



Self perceptions of African-American female administrators in New England public schools.

Item Type	dissertation
Authors	Spence, Barbara Anne Dupont
DOI	10.7275/14705790
Download date	2024-12-16 08:28:30
Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/15065

SELF PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE
ADMINISTRATORS IN NEW ENGLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Dissertation Presented
By

BARBARA ANNE DUPONT SPENCE

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May, 1990

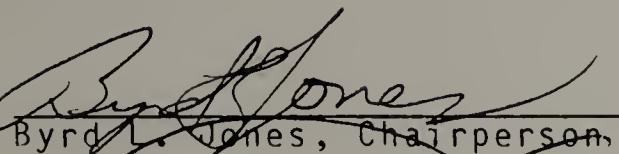
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

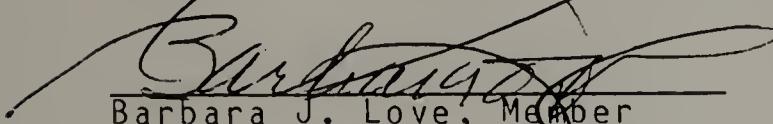
© Copyright by Barbara A. Spence 1990
All Rights Reserved

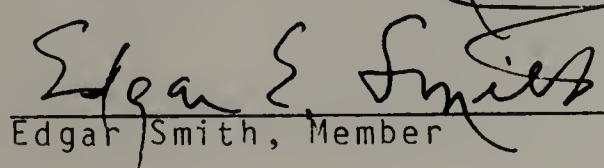
SELF PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE
ADMINISTRATORS IN NEW ENGLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

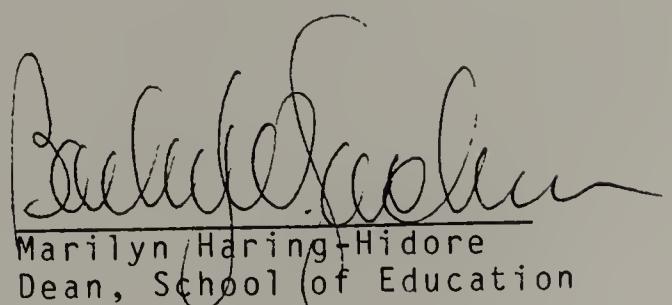
A Dissertation Presented
By
BARBARA ANNE DUPONT SPENCE

Approved as to style and content by:


Byrd L. Jones, Chairperson


Barbara J. Love, Member


Edgar E. Smith, Member


Marilyn Haring-Hidore
Dean, School of Education

DEDICATION

For I am my mother's daughter, and the drums of Africa still beat in my heart.

They will not let me rest while there is a single Negro boy or girl without a chance to prove their worth. (Mary McLeod Bethune, 1941)

To my family and friends in public education.

To my mother whose life taught me what being patient and supportive was all about.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express much appreciation to my dissertation committee. Dr. Byrd L. Jones, who was ever so patient; he listened, encouraged, and read and re-read and pushed ever so gently.

Dr. Barbara J. Love provided guidance and support in many aspects of my graduate training over the years. Drs. Edgar Smith and Patricia Griffin provided the "other" resources which gives one balance.

This work would not have been completed without the help and encouragement of the following people: Drs. Cynthia and Ed McMullen, Dr. Shirley Carter, and my dear friend Louise E. Gaskins.

I would also wish to acknowledge with gratitude the hours spent by Bea Charette, Sheryl Jablonski and Jo Ann Howlett who typed the final work.

Finally, to the participants who reconstructed their concerns, experiences, and insights for this study, I am sincerely grateful.

ABSTRACT

SELF PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE
ADMINISTRATORS IN NEW ENGLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MAY, 1990

BARBARA A. SPENCE, B.S., ASSUMPTION COLLEGE

M.ED. WORCESTER STATE COLLEGE

ED.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Dr. Byrd L. Jones

This study presents information from in-depth interviews with seven African-American female administrators of public schools in New England. Their experiences and socially constructed meanings for their lives and work provide both personal and organizational insights into creative and sustaining leadership roles for minority women.

Participants were interviewed in homes and offices. They are well-educated, have traveled, live in middle class sections of the cities or towns, and engaged in social, educational, charitable, and spiritual activities in their communities. Interviews took place from November 1986 through February 1987, spaced three days apart for each participant.

The audio tapes were listened to, transcribed, and examined. Interviews concentrated on historical experiences, factors which influenced the participants to enter the field of education, and the meaning of work. These interviews gave voice to an often ignored segment of school leadership, especially in New England.

Several common themes and patterns emerged in this study: 1) historical; 2) oppression, discrimination, and racism; 3) determination and stamina; and 4) pride and self-esteem. The participants spoke of obstacles and biases, as well as their own pride and self respect. They described the importance of strong family support and high expectations from family, teachers, and friends. They cited positive role models and early educational experiences that encouraged and inspired them. Despite the oppression, discrimination, racism, and sexism they encountered, these women maintained determination and positive self-esteem. They also acknowledged the importance of mentors, networks, and collegial support systems in sustaining them throughout their careers as administrators in public education. The study concluded with recommendations 1) for African-American women employed in public school administration in New England, 2) for researchers, and 3) for schools of education and inservice programs of public school systems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
CHAPTER	
I. HISTORICAL OPPRESSION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND PROFILES IN LEADERSHIP....	1
African-American Women as Victims of Historical Oppression.....	1
New England Minority Population.....	6
Barriers to Advancement.....	7
Purpose of the Study.....	13
Problem Statement.....	14
Significance of the Study.....	15
Limitations of the Study.....	16
Chapter Outline Preview.....	16
II. AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE EDUCATORS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	18
Introduction.....	18
Historical Oppression of African-Americans Seeking to be Educated.....	20
Effects on African-American Women of the Struggle for Education.....	22
The Experience of Women and/or Minorities in Managerial Positions.....	27
III. METHODOLOGY.....	47
The Interviews.....	53
Descriptions of Participants.....	57
Participants.....	58
IV. THE PARTICIPANTS' DESCRIPTIONS, RECREATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON THEIR EXPERIENCES.....	63
Early Encouragement and Support.....	65
Pride, Self-Respect, and Self-Esteem.....	67

