pressures on educational institutions to comply with affirmative action regulations. Most of the survey respondents are in positions related to admissions, recruitment, special programs or counseling. These positions, for the most part, are outside the educational hierarchy with little power, autonomy or potential upward mobility within the mainstream of the university setting.

The radical changes in the traditional administrative roles and the increase of Black administrators, who were almost nonexistent in predominantly white educational institutions until the 70s, created and continues to create, conflicts for many administrators, Black and white. When Black female administrators entered these educational institutions, they were not familiar with the necessary skills to manage the Black-white interaction so necessary for their survival
FIGURE 3

ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

LEVEL 3: 45.2%
ENTRY LEVEL: 43.5%
LEVEL 2: 8.1%
OTHER: 3.2%
in the job. This occurred because they have not had the preparation or work experience in the area of multicultural management. This is true of most white administrators also, however, white administrators are not required to possess such skills. But, for the Black female administrator in a predominantly white male dominated educational institution her survival within these institutions are dependent upon such skills.

According to the information gathered from this study over forty (75.8%) of the respondents perceived conflict from white administrators. Six (9.7%) stated that they noticed conflict from white administrators to a "very great extent." Ten (16.1%) respondents indicated perceived conflict from white administrators to a "great extent." Thirty-one (50.0%) respondents noted conflict from white administrators to "some extent." Whereas, eleven (17.7%) respondents perceived to a "little extent" conflict from white administrators and four (6.5%) respondents perceived conflict from white administrators to a "very little extent."

Conflict was also perceived from Black and minority administrators by the survey respondents. One (1.6%) felt she perceived conflict from Black or minority administrators to a "very great extent." Three (4.8%) felt conflict with Black or minority administrators to a "great extent" and nineteen (30.6%) perceived conflict to "some extent." Whereas, Seventeen (27.4%) suggested that they perceived conflict with Black or minority administrators to a "small extent." Seventeen (27.4%) other respondents felt they perceived conflict to a "very little extent" from Black administrators
or minority administrators and five (8.1%) respondents failed to answer.

On the basis of these statistics, it transpires that a large number of Black female administrators in this study perceived a greater extent of conflict from white administrators than Black or minority administrators.

When asked if they felt Black or minority administrators were treated equally by their white counterparts their responses were as follows: Four (6.5%) responded they felt to a "great extent" white administrators treated Black or minority administrators equally. Twenty-five (40.3%) indicated to "some extent" white administrators treat Black or minority administrators equally. Twenty-one (33.9%) respondents felt white administrators treat Black or minority administrators equally to a "small extent" and ten (16.1%) respondents averred that to a "very small extent" Blacks or minority administrators were treated equally by their white counterparts. Two (3.2%) respondents did not respond

Reversing the situation, I asked the survey respondents to what extent they believed Black or minority administrators treated one another equally. Six (9.7%) of the respondents felt that Black or minority administrators treated each other equally to a "very great extent". Thirteen (21.0%) avowed equal treatment of one another to a "great extent." Thirty (48.4%) suggested equal treatment of Black or minority administrators to "some extent." Seven (11.3%) noted equal treatment of each other to a "small extent," and three (4.8%) felt Black or minority administrators treated each other equally to a "very
small extent." Three (4.8%) survey respondents failed to respond.

What is their perceived working relationship of white administrators to Black or minority staff members? Three (4.8%) respondents felt Black or minority staff members were treated equally by white administrators to a "great extent." Twenty-one (33.9%) noted that Black or minority staff members were treated equally by white administrators to "some extent." Nineteen (30.6%) acknowledged Black or minority staff members were treated equally by white administrators to a "little extent." Whereas, sixteen (25.8%) observed that Black or minority staff members were treated equally by white administrators to a "very small extent." Three (4.8%) respondents did not respond.

Reversing the situation again, the question was presented to the survey respondents: "to what extent do you believe white staff members are treated equally by Black or minority administrators?" Fifty-seven respondents (91.0%) provided positive responses. They felt that white staff members were treated equally by Black or minority administrators. (See Table 5, Frequencies and Percentages for Survey Participants' Responses.)

Can we assume that white administrators feel more comfortable working with whites, and Black administrators are more accepting of all people with whom they work? Is the Black experience in predominantly white male educational institutions different from the white experience? Here are the responses from the survey participants. Twenty-three (37.1%) survey respondents reported they felt to a "great degree" their white colleagues found it difficult to deal with Blacks and other minorities. Twenty-three (37.1%) other
### TABLE 5

FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES FOR SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO ITEMS 15 THROUGH 20 ON ISSUES OF CONFLICT AND EQUAL TREATMENT

15. To what extent do you perceive conflict from white administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Great Extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. To what extent do you perceive conflict from Black or minority administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Great Extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Extent</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (continued)

17. To what extent do you believe Black or minority administrators are treated equally by white administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some Extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40.3</td>
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<td>Little Extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. To what extent do you believe Black or minority administrators are treated equally by other Black or minority administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Great Extent</td>
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<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Little Extent</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Extent</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. To what extent do you believe Black or minority staff members are treated equally by white administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Great Extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (continued)

20. To what extent to you believe white staff members are treated equally by Black or minority administrators?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Label</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Absolute Frequency</th>
<th>Relative Frequency (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Great Extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Extent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Extent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondents suggested that they perceived difficulty to "some degree" from their white colleagues when having to deal with Blacks and other minorities. Needless to say, acceptance continues to be an issue which Black female administrators must content with in their efforts to survive in an educational setting which has been dominated for hundred of years by white males.