Elementary, Junior High, High School.....	68
Work Experiences.....	73
Results/Discussion.....	82
Comments on Internalized Oppression.....	84
Other General Recommendations.....	85
 V. REFLECTIONS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	90
Frustrations/Coping.....	93
Implications and Recommendations.....	97
Summation.....	106
 APPENDICES	
A. WRITTEN CONSENT FORM.....	111
B. INDIVIDUALS ARE PROTECTED FROM EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION THROUGH THE ENFORCEMENT OF SEVERAL LAWS.....	112
C. GLOSSARY.....	113
D. OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY RACE/ETHNIC/SEX GROUP - 1979.....	117
E. FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING HELPING STRATEGIES.....	118
F. STATES THAT REPORTED NUMBER OF WOMEN DEPUTY/ASSISTANT/ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENTS.....	119
G. CORRESPONDENCE--CONFIRMATION.....	120
H. CORRESPONDENCE--APPRECIATION.....	121
I. WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS.....	122
J. WOMEN IN THE PRINCIPALSHIP.....	123
K. BLACK, HISPANIC AND TOTAL POPULATION PERCENTAGES.....	124
 REFERENCES.....	125

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Racial/Ethnic and Sex Distribution of Secondary School Principals (1984-85)...	8
TABLE 2: City School Administrators and Teachers: A Racial Breakdown.....	9
TABLE 3: Profile of Participants.....	62

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL OPPRESSION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND PROFILES IN LEADERSHIP

This study of the self perceptions of African-American women in leadership roles in public schools seeks understanding that can transform those positions from tokens in otherwise male and White school districts to an important source for leadership in preparing for the twenty-first century. As public schools in the United States increasingly serve racially diverse populations and as more women enter the paid workforce, educators need to draw from a broader population and provide role models for females and minority groups who have historically endured oppression.

African-American Women as Victims of Historical Oppression

In the 1980s a handful of African-American women have advanced into leadership roles in education in New England. Victims of a double burden of oppression in a racist and patriarchial society, these administrators are a tiny minority in the New England region. Through in-depth phenomenological interviews, seven African-American women have reflected on their educational experiences as administrators in public schools. Although each participant

told her story of relatively successful careers, their advancement marked a sharp break with historical roots, organizational patterns, and a national history of persistent, pervasive and powerful racism.

African-Americans have been free citizens of the United States for one hundred and twenty-five years. In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment confirmed the ending of chattel slavery:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

According to Jacqueline Jones' fine study, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present (1985), freedom changed prospects for the future and allowed a focus on family roles.

Still, all black women continued to occupy two distinct statuses that shaped their daily lives. In their neighborhoods they commanded respect as wives, mothers, and upholders of cultural tradition. In the eyes of whites busy laying the foundations for the "New South"--planters and federal officials--they were still workers who belong to a despised caste, considered apart from white women no matter how downtrodden. Yet freedwomen perceived freedom to mean not a release from backbreaking labor, but rather the opportunity to labor on behalf of their own families and kin within the protected spheres of household and community. (Jones, 1985, p. 78)

Not much changed for Black families engaged in sharecropping the land over the next fifty years, although

the Jim Crow segregation legalized racial categories. Many widows and unmarried women, had to move to Southern towns. "In the process their various workplaces became more highly politicized, reflecting the intensity of reaction among whites to the self-assertion of blacks at all levels of urban society." (Jones, 1985, pp. 150-151). A small Black middle class--skilled craftsmen and entrepreneurs among males and seamstresses and teachers among women--led the protest against Jim Crow restriction. As Jones noted:

Teaching constituted a special category of black women's work during this period in American history, for it implicitly involved a commitment to social and political activism...Consequently, teachers as a matter of course performed their duties with a certain racial self-consciousness, and it is not surprising that the period's outspoken black female leaders...began their careers of lifelong service as southern elementary school leaders. (Jones, 1985, p. 144)

World War I opened major job and civil rights opportunities for African-Americans and for women in the cities and factories.

The expanded realm of political and educational activities in northern cities represented a tangible form of upward social mobility for black women migrants from the South. Few of these women could afford to define self-betterment (or even inter-generational advancement) according to the standards established by Eastern European immigrants and native-born whites--a move out of the congested city into the spacious suburbs, a move up out of unskilled work into a semiskilled or white-collar position. But if black wives and mothers had to continue to toil for wages outside their own homes,

doing traditional "black women's work," they reaffirmed cultural priorities that had significant social, if not material, consequences for black people as a group. Like their emancipated grandmothers, they worked for the educational improvement of their children, and like their emancipated grandfathers, they cast votes on behalf of the political integrity of their own communities. This is not to suggest that black women lacked an interest in striving for improved housing or jobs; to the contrary, their stubborn eagerness to seek out better living quarters, to leave domestic service for factory work, and to drop out of the work force altogether whenever household finances permitted showed that they adhered to the family values shared by working-class women regardless of race. Nevertheless, the peculiar dynamics of racial prejudice in the North precluded a definition of mobility expressed in purely economic terms. (Jones, 1985, p. 194)

In 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment confirmed suffrage to women:

The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

But few African-Americans could vote freely or enjoy other rights of citizenship until the 1970s. Differences in housing, employment, education and health care between African-Americans and Whites still demonstrate ongoing effects of White racism in the United States (Farley & Allen, 1987).

African-American women continued to be victims of domination by a society where real economic, social, and political power was wielded by White men. Nevertheless, a small minority of African-American women have risen to

leadership roles. Their work lives as well as family and social lives entail complex dynamics in part because being exceptional means that normal patterns do not apply.

The years following World War II saw the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, and the Women's Movement. They were dedicated to remedying social injustices of poverty, racism, and sexism by providing opportunities for both minorities and women to take their rightful and equal place in American society. In 1954, Brown vs. Topeka declared schools separate on the basis of race, however equal, to violate the equal protection clause of the Constitution. Over time, districts abandoned dual school systems and publicity about equal schooling helped bring some African-American children a better education.

The Civil Rights Movement and Great Society programs introduced during the Johnson administration, the rise of NOW (National Organization of Women) and a struggle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment all contributed to a new consciousness among millions of people over the past forty years (Treiman & Hartmann, 1981). Perhaps their many successes during the 1960's and 1970's provoked a conservative backlash during the 1980's.

Despite legal remedies that should guarantee equality of opportunity, African-American women continue to be underrepresented in leadership roles in the workforce in general. In public schools, this underrepresentation also exists (see Tables 1 and 2). For example, in 1984-85, data collected from 27 states revealed that African-American women held a meager 1.4 percent of the 14,224 principalships. More recently, economic constraints and uncertain finances have further decreased the low representation of African-American women in leadership roles in public schools.