As stated earlier, some of the survey participants are in Black-oriented programs/departments, affirmative action, etc. The majority of them are in entry level staff positions, thereby, their supervisory levels are limited. According to their responses, the average number of individuals they supervised ranged from one to four individuals, if any. Five respondents, however, replied that they supervised as many as six individuals.

When asked to what degree they supervised their staff, Eleven (17.7%) respondents felt that they supervised their staff to a "very great degree." Eighteen (29.0%) respondents noted that they supervised their staff to a "great degree." While nineteen (30.6%) felt they supervised their staff to "some degree." These figures project the fact that over half of the survey participants felt rather positive about their supervisory skills.

The survey respondents answered the question concerning participation in the decision making processes at their educational institution as follows. Nine (14.5%) experienced participation in the decision making processes to a "very great degree." Seventeen (27.4%) responded they were allowed to participate in the decision making processes of their educational institution to a "great degree."
Twenty-four (38.7%) indicated that they were allowed to participate in the decision making processes to "some degree," and ten respondents felt their participation in the decision making processes of their educational institution were very limited. The appropriate question that needs to be asked is, "what decisions have they made, and how does it affect the total educational institution?"

Twenty-eight of the survey participants indicated that their job descriptions realistically described their functions. Eight (12.9%) viewed their job descriptions described their functions to a "very great extent," and twenty (32.3%) respondents reported the job descriptions described their functions to a "great extent." Whereas, twenty-five (40.3%) felt their job descriptions described their functions to "some extent." Four respondents noted their job descriptions described their functions to a "little extent," and four (6.5%) respondents acknowledged their job descriptions described their functions to a "very little extent."

The middle-of-the-road responses to the two aforementioned questions causes some ambivalence. It may be that a good number of these respondents are in positions that have job descriptions that are so vague or so broad that they feel free to function on their own. Some, in fact, described the following when responding to the question, if the job description does not realistically describe what your duties are, how do you function? "I wing it. I do what I think is most important or appropriate until/unless I get my hand slapped—then I know," "On my own, I know what is required to get the job done." "Chaotically, following my own sense of what needs to be
done." "The subtleties and nuances of the job are nearly impossible to quantify, it creates a stressful job situation."

Supervisor expectations were characterized by the respondents in the following manner. Nineteen (30.6%) reported that to "some degree" their supervisors articulated their expectations of them. Fifteen (24.2%) suggested that to a "great degree" their supervisors articulated their expectations and twelve (19.4%) averred to a "very little degree" their expectations from their supervisor were known. Eight (12.9%) stated knowledge of their supervisors expectations to a "great degree" and eight (12.9%) other respondents avowed their supervisors expectations were known to a "very little degree." Over half of the survey respondents pointed out that they were cognizant of their supervisors expectations.

The responses to the two following questions illustrate again some ambivalence in the respondents replies. To what degree can you rely on your colleagues for advice? Twenty-four (38.7%) reported to "some degree." Seventeen (25.8%) noted reliability to a "little degree." A total of forty-one survey respondents provided a relatively negative response. To take this issue further, the responses to the following questions are in order: "To what degree are your recommendations accepted by your supervisors?" Twenty-seven (43.5%) pointed out that they felt their recommendations were accepted to a "great degree." Seventeen (27.4%) reported to "some degree" their recommendations were accepted. These forty-four responses were positive, reflecting the fact that most of the survey participants felt their recommendations were generally accepted. Hence we can
speculate that, for the most part, that Black female administrators in this study cannot rely too heavily on the advice of their colleagues. Nevertheless, their recommendations to their supervisors were generally accepted. Is this a common predicament many Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions find themselves in, (i.e., that of being a consultant?)

The issue of change in leadership styles when dealing with Blacks or minority subordinates were addressed in the following manner: Nineteen (30.6%) remarked that when dealing with Black or minority subordinates their leadership styles changed to a "very little extent." Eighteen (29.0%) reported their leadership style changed to "some extent" when dealing with Black and other minority subordinates. Nine (14.5%) respondents stated that their leadership style changed to a "great extent." Five (8.1%) reported a change in their leadership style to a "very great extent" and four (6.5%) did not respond. It does not seem so far fetched to state, less than half of the Black female administrators in this study felt their leadership styles changed significantly when dealing with Black or minority subordinates.

Over half (59.7%) of the survey participants perceived themselves as effective administrators. Fourteen (22.6%) regarded themselves to be effective administrators to a "very great extent." Seven (11.3%) respondents considered themselves to "some extent" as effective administrators; three (4.8%) respondents perceived themselves as effective administrators to a "very small extent" and one (1.6%) survey participant did not respond.
When asked to what extent they felt affirmative action assisted them in obtaining their current positions; nine (14.5%) felt affirmative action assisted them to a "very great extent." Fourteen (22.6%) felt affirmative action assisted them to a "great extent." Sixteen (25.8%) indicated affirmative action assisted them to "some extent." Seven (11.3%) remarked affirmative action assisted them to a "little extent" and sixteen (25.8%) reported affirmative action assisted them to a "very little extent." It appears, this could be a very controversial issue. Many Blacks tend to think that they have made it on their own because they have worked so hard to get where they are. However, we as members of the Black community are products of our past. We have accomplished what we have today by the sweat, blood and tears of many others, and for us to deny the hard work and efforts of others is to deny ourselves and our history.

The issue of tokenism, feelings of deception or insincere efforts have been noted in the literature as another real issue for Blacks and minorities in predominantly white institutions of higher education. Twenty-one (33.9%) enunciated their experiences of these negative attitudes to "some extent." Sixteen (25.8%) reported such feelings to a "great extent". Ten (16.5%) respondents felt these negative feelings to a "very great extent;" eight (12.9%) felt these feelings to a "little extent," and seven (11.3%) felt these negative feelings to a "very little extent." The assumption from these statistics show that a vast majority of Black female administrators have experienced the feeling of deception, tokenism, or insincerity on their jobs.
Salient Issues and Challenges

This sub-section on the quantitative data of this study deals with the following issues: job challenge, advancement/promotion, support, isolation, complete autonomy, communication problems, maintaining cultural values, mentoring, racism and sexism.

Most of the black female administrators felt their jobs were challenging. However, eight respondents reported completely the opposite; their jobs were not challenging. Twenty-four (38.7%) respondents explained their job experiences as challenging to a "great extent." Seventeen (27.4%) respondents felt their jobs were challenging to "some extent."

Over half of the survey participants noted that chances for promotion or advancement were limited. Thirteen (21.0%) respondents felt the opportunities for advancement and or promotions were not available to them. Twenty (32.3%) respondents reiterated the same experiences (i.e., their chances of advancement or promotion was relatively small.)

Another interesting point, however, was that eighteen (29.0%) of the survey respondents felt they had strong support from their superiors in relation to their professional growth and achievements. Eighteen (29%) other respondents averred that they felt they received support to "some extent" from their immediate supervisors. Twenty-one (33.9%) reported they were encouraged to achieve professionally by administrators outside of their respective offices, family members and self.
Isolation is another major issue for the Black female administrator in predominantly white institutions of higher education. This factor is especially devastating when a Black female administrator realizes that she is the only Black in the entire educational institution. To be able to identify with someone and have the opportunity to discuss issues freely is a positive reinforcer for any administrator. Twenty-five (40.3%) respondents indicated they felt isolated to a "great extent" and twelve (19.4%) reported they felt isolated to a "very great extent."

Another interesting phenomenon in this study is the large number of respondents who acknowledged complete autonomy in their current positions. Twenty-four (38.7%) respondents acknowledged autonomy to a "great degree." Twenty-one (33.9%) respondents indicated autonomy to "some degree". Can we assume they feel they have complete autonomy in their current positions because their job descriptions and functions are so limited or so broad they are left alone to sink or swim?

Maintaining one’s own culture in a predominantly white institution is another crucial concern for the Black female administrator. Thirty (48.4%) of the administrators ranked this to a "great extent." Twenty (32.2%) respondents felt it was important to a "very great extent."

Mentoring, the process by which an experienced administrator assists in the professional growth and development of an inexperienced administrator was also rated highly by the survey participants. Nineteen (30.6%) indicated its importance to a "very great extent". Twenty-two (35.5%) respondents stated that mentoring was important to
a "great extent" and fourteen (22.6%) respondents felt mentoring was important to "some extent."

Racism, another predicament contributing heavily to the detriment of our society and our educational institutions was reported by the survey respondents in the following manner: Eleven (17.7%) respondents experienced racism to a "very great extent". Twelve (19.4%) reported facing racism to a "great extent" and thirty (48.4%) respondents dealt with racism to a minor proportion." Four (6.5%) respondents enunciated their experience dealing with racism in a "very small extent."

Sexism seems to be another prevalent problem Black and other minority female administrators must deal with in predominantly white male dominated educational institution. The respondents reported their views on sexism in the following manner: Eight (17.7%) survey respondents faced issues of sexism to a "very great extent." Eighteen (29.0%) respondents confronted with sexism to "some extent". Eleven (17.7%) reported sexism to a "little extent" and fourteen (22.6%) faced sexism to a "very small extent."

From these statistics, the issue of racism seems to be more prevalent than the issues of sexism for the Black female administrators in this study.

In response to the question on the kinds of personal problems faced by Black female administrators in their educational institutions they cited the following:
- finding role models
- assumption by colleagues that I can/cannot speak for the "race."
- racism—subtle but insidious
- being taken seriously, especially when in charge of a Black program, is very difficult
- supervisor undermines my authority by often over¬riding decisions made in meetings with students
- patronizing attitude of supervisor and other upper level administrators
- inconsistent feedback
- alienation, isolation, boredom
- learning to accept and be comfortable with the empowerment that comes with the position
- developing managerial skills which white men seem to take for granted
- promotion/advancement
- not being allowed to prove one's worth
- over worked, under paid
- lack of impact into major decision
- lack of communication between supervisor
- being accepted into the mainstream
- holding on to self when the environment expects stereotypes
- white women's "concern" about my physical space in office; their interest in what my program is doing
- superiority vs. inferiority
- inability of males to deal with female authority
Personal/Demographic Data

The profiles of the black female administrators used in this quantitative section of this study are as follows: Of the sixty-two Black female administrators in this survey twenty-one (33.9%) were married, living with spouse with/without children. Sixteen (25.8%) administrators were single; one (1.6%) was married living apart from her spouse; six (9.7%) were separated or divorced with no children living with them. Nine (14.5%) separated or divorced with children living with them. Nine (14.5%) indicated other, i.e., engaged, widowed.