New England Minority Population

The Report of the Task Force on Black and Hispanic Student Enrollment and Retention in New England revealed that from 1970 to 1988 the Black population grew 22 percent, the Hispanic population, 106 percent, and the White population, only 1.6 percent. Yet New England remains the most predominantly White region in the nation. While Blacks comprise 11.7 percent of the U.S. population, they make up only 3.8 percent of the region's population (475,000 out of 12,348,000). Hispanics comprise 6.4 percent of the total national population and 2.4 percent of the regional population (299,000). Vermont's population is only 0.2 percent Black and 0.6 percent Hispanic. At the other end of

the scale, Connecticut is 7 percent Black and 3.8 percent Hispanic (New England Blacks in Higher Education, p. 2). Projections suggest that by the year 2000, Blacks will make up 5 percent of New England's population and Hispanics 5 percent. It is expected that large metropolitan areas in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island will continue to be magnets for Black and Hispanic citizens (NEBHE, p. 2). Given this growth, African-Americans are obvious candidates for educational leaders as role models for this increase in population.

Barriers to Advancement

In analyzing possible causes for limited leadership roles among females, Marjorie Lyles (1983, p. 67) identified "barriers that stand in the way of women's effective development in three principal areas: Socialization, lack of political awareness, and tokenism." To understand and be included in the system, women, in general, must overcome these barriers through a high level of information and variety of social contacts. Their political innocence can be resolved only by someone with power to define their structural and procedural activities. Socialization limits women's advancement in the workplace because it creates

confusion about proper behavior and roles. Some men expect women to function in traditional subservient roles such as making and serving coffee, and selecting cards and gifts for supervisors' families (Gilligan, 1977).

TABLE 1

Racial/Ethnic and Sex Distribution
of Secondary School Principals
(1984-85)

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Male</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
American Indian	40	.3	6	.1	46	.38
Asian/Pacific Islander	14	.1	6	.1	20	.16
Black	758	6.39	173	1.4	931	7.85
Hispanic	265	2.2	37	.3	302	2.54
White	9,750	82.2	803	6.77	10,553	89.0

Total secondary principals school with both ethnicity and sex data: 11,852 from 20 states.

Total male in sample: 13,048 (91.73%)

Total female in sample: 1,176 (8.26%)

Total Sample: 14,224

Number of states that furnished sex data: 27 states

Source: Office of Minority Affairs, Washington, D.C. 1986

There are few minority teachers and staff in the Milltowne school system in New England where some of the participants of this study are employed. More than 90 percent of all the teachers in the system are White, according to records supplied by the school system. Of the 46 central administrators, not including principals, four are members of minority groups. Even among the 477 secretaries and cafeteria workers in the school system, six are Black and 15 are Hispanic. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2
City School Administrators and Teachers:
A Racial Breakdown

<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Asian</u>
Officials/Managers	46	1	3	0
Principals	49	0	1	0
Assistant Principals				
Teaching	28	1	0	0
Non-teaching	33	2	0	0
<u>Teachers</u>				
Elementary	566	16	28	5
Secondary	500	3	16	5
Others	215	2	3	1
<u>Instructional Aides</u>	315	6	57	3

Source: Worcester Telegram, 6/4/1989

Most of the progress in educational leadership made for African-American women represents a sort of tokenism; that is, the few individual women or representatives of ethnic groups who do make it into positions of leadership and responsibility find themselves a unique minority, numerically rare (tokens) surrounded by majorities of white males. "Sometimes they faced the loneliness of the outsider, of the stranger who intrudes upon an alien culture and may become self-estranged in the process of assimilation" (Kanter, 1977, p. 207).

Rosabeth Kanter described the role of tokens in an organization as "simultaneously representatives and exceptions." They are "symbols of their category, especially when they fumble, yet they are also seen as unusual examples of their kind, especially when they succeed." She added that "tokens are among the most visible and dramatized of performers, noticeably on stage, yet they are often kept away from the organizational backstage where the dramas are cast" (Kanter, 1977, p. 239).

Kanter added:

Tokens suffer from their loneliness, yet the dynamics of interaction around them create a pressure for them to seek advantage by disassociating themselves from others of their category and hence, to remain alone as long as numbers are low, disruptions of

interaction around tokens (and their personal problems) are seen by the organization as a huge deflection from its central purposes, a drain of energy, leading to the conclusion that it is not worth having people like the tokens around. Yet the disruptions are primarily a function of the numbers being low and could be remedied by proportional increases.

Kanter's study which deals with the underrepresentation of women and minorities in senior executive positions revealed a number of different factors relating to this problem. In addition to the institutional barriers to advancement such as the seniority system, Kanter (1977, p. 199) noted that many believe that women and minorities have different leadership styles than traditional White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant (WASP) male executives, and that this perceived difference has been a barrier to their advancement to leadership positions--despite no research demonstrating that difference. One difference suggests a greater capacity by women for leadership roles in organizations, given socialization experiences and their ability to handle people.

One early study of discrimination against women, in general, in the academic world examined the criteria used by various colleges and universities in choosing their faculty. The researchers found that while functional such as education and previous experience did not prevent

women from being hired, the use of personal, picky, and inconsequential criteria often impeded their ability to compete for academic promotions. The continuance of these practices which block opportunities for African-American women will not only diminish growth but substantially reverse some gains (Hennig, 1977).

In surveying the available research on women and minorities in leadership roles in the academic world, many criteria used for the selection of faculty/staff excuse simple discrimination. The discrimination of the past is perpetuated through such insidious ways as expressing a preference for the old school tie, the hiring of one's son or relatives, and through club affiliations (Kanter, 1977). Yet women in traditional groups have difficulty proving discrimination in such cases. The seniority system, tenure, and an old boy network all continue excluding women and minorities from positions of power in the academic world (Kanter, 1977).

Institutions operate in ways that perpetuate racial inequality unless someone actively intervenes (Kanter, 1977). The same observation is seen concerning sexism. For example, seniority systems are used to determine raises and promotions as well as to determine layoffs during budget

cuts in times of economic constraints based on previous hiring practices. Thus, the effect of the seniority system is that, although women and ethnic minorities are currently being hired by a given company, college, or school system, past discrimination means few of these newly-employed women and minorities are eligible for promotion into middle and upper management positions. Hence, women and minorities are underrepresented in the upper echelons of school systems.

The effects of past discriminatory hiring practices in the schools are particularly strong today because of the use of the tenure system. The leading educators of today were hired years ago, when systematic discrimination against women and ethnic minorities was accepted and common. Because of the tenure system, these educators will remain in their positions until their retirement or death.

Budget constraints in the 1980s also have had a significantly negative impact on women assuming leadership roles in public education. Historically, these women are the "last hired and first fired." Consequently, many affirmative action gains have been lost.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to understand the experiences of African-American female public school

administrators. The study used in-depth interviews in public education settings. The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to get answers to questions or test hypothesis or to evaluate. Neither does it seek to predict or control the experience. Rather, in-depth phenomenological interviewing seeks to understand the experiences of others and the meaning they make of these experiences. It allows participants to "reconstruct their experiences and to reflect on the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman et al., 1983, p. 639).

This research will assess and structure in-depth interviews in which subjects reconstruct the details of their lives. They will recreate incidents and make meaning of their world, their lives, and their experiences. The interviews will focus on the range of phenomena and recognize the social factors of race, sex, age and class. The actual words of the participants will, in some instances, comprise the text.

Problem Statement

First, the literature concerning African-American women in public education is sparse. Secondly, the literature

does not concentrate on specific demographic areas and what is available is presented in global terms and does not separately analyze White and African-American women. In addition, the literature is limited in addressing how African-American women view their roles as leaders in public schools. Finally, the literature fails to look at women's personal analyses of their work. They were hardly ever asked to describe in their own words how they felt about their work.

Significance of the Study

This study is to be offered as encouragement to African-American women in public education by providing some insights into the factors that led to their successes. This study should contribute and add to the understanding of certain special issues relevant to women and minorities in educational leadership roles.

The existing literature lacked depth and often omitted the opinions and styles of leadership of African-American females. Therefore, the interviews of the participants in this study will add to the body of knowledge and will be useful in creating equity, excellence, and balance for those in the profession.

An insightful picture of women in leadership roles can be gained via in-depth interviews. The knowledge gained in this study will add to the growing understanding of African-American women in public education. Hopefully, it will also encourage continued research.

Limitations of the Study

This is a descriptive, exploratory beginning study. It is limited in nature, with the focus being restricted to seven African-American women. It does not include women under forty. The participants were all from New England. This limits the results to the region, and therefore, the application is limited and the findings cannot be applied to Whites nor women under forty. The sample is small, and as a result, the findings cannot be applied to all African-American women in the category studied. Additional research will be needed to add to this data. This work makes no claims of being the final word and raises more questions than answers. The resulting knowledge may add to the growing understanding of African-American women. Hopefully, this study will encourage continued research.

Chapter Outline Preview

Chapter Two will examine the literature available. "The literature of Black feminism takes many forms--poetry,

fiction, and autobiographies; scholarly articles and monographs; 'rap aloud' and stream of consciousness pieces; polemical tracts, personal interviews and dialogues" says Jones (1985, p. 315). Excerpts from these genre will be quoted in order to strengthen and reinforce the issues and themes that surface in the interviews with the women participating in this study. Chapter Three contains the methodology. Chapter Four describes experiences of the participants and their feelings about those experiences. A brief description of each woman will include her personal family composite, her past work experiences, and her current employment. There were three interviews for each participant, each one an hour-and-a-half in length. Chapter Five presents a discussion, summary, some conclusions, and recommendations for the future.

CHAPTER II

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE EDUCATORS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this overall study is to understand the experiences of African-American female public school administrators in New England. By virtue of who the participants in this study are, relevant research must encompass at least three specific areas. These are the experiences of being African-American, of being female, and of being in a management position. While there is a dearth of literature which takes the three experiences into account simultaneously, there is extensive literature which examines, from an historical perspective, the oppression suffered by African-Americans and by females. To understand the experiences of the subjects of this study, this literature review must concern itself with the historical perspective of both the African-American woman's struggle to be educated and the struggle of women of any race to be accepted in managerial positions.

That both of these perspectives are crucial to any understanding of the experience of contemporary African-American female school administrators is highlighted by the

words of Shirley Chisholm who is a female, an African-American, a teacher, a former congresswoman and the first African-American female candidate for the presidency of the United States. Ms. Chisholm reflects that:

Being female put many more obstacles in my path than being Black. Sometimes I have trouble myself believing that I made it this far against the odds. No one, not even my father, whose hopes for me were extravagant, would ever have dared to predict it. (Chisholm, 1970, p. xii)

In view, then, of the dual perspective of being African-American and being female which this study necessitates, the literature review will incorporate the following themes:

- (1) The historical oppression of African-Americans seeking to be educated;
- (2) The effects on African-American women educators of the struggle for education;
- (3) The experience of women and/or minorities in managerial positions.

The references are in the libraries of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Amherst College; Mount Holyoke College; and Smith College. The balance are available through the inter-library loan service.

Historical Oppression of African-Americans Seeking to be Educated

That African-Americans, both male and female, have long struggled for educational opportunity is documented in Carter G. Woodson's Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (1915). Long before achieving their political freedom, African-Americans recognized the necessity of being educated in order to make any meaningful improvement in the quality of their lives either individually or collectively.

The struggle of African-American people to find the key to educational advancement and their frustration in seeking to enter into not only the educational power structure, but the educational structure at all is depicted in Margaret Walker's poem "For My People."

For the cramped bewildered years we went to school
to learn to know the reasons why and the answers to
and the people who and the places where and the days
when, in memory of the bitter hours when we
discovered we were black and poor and small and
different and nobody cared and nobody wondered and
nobody understood. . .

For my people blundering and groping and floundering
in the dark of churches and schools and clubs and
societies, associations and councils and committees
and conventions, distressed and disturbed and
deceived and devoured by money-hungry, glory-craving
leeches, preyed on by a facile force of state and
fad and novelty, by false prophet and holy believer.

These lines from Ms. Walker's poem are appropriate and meaningful to this dissertation and its' participants

because they have felt both the educational longing it describes and the frustration at how the system works which it evokes.

Moreover, the struggle was not, and has not been, resolved readily or easily. With regard to the education of African-Americans, Horace Mann Bond wrote in The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (1934) the following:

We are now a full century beyond that partial emancipation. The great grandchildren, the grandchildren, the children of the institution of slavery, even to the tenth and eleventh generation, are with us today; they have dragged their heavy burdens of generations of enforced ignorance, and of wretched schools "after freedom" into the slum ghettos of the cities--South, North and West; and great indeed are the devilish miracles wrought by those who denied systematically and without conscience, the acquisition of knowledge to children.

The women in this study are not only cognizant of the educational sins committed against African-American children, but in some cases they have been victims of them, and in all cases they are committed to eradicating them.