Thirty (48.4%) of the survey participants were paid from state funds. Ten (16.1%) received salaries from grants; twenty (32.3%) received payment from other sources, i.e., tuition fees, institutional funds, college income and endowment funds.

Twenty (32.3%) respondents received a salary between $10-20,000; fifteen (24.2%) respondents made a salary between $21-25,000; thirteen (21.0%) received a salary between $26-30,000; five (8.1%) received a salary over $41,000 and one (1.6%) respondent reported that salary was personal information.

In reference to age, three (4.8%) respondents were in the 20-25 age bracket; nine (14.5%) respondents were in the age bracket of 26-30; fourteen (22.6%) respondents were in the age bracket of 31-35; twelve (19.4%) were in the age bracket of 36-40; fourteen (22.6%) were in the age bracket of 41-45; five (8.1%) were in the age bracket of 46-50; four (6.5%) were between the age of 51-55 and one (1.6%) was over 55.
In conclusion, the personal/demographic statistics gathered from the survey participants in this study suggested that the Black female administrators in predominantly white educational institutions of higher education in the New England area were married, living with spouses and children. Most were in entry level staff positions and were in the age brackets of 31-35 or 41-45. The average salary earnings ranged from $10-20,000 annually.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to ascertain the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area. In general, there is a voluminous amount of research on management and administration. There is, however, a dearth of information about Black administrators in general and Black female administrators in particular. All too often, most of the current research centers around management and administration that has been designed primarily for a selected population—white males. It is difficult to find substantive research related to the experiences of Black administrators. The data in this study was collected from Black female administrators who were employed in predominantly white institutions of higher education and who are members of the New England Minority Women Administrators' professional organization.

A review of the literature suggests that Black female administrators are seldom, if ever, mentioned as a discrete group who have aspirations similar to others who have traditionally filled such positions. They are usually studied within the context of minority women, which tends to ignore the ramifications of being a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institutional or organizational setting.
The general purpose of this study was to examine how Black female administrators perceive themselves and their roles in a predominantly white institution of higher education in the New England area. Blacks and other minorities are in administrative positions never previously held outside of Black colleges. As a result of the influx of Blacks and other minorities into administrative positions within these predominantly white institutions of higher education some interesting phenomena have developed.

The findings of this study on Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area revealed the following:

Professional Preparation

1. Over half of the administrators in this study hold degrees beyond the baccalaureate.

2. For the Black females who participated in this study Education continues to be the major academic discipline or field of study.

3. Most of the administrators in this study were in the fields of teaching, social work, or nursing before entering the field of educational administration.

Professional Performance

4. Most of the Black female administrators in this study were employed by four year colleges/universities and received their salaries from state or private funds. Very few were funded on "soft money" or grants.

5. Most of the Black female administrators feel their education was a worthy endeavor which kept them in the work force, however, they perceived the learning experiences acquired on the job had more value than the formal training they received.

6. Most of the line and staff administrators in this study felt their leadership styles changed when dealing with Blacks or other minorities.
7. Most of the Black female administrators in this study perceived themselves as good administrators.

8. Fifteen (4.6%) of the sixty-two respondents in this study indicated that their primary duties were related to minority or Black related programs/ departments.

9. A recurring theme of the Black female administrators in this study was the compulsion to always have to prove themselves. It is interesting to note, however, that the more mature administrators felt they were beyond the point of trying to prove themselves.

Salient Issues And Challenges

10. There is only one Black female administrator who holds a level-one position in an educational institution in the New England area.

11. Black female administrators who hold line positions face some of the same problems faced by Black female administrators who hold staff positions, i.e., racism, sexism, isolation and career mobility. However, the issues of involvement in the decision making processes, autonomy, power and being associated with the hierarchical structure are less salient.

12. Most of the Black female administrators in this study hold titles of Assistant or Associate Directors of specific areas i.e., Financial Aid, Counseling and Admissions.

13. The most dominant function for the Black female administrators in this study was in the areas of counseling, and the recruitment of minorities.

14. Many of the Black female administrators acknowledged discrepancies between their job descriptions and their actual functions.

15. Involvement in the decision making processes at their respective educational institutions varied and the recognition of their participation appears to be questionable.
16. Most of the line administrators feel that their jobs were challenging and they received adequate financial rewards. Whereas, the staff administrators felt their jobs were challenging, but the financial rewards were inadequate.

17. There was a general consensus that even though certain norms and values within an institution must be adapted, one's own cultural ethnicity should always be maintained.

18. Both line and staff administrators perceived racism to be the major source of many problems educational institutions are presently facing when dealing with Blacks and other minorities.

19. Racism, survival, advancement and sexism were noted as the most crucial problems facing Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area.

Conclusions

Education has always been a major route to upward mobility for most people in the United States, especially Blacks. Historically, we can refer back to a time in history when educational opportunities for Blacks did not exist. For generations, the facade existed in predominantly white educational institutions of higher education that they were incorruptible, absent of racial bigotry and prejudice. Predominantly white educational institutions saw themselves as the stalwart bastions of meritocracy, until Blacks and other minorities began to appear. We can also refer back to a time in history when educational institutions all over the country were in turmoil; trying to address the legal, political and social pressures forced upon them to take serious steps in dismantling discriminatory personnel practices that had existed for hundred of years. In their pursuit to accommodate various legislations and social pressures, educational
institutions began to create new jobs to address the needs of an ever increasing number of Black students entering predominantly white educational institutions. As a result, Blacks were hired specifically to teach and administer Black or minority programs. In addition, Black administrators were also expected to serve as consultants and provide technical assistance whenever Black-related problems surfaced in their respective institutions.

In the 60s when these positions were being created specifically for Blacks, most Black female administrators did not totally understand the consequences of these positions. The creation of "new" positions specifically for Blacks in an educational institution that has existed for hundred of years should have been an indication to Black female administrators of inequality and neo-segregation. In most instances, these positions that were created for Blacks and other minorities were peripheral to the basic university structure. Thereby, these positions were not considered an integral part of the educational institution. Black faculty in general and Black female administrators in particular were placed in tenuous positions with ambiguous titles and even more ambiguous job descriptions. As a result, many of the Black female administrators had little power and less autonomy outside of their specific delegated responsibilities. In addition to the above, Black female administrators were seen as the newly emerging group of administrators and in that regard, they for the most part, were not familiar with the bureaucratic processes of university life. Unfortunately, the educational institutions were not totally prepared for the newly emerging group of Black administrators.
Consequently, a phenomenon developed that created problems for both groups.

Initially, the problems Black female administrators faced dealt with the issues of job and role ambiguity, non-acceptance, lack of power and autonomy and isolation. The main problems for their white counterparts, as perceived by Black administrators, were whites' inability to communicate or deal with Blacks or other minorities. Most white administrators were not accustomed to working with individuals different from themselves, therefore, they found it difficult to feel comfortable. These feelings of discomfiture were sensed by most Blacks who either tried to relieve the discomfort or tried to ignore that it existed. Besides the issues of non-acceptance into the mainstream of university life, lack of power and autonomy, numerous other obstacles and impediments existed for Black female administrators. The issues of classism and organizational fit are obstacles Black female administrators must not only contend with, but also they must find, on their own, the appropriate strategies to deal with these obstacles more effectively.

The formal institutional and administrative training received by Black female administrators never addressed the issues of classism, racism, sexism and organizational fit. The pattern and tone of one's voice, the manner in which they dress, their skin complexion, their hair style, their education and religion; insignificant as these may appear, have enormous implications in terms of Black female administrators being accepted into predominantly white institutions of higher education. These data indicate to Black female administrators
that their counterparts are more comfortable, personally and professionally with those most like themselves.

In addition to the normal demands of administrative life and the pressures that all administrators feel, Black female administrators suffer a special kind of stress. Their climb up the administrative ladder is made more difficult by the historical and psychological burdens of racism exacerbated by sexism. These two factors, which no other administrator has to face seems to be highly detrimental to the Black female administrator's success and efficient functioning.

Many Black female administrators, are beginning to acknowledge the fact that all of their hard work may never be totally recognized. Many are also beginning to recognize that the glorious titles with unclear functions, little or no power or autonomy is not in their best interest in regard to their future survival in predominantly white institutions of higher education. There is a strong suggestion from the data that the positions held by Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education are temporary in nature and can be readily disassembled.

The strain of working in a white dominated structure manifested by covert and overt acts of racism and sexism has a deleterious effect on the professional performance and development of Black female administrators. The psychological and emotional tension produced by ambiguous, conflicting and/or contradictory demands of the job along with the insensitivity of some white administrators toward the feelings of Black administrators reinforce the paranoia Black experience. Often, Blacks are told they are too defensive or
sensitive. In some instances, it is said that certain Blacks have experienced the insensitivity of some whites in the process of professional interaction.

Blacks live in a dual society; they must adapt to certain rules and regulations of the dominant society while simultaneously maintaining a keen awareness of their own cultural values. Most Blacks in predominantly white institutions of higher education are considered to represent the prototypal model of the Black race. Most whites are not familiar with the cultural heritage and values of Blacks. Therefore, they tend to perceive their life style and culture superior to others and perceive other cultural values in a demeaning fashion.

Today, the issues of the 80s for the Black female administrators continue to be some of the same issues of the 60s. However, the involvement of corporations, government and legislative actions are having greater implications on the success and/or failure of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education.

The Black female administrator seems to be just as lonely and isolated in the 80s as she was in the 60s. Their chances for upward mobility are no greater in the 80s than they were in the 60s. Their lack of power and autonomy in the 60s has not increased in the 80s. The implications that Blacks are not qualified, that they are inferior, and that standards of excellence are lowered when Blacks are hired, are all negative presumptions that have existed and continue to exist since the 60s.
Salient Issues And Challenges

Throughout this study relevant issues have been discussed concerning Black female administrators in predominantly white educational institutions of higher education. The issues of upward mobility, racism, sexism, salary, lack of promotions and recognitions were just some of the crucial issues. Although the aforementioned issues are of the utmost importance, there is one issue that has top priority over all of them; the issue of survival.

The 80s is a very political period for Black female administrators. All over the country, Black female administrators are leaving institutions of higher education for various reasons, i.e., sheer frustration, nonappointments, institutional policies, politics, organizational games, etc. Among other things the most dominant external forces today, that have, and will continue to contribute to the decrease in the presence of Black female administrators on predominantly white educational institutions are the legislative decisions of the Reagan administration and the recent court decisions of Bakke, Memphis Firefighters v Stotts, and Grove City College v Bell.