Similarly, the women in the study are conscious of the tremendous cost which their forbearers paid to attain literacy. Janet Cornelius in We Slipped and Learned to Read (1983), describes the many hardships endured by the slaves who sought to learn to read and write. The common

punishment for intellectual curiosities was amputation. The horrible price exacted of slaves with a desire to learn is graphically described in the following passage:

The first time you was caught trying to read or write, you was whipped with a cowhide, the next time with a cat-o-nine tail and the third time they cut the first joint in your finger.
(Cornelius, 1983, p. 174)

Undoubtedly, there had to be powerful motivation to persevere in the quest for education in the face of such barbaric retaliation. Cornelius catalogs the explanations for the pursuit of literacy as:

- "an insatiable craving for some knowledge of books;
- their belief that such skills could greatly expand their world;
- their awareness 'of the promise of literacy as a path to mobility and increased self-worth;'
- their pride in conquering the opposition to the learning." (Cornelius, 1983, pp. 71-184)

Effects on African-American Women of the Struggle for Education

Conscious of the pain their ancestors endured for the sake of education inspired African-American women educators to persevere in their own educational endeavors and in their efforts to smooth the way for others. The literature

suggests that the hardships endured fueled the determination and courage of African-American female educators and also engendered in them feelings of pride and self-esteem.

The stamina of African-American women educators and their perseverance in spite of low material reward for their efforts is extensively documented in Gerda Lerner's Black Women in White America (1972). To sustain themselves financially, African-American women educators worked as speakers, laundresses and seamstresses in their communities. Lerner notes that "the tenacity, faith, talent and dedication of the founders deserve to be better known." (Lerner, 1972, p. 122).

Lerner cites an autobiographical sketch of Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College, to illustrate the tireless and often circuitous route which this legendary African-American female educator was willing to travel in order to promote her educational vision. Bethune says:

I had learned early that one of my most important jobs was to be a good beggar. I rang doorbells and tackled cold prospects without a lead. I wrote articles for whoever would print them, distributed leaflets, rode interminable miles of dusty roads on my old bicycle, invaded churches, clubs, lodges, chambers of commerce. (Lerner, 1972, p. 139)

Certainly Mary Bethune functions as a role model for the African-American female educators, such as those in this

study, who have followed her. The vehicles they use to promote the cause of education and their own place in it may differ from Bethune's, but their determination and diligence in using contemporary forums to their best advantage emulate hers.

Preeminent though she is among African-American female educators, Mary McLeod Bethune is but one of many who toiled at her chosen profession in spite of the hardship it entailed. School marms and pupils are the focal point of Dorothy Sterling's We are Your Sisters (1984). African-American women educators, though self-sacrificing and strong, were not immune to the effects of the incessant need to do battle with the often hostile environment in which they had to labor. Sterling underscores both the humanity and the persistence of African-American women educators in this passage:

The school marms were not superwomen. The stress of teaching in an unfamiliar and often hostile environment and the heavy emotional investment in their pupils brought on headaches, neurasthenia and mental breakdowns. Yet few dropped out of work for long. Even when recuperating at home, they were eager for reassignment. (Sterling, 1984, p. 269)

African-American female administrators of today may also encounter unfamiliar and indeed even hostile environments. Admittedly, the hostility today is likely to

be covert rather than overt. In fact, the very covert nature of the hostility encountered today may make it even more insidious than that experienced by their predecessors. Surely it is equally likely to precipitate, at the very least, headaches. Again, like their forbearers, today's African-American female educational leaders must persevere despite the adversity under which they must sometimes labor.

The intrinsic relationship between achievement and self-esteem is noted by Carl Rogers in Client-Centered Therapy (1951). Rogers says, "If one perceives her experience as positive and successful, her self-esteem may flourish." (Rogers, 1951, p. 507)

The experience of oppression has certainly had both a positive and negative impact on those who have endured it. In Thomas Alexander's and Samuel Sellen's Racism and Society (1972), the authors allude to both the sense of inferiority which being African-American has engendered in the past and the sense of pride which is hopefully being encouraged in contemporary students. Alexander and Sellen say:

Teaching children that 'Black is beautiful' is a healthy corrective to the lesson that Black is blemished. (Alexander and Sellen, 1972, p. 53)

The correlation between past injustices and contemporary opportunities to turn them to good continues in Rudine Sims'

Shadow and Substance (1982). Sims maintains that "it is necessary for African-American children to understand 'how we got over in the past' and to recognize and develop inner strengths that will enable them to 'get over' in their own times." (Sims, 1982, p. 99)

Research indicates that contemporary educated African-American females, such as those in the current study, have certainly developed very positive images of themselves. As has been discussed previously, the field of education has historically provided African-American women with respectful standing in their communities. Giddings in When & Where I Enter (1984) notes that "the great desire for education combined with the status of teaching provided an escape from the limitations that society imposed on women." (Giddings, 1984)

Further research indicates quite strongly that educated African-American females have developed very positive images of themselves. C. F. Epstein's study in Successful Black Professionals (1970) confirms that African-American women college graduates tend to be "more confident" of their abilities than their White peers. (Epstein, 1970, p. 337) She further notes that their confidence seems to be a result of the special conditioning of having gone to college and

reinforced as they overcame each obstacle on their way to the top (Epstein, 1970, p. 921). Additional support for this finding of self-confidence among African-American professional women comes from Fisher's study of graduates from predominantly Black colleges which suggests that college-educated African-American women have more confidence in their ability than a comparable group of White women graduates.

The Experience of Women and/or Minorities in Managerial Positions

In spite of the feelings of pride and self-esteem which educated African-American females have developed, they still have many hurdles to face as they seek to enter and advance in management positions. While very little has been written specifically about African-American women in management, the literature which deals generally with women in management is certainly applicable to the participants in this study.

Much of the research focuses on the indirect career path that women take to managerial positions. That women are concerned with marriage and family first and career development only secondarily is supported by the findings of Freston and Coleman (1978). These authors note that for the

first decade after college, females focus much more than do males on domestic issues. Only when these are satisfied do most females begin to concentrate on career development. Some of the women in the present study have chosen to pursue their careers following the establishment of their families. Similarly, many of them have felt the conflict between family and career commitments which so often afflicts women in the workplace. Regarding this concept of the total woman, Hennig and Jardin, Women in Management (1977) see that women see a career as personal growth, as self-fulfillment, as satisfaction, as making contributions and as doing what one wants to do. They further contend that women lack a sense of game playing behavior in comparison to men. Thus, these authors claim that due to the type of socialization they were exposed to in their earlier years, women lack the skills necessary to compete and to plan strategies for long-range career success. These authors, however, do not mention the race of those studied.