Four years ago, retrenchment was the latest euphemism employed which caused the loss of many of the positions where a large number of incumbents were Black. Many Blacks were demoted, transferred and/or fired in the name of retrenchment. The impact and effect resulted in a trend which maldistributed human resources and personnel and contravened upon the general objectives of an institution and its general mission.
Today, the latest euphemism is Reaganomics. The results of this philosophy has far reaching and enormous effects on this country's citizenry. The current legislative enactments of this country reflect a discontinuation of future equal opportunities. For those Blacks and other minorities who were fortunate enough to take advantage of the various educational and employment opportunities their plight for survival will not be as difficult.

The future of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education seem rather bleak. Racial discrimination has many complex manifestations in these neo-racist institutions of predominantly white institutions of higher education. Affirmative action is but one good example of how institutional racism creates organizational paradox, involving a complex interdependency of racial pedagogy. Despite its limited effectiveness, it is the only process available to eliminate inequity in hiring and providing admissions into predominantly white institutions of higher education. Yet, affirmative action creates many negative connotations for some whites. It seems to surface various attitudes of fear, anxiety and bigoted behavior and stigmatizes Black as inferior.

The underrepresentation of Black females in the field of administration is due largely to the subjective nature of the selection and hiring procedures and is indicative of a pattern throughout our nation's institutions and organizations. When our society deliberately and systematically denies particular groups of individuals of its equal rights, (e.g., employment and educational), it penalizes all people. Only when it is understood that the best
minds of our country are allowed to participate in the solutions of its problems, will the problems be totally resolved.

Black administrators, in general and Black people in particular have endured some turbulent times and perhaps the most difficult times are yet to come. Black administrators must begin to analyze their present situation and begin to formulate strategies to achieve equity and parity in their profession. Black and minority administrators must begin to take a global perspective in dealing with their survival in the institutions of higher education. We as educated Blacks must make a conscious effort to assist not only Black administrators, but also Black people as a whole. For what is happening to us as putative professionals is also happening to others outside the field of administration.

Recommendations For Future Research

The sources of information on Black administrators, male and female is infinitesimal in comparison to the literature available on their white counterparts. Therefore, further research is highly recommended. There are a number of areas which can be studied: roles, self-perceptions, perceptions by others, attitudes, strategies for acceptance, multicultural issues and survival, just to name a few.

Conclusions drawn from this study suggest a need for additional research to enhance a fundamental knowledge of the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area. Below you will find those suggestions for further study:
1. There is a need for replication of this study exploring the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators outside the geographic location of the New England area. The main purpose of this study would be to examine the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in different geographic areas for similarities and differences in terms of roles and perceptions.

2. It would also seem useful to replicate this study with white female administrators rather than Black ones. To examine their roles and perceptions as white female administrators in predominantly Black educational institutions of higher education.

3. Traditionally, most administrative studies have been administered by white males or females on Blacks. A study administered by Black males or females, on white subjects could add another dimension to the literature in the field of administration.

4. A study that would provide a program of strategic planning for the upward mobility of Black female administrators into mainstream positions in educational institutions could prove to be most useful to educational institutions and Black female administrators.

5. A study that acknowledges various survival strategies necessary for the successful Black female administrator.
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THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA

INTERVIEW GUIDE

DATE: 

PLACE OF INTERVIEW:

INTRODUCTION

a. Name of interviewer  
b. Purpose of Study  
c. Assurance of anonymity  
d. Permission to tape interview  
e. Interests and experiences of interviewer  
f. Sharing of results with interviewee
Interview Questions

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

1. Were the degree(s) you earned a requirement for the position you presently hold?

2. Have any of the degree(s) had an effect on your effectiveness as an administrator?

3. Do you feel the management theories you learned assisted your effectiveness as a Black female administrator?

4. Do you feel you received adequate formal training in the field of administration?

5. How did you acquire your present position?

PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

6. Please state your title and functions.

7. Are you responsible for developing and implementing policies?

8. Have you implemented any changes within your educational institution since your tenure in your present position?

9. Are you involved in the decision making processes at your educational institution? (i.e., hiring, firing, budgetary matters).

10. How many people do you supervise?

11. Does your leadership style change when dealing with Black staff?

11a. If so, why?
12. What is your perceived relationship with your superior(s)?

13. What is your perceived relationship with your subordinate(s)?

14. Do you perceive any internal or external forces which can or have hindered your effectiveness as an administrator?

15. Has there been a time that you have felt totally inadequate for the position you presently hold?

15a. If so, when?

16. How do you perceive yourself as an administrator?

SALIENT ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

17. Do you feel your performance as an administrator has been properly rewarded?

18. Do you find your job to be challenging?

19. Do you feel in order to be successful as a Black female administrator you must adapt to the norms and values of your educational institution?

20. Do you receive any personal satisfaction from your job?

21. As a Black female administrator do you feel you always have to prove yourself?

22. As a Black female administrator do you feel accepted by your white counterparts?

23. How do you deal with difficult situations which confront you on the job?

24. Do you feel your resources are fully utilized by your educational institution?

25. Do you find support systems to be effective?

26. What is your feeling regarding Affirmative Action and quotas?

27. Have you faced any issues of discrimination since your tenure in your present position?
27a. If so, how did you handle the situation?

28. What can you share about your experiences as a Black female administrator in a predominantly white institution of higher education which can assist future Black female administrators?

29. In your opinion, what are the most crucial problem(s) facing Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education?

30. In your opinion, do you feel Black male administrators assist or hinder your success as a professional Black woman?

31. Do you feel your spouse or mate assist or hinder your success as a professional Black woman?
SUMMARY LETTER CONFIRMING INTERVIEW

Dear

This letter is being sent to thank you for agreeing to take time from your busy schedule to assist me with my academic endeavors. As per our telephone conversation, I will meet you on (date) at (time) in (location).