However, there seems to be conflicting viewpoints in the literature regarding the career paths which women follow once they are actively involved in pursuing advancement to managerial levels. Again, Hennig and Jardin found that the

successful women in their study reported having specific career plans and goals. However, they also note that many women remain oppressed and stagnant in middle management positions rather than advancing to higher levels.

In contrast to the Hennig and Jardin study which cites specific career plans, similar struggles have not yet yielded supporting results. Rather, others have found that women advanced to managerial positions by more circuitous routes. In a series of case studies of successful women administrators (Murningham, Wheately & Kanter, 1978), researchers discovered that those women who have seen their careers advance significantly, did not account for their success by the setting of goals or career plans, but rather being in the right place at the right time, and taking advantage of the situation. Some successes also were the result of having both the opportunity and organizational structures which allowed them to accumulate power, visibility and credibility.

Similar results were found by Holcomb in 1979 in case studies of 40 successful women. In her interviews, Holcomb discovered a wide range of career planning patterns. Although a majority of these women admitted their careers had not been established through concrete planning, many

spoke of responding to opportunities with determination and immediate action. These studies also do not mention the race of those studied.

The women in the current study have traveled both direct and indirect routes to their present administrative positions, but they all have, as Kanter observes in The Paper Pulls (1980), become more career oriented. According to Kanter, women are more aware of both the racial and/or sexual oppression that exists in the workplace and of the difficulties involved in obtaining leadership positions. A majority of women (56 percent) reported that they see discrimination against women when they attempt to attain upper level positions. Nevertheless there is evidence that gains, however slow, are reinforcing women's aspirations to achieve success in positions usually held by males.

Since the women in the current study are all involved in the field of education, Lyle's work, "Strategy in Helping Women Managers--or Anyone" which documents the lives of women in education, is particularly pertinent. Lyle focuses primarily on the changes brought about by the women's movement. While changes have been, and are in the air, it does not mean that discrimination on the campus and in the workplace is a thing of the past. Lyle notes that by 1986,

most overt discrimination had been eliminated. Women were organized and energized. Lyle (1983, p. 7) comments, "The first great wave of change is over. Nevertheless, full equality for women has not been achieved; subtle discrimination remains and will be difficult to overcome."

Covert forms of discrimination are discussed more fully in Rosabeth Moss Kanter's treatment of women in Corporation Tokenism (1977). The participants in the current study are potential tokens in two areas: as African-Americans in management positions and as women in management positions. Thus, the thorough discussion of tokenism which Kanter provides is vital to this study. Kanter succinctly described the pitfalls of being a token when she says:

Tokenism, like low opportunity and low power, set in motion self-perpetuating cycles that served to reinforce the low numbers of women in the absence of external intervention, to keep women in the position of token. (Kanter, 1979, p. 310)

Tokens are in the limelight and perform their jobs under public and symbolic conditions different from the dominants. Because they are immediately recognized as representing a particular group, the mistakes they make are multiplied to extend beyond the individual to the representative group. In

this case, the ramifications of the mistakes are magnified far more than would be the case if a member of the dominant group made the same mistake. Certainly this burden of being seen not only as an individual but as a representative of a whole group or groups, i.e. African-Americans and females, is a weight that participants in the current study have frequently shouldered.

The additional pressures and liabilities which Kanter describes as being part of the token experience are relevant to many of the experiences of the women in this study. Tokens are often paraded in public to make a corporation look good rather than being given more tangible rewards for their services. Certainly school systems, like their private sector counterparts, are not immune from wanting their minority employees--both female and African-American--to be very visible. And, as in private industry, their motives for doing so may at times be suspect.

Moreover, job evaluations of women in managerial positions are frequently conducted according to a double standard to which non-tokens are not subjected. Kanter observes that they are rated first as women and second on how they perform as managers. Majority managers are rated simply on the basis of their professional skills. Those who fall

into token categories--i.e., women and/or minorities--are subject to both personal and professional scrutiny.

Kanter details the behaviors which token women in corporate settings resort to in order to be accepted by the majority group. Conversely, she underscores the self-defeating nature of this attempt to fit into the majority group when she says, "Ironically, tokens, unlike people of their type represented in greater proportions are thus instruments of underlining rather than undermining the majority culture" (Kanter, 1977, p. 223). As she notes, women in managerial roles frequently feel uncomfortable in both the informal and formal situations which are part of their daily jobs. She says that the presence of tokens in informal groups makes men show off their "masculinity" in a more strident manner than when they are among their own group. While this might occur infrequently, it tends to make women feel uncomfortable and isolated at a time when they are supposed to be relaxing.

Moreover, in setting ground rules at formal meetings, the dominant groups make it clear to tokens that they are expected to conform to the group's norms. Most women do not want to be considered a "wet blanket" and go along with the

group even though they are not allowed to engage in the same behavior, such as swearing. "This is a function that Judith Long Laws called the 'double deviance' of tokens: deviant first because they are women in a man's world and second, because they inappropriately aspire to the privileges of the dominant" (Kanter, 1977, p. 225). Many women tire of this double standard and desire an alternative. They also tend to be excluded from discussions where the men are unsure of their loyalty. In effect, the men set up a type of old boy network which frustrates the women's attempt to work within the group.

At the same time women are subjected to a type of loyalty test where they are expected to support the dominant group against their peers. They accept insults and laugh at jokes about women in order to maintain their status in the group but are not expected to complain or seek advancement with the same vigor as their male counterparts. In adjusting to the group many women use the same rough language as men, drink with the boys, and some turn against their own kind in order to score points with the group. "To turn against others of one's kind (and risk latent self-hatred) can be a psychic cost of membership in a group dominated by another culture" (Kanter, 1977, p. 230). While these comments are discussed in the context of a corporate setting, they are

clearly relevant to educational settings, as the comments of participants in the study readily demonstrate.

Again, it cannot be stressed too strongly that the participants in this study must deal not only with their positions as female managers but also with their race as African-American persons in managerial positions. Just as there are certain accommodations which research indicates that women in administrative positions must make, Thompson in The Negro Leadership Class (1963) enumerates three leadership styles prevalent among African-American managers. These are the "Uncle Tom" type of earlier years, the careful "racial diplomat" and the hard-hitting "race man."

Certainly, these types exist among the educators in this study. The Uncle Tom usually relies on either of the following traditional techniques: (1) challenging highly respected and influential Whites to qualify for the charitable status of 'friend of Negro' as long as 'he keeps his place' (Thompson, 1963, p. 166) or (2) being a trusted Uncle Tom who is skilled in peace relations and who has had some success in getting powerful White men to grant African-Americans some limited gains. Then there are the moderate Whites and racial African-American diplomats. These types have two characteristics in common--a strong sense of

community pride and a willingness to compromise on social issues if such is deemed necessary for the welfare of the total community.

Liberal race man--"leaders of this type hold two characteristics: a strong feeling of loyalty to the federal government and a firm conviction that the primary purpose of any government is to guarantee the equal rights of all its' citizens." Thompson goes on to say that it is not easy to ascertain the success rate of the liberal race man because often times this type of leadership appears unwilling to bargain about what they believe "to be the fundamental principles of the American Creed--individual freedom, equality, and inherent human dignity" (Thompson, 1963, pp. 166-168)

It is certainly apparent that African-American female administrators face numerous challenges both in initially attaining management positions and in determining how they will conduct themselves in those positions. Undeniably anyone seeking a management position must go through pre-established processes and they must then decide on a course of conduct or management style once that position is However, as the research has indicated, women, and perhaps even more so African-American women, face additional challenges in both these areas. Nonetheless, the

African-American women cited in this study show the same motivations as any of their colleagues in seeking leadership positions in the first place. Lester Bittell in Leadership: The Key to Management Success (1984) cites five powerful forces which motivate people to pursue managerial positions. Of course, the influence of these forces varies among individuals, but most successful people, including those in the present study, are driven by one or more of the following:

- 1) the will to achieve;
- 2) the search for power and authority;
- 3) the drive for wealth and social status;
- 4) the drive for professional recognition;
- 5) the need for satisfaction and fulfillment.

Because these drives are so pertinent to the lives of the women in this study, it is appropriate to examine them in more detail. The first one, the will to achieve, is the most powerful motivator. This amulation can be observed very early in life. People who possess this do well in school and sports. They seize the leadership of student organizations. In fact, they succeed in almost whatever they decide to take on. When these future leaders are first employed, they

characteristically develop a reputation for getting the job done.

The drive for wealth and social status exists in almost everyone. However, being a leader offers higher financial gains. With the wealth comes the status and the physical evidence of a person's achievement.

Business leaders are motivated by the desire to demonstrate their professionalism to the business world, the way doctors and lawyers strive to establish their skills in their licensed professions. This desire for professional recognition seems to be ahead of the desire for wealth. As Forbes magazine's columnist Blotnick observes, "most people who do well in our society don't start off by wanting to get rich, but by wanting to do something extremely well" (Bittell, 1984, p. 26).

The need for satisfaction and fulfillment is common to almost every human being and educational leaders are no exception to the rule. They would like to believe their work makes a valuable contribution to the well being of their society.

As this review of the literature reveals, there is a shortage of research which directly addresses the experience

of African-American, female public school administrators. It is equally apparent, however, that the literature pertinent to the African-American experience, the female experience, and the experience of the two in relation to managerial positions goes a long way toward illuminating the total experience of the women who are the subject of the current study.

The history and images of African-Americans in some of the literature is complex and serves as background discussion for this work. African-American writers toiled for years under a painful dilemma. Whites published the books and appeared to favor the idea that African-Americans were inferior. What was an African-American writer to do? Should s/he tell the truth about African-Americans and their experience in a racist nation thereby alienating the audience and perhaps precluding publication? Or cater to the Whites' warped version of African-Americans and sacrifice integrity. Over the years African-American authors have struggled with this dilemma. And they came up with a variety of solutions. Often the solution called for painful compromise, and there have been writers who have refused to write on African-American motifs.

The image of the African-American community had reflected various nuances in different eras. Early writers

used models of White literature, partly to prove to Whites that African-Americans, too, are intelligent and human.

A great many writers portrayed African-Americans as fighters taking arms against oppression, often suffering death but not suffering defeat. These writers included Fred Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois and Claude McKay. James W. Johnson, Langston Hughes, Margaret Walker, Zora Neal Hurston, and Gwendolyn Brooks provide insights into truths through the perceptions of African-American womanhood. The 1960's produced revolutionary-type authors who addressed African-American audiences and laid out the lessons of history and provided direction for the future. In each generation there have been writers who pointed to the strengths and weaknesses of the African-American heritage and the reasons for change. Maya Angelou, Nikki Giovani, Mari Evans, and Angela Davis have written and demanded that African-Americans do away with what is negative in the culture based on an African-American value system.

Much of the literature by White authors about African-Americans is sadly incomplete or distorted; i.e. Daniel P. Moynihan's The Negro Family: The Case for National Action. Only a handful of White authors captured the essence of what African-American authors meant.

For instance, recent African-American literature has envisioned revolutionary goals and has shown positive images of self awareness.

Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings is a radiant, poetic book. It is filled with love for a grandmother who is strong enough to cope with everything, even the taunting White children who insult her in her own store; for an older brother who is companion, confidant, and hero; for a mother who is beautiful, worldly, and wise, who "hoped for the best, was prepared for the worst, so anything in between didn't come as a surprise."

Growing up as she did in an all Black community, White people seemed very far away. Even as a young child this author understood that those mysterious folks were all powerful. They ran things their way and for some reason did not like Black people. Her graduation was spoiled by the White speaker who put down the Black students by assigning them their future places as maids, handymen, and washerwomen; her anguish breaks out in full force. "It was awful to be a Negro and have no control over my life." This realization was Angelou's first step in a long, painful struggle to assert her rights as a human being and control her own destiny.

The title I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings was taken from the poem, "Sympathy", by an African-American poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

During the earlier times of these participants, the Civil Rights Movement with its demonstrations, jailings, sit ins, and voter registration drives were recaptured in Anne Moody's autobiography, Coming of Age in Mississippi. Anne Moody came to the movement at a young age, but with years of struggle behind her. Hers was a Black Mississippi childhood. She had seen Blacks burned out; she knew others who had been beaten or killed. She fought to get a good education. As a case worker living in rural Mississippi working to get Blacks to vote, she faced the possibility of being murdered. Anne tells this horrifying experience quietly and factually; a piece of art full of detail.

Invented Lives: Narratives of Black Women, 1860-1960 by Mary Helen Washington also served as an historical resource for those interested in reclaiming the hidden and often ignored contributions of African-American women in the United States. Washington brings together stories by, and about, ten Black women authors who took the time to record

feelings, thoughts, and deeds of Black women who were changed agents in the struggle against the effects of race prejudice. The book illustrates some of the determination Mary Washington displayed in order to restore much of the lost literary history of Black women. The writings begin with the narratives of Harriet Jacobs who wrote under the pseudonym, Linda Brent. The work leads the reader through the changing social and literary styles that are the focus of some Black women writers. Washington puts the writers in an historical context reminding the reader about the limits imposed by the literary critics of the time.