Please be assured that the data collected for this study will be held in the strictest of confidence. Your name will at no time be identified, and only the researcher will have access to the interview materials.

Thanks again and I look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Norvell Jackson
Ed.D. Candidate
SAMPLE LETTER AFTER INTERVIEW

Dear

Thank you very much for such an interesting and informative session on (date). Words could never express how grateful I am that you availed me the opportunity to meet with you and discuss my study and your perceptions on Black female administrators in institutions of higher education.

Your willingness to participate in this study and your perceptions on the subject-matter will contribute immensely to my research.

Thanks again and I hope to see you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Norvell Jackson
Ed.D. Candidate
Dear NEMWA Member:

Black female administrators are seldom, if ever, mentioned in the literature as a discrete group possessing the same aspirations as others who have traditionally filled administrative positions in institutions of higher education. We are usually studied within the general context of women. Unfortunately, the practice of grouping Black female administrators with other women administrators diminishes the significance of salient issues and challenges we as Black female administrators face on the job.

As a member of the New England Minority Women Administrators (NEMWA), I would like to request your assistance in a doctoral study entitled, "The Roles and Perceptions of Black Female Administrators in Predominantly White Institutions of Higher Education in the New England Area." This study is conducted by Ms. Norvell Jackson, a member of our organization. NEMWA has been selected as the population base for this study because of our philosophy of establishing relevant information and programs that addresses the concerns of Black female administrators.

The main objectives of this study are (1) to ascertain the roles, functions and perceptions of Black female administrators in predominantly white institutions of higher education in the New England area and (2) to address salient issues and challenges which confront Black female administrators.

In order for the results of this study to truly represent our thoughts, it is important that you respond to each question and return the questionnaire immediately. The deadline for the data presentation and analysis of this study is February 25, 1984. Therefore, it is imperative you complete and return the questionnaire as soon as possible. You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only. Your name will never be placed on the questionnaire. Results of this study will be made available upon request by writing "copy of the results requested" on the back of the return envelope and printing your name and address below it. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire. Any questions may be directed to Ms. Norvell Jackson. Her telephone number at home is (413) 253-9888 or at work (413) 545-2648.

I fully endorse this study and would appreciate your immediate response.

Sincerely,

Marie H. Reid
President
THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS
IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
EDUCATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA

QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

PART I: PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

1. Please circle the appropriate item(s) which describes the degree(s) earned.
   A. BACHELOR'S
   B. MASTER'S
   C. CAGS
   D. ED.D.
   E. PH.D.
   F. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

2. Please indicate below in which field(s) you hold your present degree(s).
   A. HUMANITIES
   B. EDUCATION
   C. ARTS
   D. SOCIAL SCIENCES
   E. SCIENCES, MATHEMATICS, OR ENGINEERING

3. Did you attend a Black college during your undergraduate/graduate years? Please circle appropriately.
   A. BOTH
   B. UNDERGRADUATE
   C. GRADUATE
   D. NONE
4. To what extent have you aspired to be an administrator in higher education?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

5. To what extent do you feel you had adequate training in the field of administration?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

6. To what extent did you receive formal training for the position you presently hold?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

7. To what extent do you feel the skills you learned on the job as an administrator were more important than the skills you learned in school?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

8. What field were you in before entering administration, if any? __________________________

9. What kinds of skills do you feel you need additional training? __________________________
PART II: PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

10. Please circle the following item which best describes the educational institution where you currently work.

A. JUNIOR COLLEGE
B. FOUR YEAR COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY
C. PRIVATE INSTITUTION
D. STATE INSTITUTION
E. OTHER

11. Please state your job title.

12. Please check one of the following items which best describes your position in the hierarchical structure of your educational institution.

A. FIRST LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - an administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of chief administrator, chancellor, or president of an educational institution.

B. SECOND LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - an administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of vice president, deans (associate and assistant) or provosts of an educational institution.

C. THIRD LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - an administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of department chairperson, division chairperson, program coordinator or director of program.

D. ENTRY LEVEL ADMINISTRATOR - an administrator who functions in the administrative capacities of counsellor, Staff Assistants, or "Assistant To" positions of an educational institution.
13. Please state what you perceive to be your major job responsibilities.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

14. Please indicate below the number of years you have been at your present position.

________________________________________________________________________

15. To what extent do you perceive conflict from white administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

16. To what extent do you perceive conflict from Black or minority administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

17. To what extent do you believe Black or minority administrators are treated equally by other administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT
18. To what extent do you believe Black or minority administrators are treated equally by other Black or minority administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

19. To what extent do you believe Blacks or minority staff members are treated equally by white administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

20. To what extent do you believe white staff members are treated equally by Black or minority administrators?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

21. Would you please indicate in percentages the ethnic breakdown of the administrators in your educational institution.

   % WHITE
   % BLACK
   % HISPANIC
   % ASIAN
   % OTHER

22. To what degree do you feel your white colleagues find it difficult to deal with Blacks and other minorities?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
2. GREAT DEGREE
3. SOME DEGREE
4. LITTLE DEGREE
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE
23. How many people do you supervise?

\[\text{(number)}\]

24. To what degree do you supervise your staff?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE  
2. GREAT DEGREE  
3. SOME DEGREE  
4. LITTLE DEGREE  
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

25. To what degree are you allowed to participate in the decision making processes?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE  
2. GREAT DEGREE  
3. SOME DEGREE  
4. LITTLE DEGREE  
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

26. To what degree does the official job description of your position realistically describe what you do in your position?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE  
2. GREAT DEGREE  
3. SOME DEGREE  
4. LITTLE DEGREE  
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

26a. If the job description does not realistically describe what your duties are, how do you function?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

27. When you were hired, to what degree did you have a reasonably accurate idea of what your functions would be?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE  
2. GREAT DEGREE  
3. SOME DEGREE  
4. LITTLE DEGREE  
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE
28. To what degree does your supervisor articulate his/her expectations of you?
   1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
   2. GREAT DEGREE
   3. SOME DEGREE
   4. LITTLE DEGREE
   5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

29. To what degree can you rely on your colleagues for advice?
   1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
   2. GREAT DEGREE
   3. SOME DEGREE
   4. LITTLE DEGREE
   5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

30. To what degree are your recommendations to your supervisor(s) generally accepted?
   1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
   2. GREAT DEGREE
   3. SOME DEGREE
   4. LITTLE DEGREE
   5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

31. To what extent does your leadership style change when dealing with Black or minority subordinates?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

32. To what extent do you perceive yourself as an effective administrator?
   1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
   2. GREAT EXTENT
   3. SOME EXTENT
   4. LITTLE EXTENT
   5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT
33. To what degree do you feel affirmative action assisted you in obtaining the position you presently hold?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

34. To what extent have you ever experienced feelings of deception, tokenism, or insincere efforts on your job?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

PART III: ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

35. To what extent is your job challenging?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

36. To what extent do you receive support from your superior(s)?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

37. To what extent do you receive support from your superior(s)?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT
38. To what degree are you encouraged to achieve professionally?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
2. GREAT DEGREE
3. SOME DEGREE
4. LITTLE DEGREE
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

By whom? ____________________________

39. To what extent do you feel isolated in your present environment?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

40. To what degree do you have complete autonomy in your position?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
2. GREAT DEGREE
3. SOME DEGREE
4. LITTLE DEGREE
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

41. To what degree does your supervisor(s) seem more concerned with your ability to deal with minorities?

1. VERY GREAT DEGREE
2. GREAT DEGREE
3. SOME DEGREE
4. LITTLE DEGREE
5. VERY LITTLE DEGREE

42. To what extent does your supervisor(s) have problems communicating with you?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT
43. To what extent is maintaining your own culture important to you despite your position?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

44. To what extent is mentoring important to you?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

45. To what extent are you faced with racism?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

46. To what extent are you faced with sexism?

1. VERY GREAT EXTENT
2. GREAT EXTENT
3. SOME EXTENT
4. LITTLE EXTENT
5. VERY LITTLE EXTENT

47. What kinds of problems are you experiencing in your role as a Black female administrator?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
PART IV: PERSONAL, DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

48. Please circle below the following item which best reflects your income bracket.

1. $10,000-20,000
2. $21,000-25,000
3. $26,000-30,000
4. $31,000-35,000
5. $36,000-40,000
6. Over $41,000

49. What types of funds pay your salary?

1. State funds
2. Trust funds
3. Grant
4. Other (please specify) ______________________

50. Marital Status:

1. Single
2. Married, living with spouse and children
3. Married, living apart from spouse and children
4. Separated or divorced with no children living with you
5. Separated or divorced with children living with you
6. Other (please specify) ______________________

51. Please circle the age bracket which best describes your age.

1. 20-25
2. 26-30
3. 31-35
4. 36-40
5. 41-45
6. 46-50
7. 51-55
8. Over 55
PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THIS SPACE FOR ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO MAKE THAT YOU THINK MAY HELP ME IN TERMS OF THIS STUDY.

YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS STUDY IS HIGHLY APPRECIATED. IF YOU WOULD LIKE A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS PLEASE PRINT YOUR NAME ON THE BACK OF THE RETURN ENVELOPE (NOT ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE). YOUR ANONYMITY WILL BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE.
### TABLE 6

**SALARY DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS BY SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-14,999</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000-19,999</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000-24,999</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000-29,999</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000-Above</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7

**REASONS IDENTIFIED BY BLACK ADMINISTRATORS FOR NOT COMPLETING THEIR TERMINAL DEGREES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS IDENTIFIED BY FREQUENCY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>247</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Not enrolled</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other reasons</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Writing the thesis or dissertation</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Work suspended on the requirements due to personal problems</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Course work completed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work suspended due to lack of funds</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Course work and orals completed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL MALE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not enrolled</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other reasons</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Writing the thesis or dissertation</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Work suspended on the requirements due to personal problems</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Course work completed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work suspended due to lack of funds</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Course work and orals completed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL FEMALE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not enrolled</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other reasons</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Writing the thesis or dissertation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Course work completed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Work suspended due to lack of funds</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work suspended on the requirements due to personal problems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Course work and orals completed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE 20-35</th>
<th>MALE 36 &amp; Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not enrolled</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Work suspended on the requirements due to personal problems</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other reasons</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Course work completed</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Writing the thesis or dissertation</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work suspended due to lack of funds</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Course work and orals completed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE 20-35</th>
<th>FEMALE 36 &amp; Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not enrolled</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other reasons</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Course work completed</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Work suspended due to lack of funds</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Course work and orals completed</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Writing thesis or dissertation</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Work suspended on the requirements due to personal problems</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