The following book documents lives of women in education, showing changes brought about by the power of the women's movement. Most of the writers make claim to the fact that individuals cannot change inequities alone, nor did change occur overnight. "When the decade of the 70's began, there were no laws prohibiting sex discrimination in education." According to Chamberlain (1988, p. 49) most overt discrimination had been eliminated. Women were organized and energized. Their issues were institutionalized, and the study of women was included in the research and curriculum. "The first great

wave of change is over...nevertheless, full equality for women has not yet been achieved; discrimination still remains and will be difficult to overcome." All of the authors echoed this message.

The discrimination documented in the chapter titled "Minority Women" asks an important question. "How well can one fit in," the writer asks, "if one has neither gender nor race in common with the ruling elite?" The progress for minority women has been less dramatic. Minority women continue to lag behind White males in educational as well as economic achievement.

The pool of minority women with the doctoral degree is growing, but they are underrepresented among the tenured and the untenured faculty. The double privilege that supposedly goes to minority women in the academic labor market turns out to be a double liability.

The chapter "Women's Studies and Curricular Change," documents the establishment of the women's studies programs and the legitimization of feminist scholarships. This chapter cites statistics such as: today there are 524 programs and more than 40 percent of all colleges offer women's studies programs as compared with colleges in other countries.

Part III of the book speaks to successful Affirmative Action programs. One chapter makes claim that institutional commitment depends upon the leadership. "Women's Groups in Professional Associations" records the role of these groups in the advancement of women in higher education.

A section on research centers documents the growth of these centers that are campus-based and tied to women's studies programs. These centers provide outside funds, some prestige and a more congenial environment/climate.

The chapter that deals with women in educational administration shows an increase in the number of women. The pace toward this end is slow, the salary differentials are widening and women are found in lower-ranking and lower-paying institutions. Minority women are a slight proportion of these administrators. The increase in the number of women and minority members on boards is insignificant and concludes Women and Academe: "Boards remain bastions of White male privilege."

It appears that women have learned some essential lessons that will be important during the 90's era when the demographic changes in the faculty and student body may result in keeping one optimistic.

The philosophy and work of W.E.B. DuBois can help the reader to better understand some of the African-American experience especially in Souls of Black Folk. DuBois says African-American's have a dual identity. First as African-Americans who know themselves to be fully human and second, as African-Americans who are perceived by the larger society as being less than human and generally inferior. If an African-American writer sought to express African-American's full "manhood rights" (as DuBois called them) and spoke of their dignity, equality and undeserved oppression, he/she risked alienating the broader White society in its racists' notions about African-Americans and in an effort to maintain its support, one might alienate himself from his/her own race and loose self-esteem (DuBois, 1969, p. 45).

The Negro. . .a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with a second sight in this American world. Forced to look at self through the eyes of Whites, to calculate every move and word in terms of their expectations and demands, this vision permitted no true 'self-consciousness,' only exposure to a myriad of conflicting images. (DuBois, 1969, p. 45)

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The original impetus to this work grew out of several years experience as a public school teacher, and also as an active participant in local, state, and national level organizations of African-American educators. This researcher's curiosity as to why African-American female educators in New England had not ascended the ladder to the superintendency level were haunting. Curiosity arose about those who had made it to the level of assistant principal and the principalship.

This work looks at self-perceptions of seven African-American women performing administrative roles in New England. Through in-depth phenomenological interviewing, the participants focused on reconstructing past experiences and reflecting on them. The goal was to present descriptions of experiences utilizing the words of the participants that present their self-perceptions. "In-depth interviewing provides a way to bridge the chasm that always lies between people trying to understand the experience of others" (Seidman et al., 1983).

Each participant in the study was interviewed on three separate occasions. Each interview in the series was approximately one and one-half hours long; the interviews were spaced from three days to a week apart at the convenience of the participants and all were audiotaped. The tapes were listened to and transcribed. These transcripts of the interviews were analyzed with respect to methodological design and interviewing style. This researcher also documented, in a written log, the steps as they evolved.

In-depth phenomenological interviewing followed a format developed by Seidman, Sullivan, and Schatzkamer (1983). The aim was to obtain self-perceptions of growing up, early experiences, and reflections from the seven administrators. This method was chosen since the researcher wanted to understand the experiences of African-American female leaders in public education from their perspectives. The actual words of the participants were used to described their reality and to understand the meaning they constructed of those experiences.

Because the number of African-American female educational leaders in New England was small and the researcher has been active in organizations which focused on

African-American educators, some participants were known directly or indirectly by the researcher. They, in turn, knew of the researcher's activities either directly or from others. Some advocates of phenomenological interviewing obtain self-perceptions and have warned about previous acquaintances or interviewing groups where one has strong feelings. Yet such a prescription would largely preclude satisfactory interviews with persons who may feel themselves victims of patterns of oppression. In this case, the interviewer could establish a relationship with appropriate educators, and her own support for affirmative action was already well known to some participants.

Next, the researcher identified common themes among the group of participants. By understanding the experiences of these women, the next generation of minority women may better prepare themselves for leadership roles. This model does not reveal problems that sometimes occur during the actual process of research. The model does not speak to the frustration, the inspirations, or the luck that may also occur.

Another component or possible bias is worth discussing. First, in reviewing the literature certain

themes repeat themselves and those themes were known, in at least a general way, to both the researcher and participants.

Further, themes of role models, affirmative action, Afrocentric approaches to learning and leading, and self-esteem are common in both the literature and educational jargon. Hence, some reported self-perceptions may have been shaped by commonly read literature about education and African-American lives.

A. Michael Huberman & Matthew B. Miles suggested a sophisticated method to end biases by using the following three activities. The first one is called "data reduction." This process is used when selecting themes thereby focusing in on certain patterns and also refining the information from one's notes. This is an ongoing process that is utilized during the life of the research. The sorting, coding, summarizing, sharpening, and arranging continues with information as the stories evolved.

The next segment Huberman & Miles called "data display." Much of the narrative for this type of qualitative research was cumbersome. Understanding charts, tables, drawing graphs and other displays proved helpful. These displays forced further analysis.

The last stream of analysis Huberman & Miles called "conclusion-drawing and verification." The self in social inquiry--this is when the researcher observed and made note of certain relationships and put these data together.

Verifying parts of this segment and drawing conclusions was fleeting. Sometimes it was intense and complicated with a real audit going on.

In looking for patterns which were sometimes known as "pattern codes," certain codes stuck and recurred in this research. These eventually became the major outcomes of the work. Pattern codes expanded and became memos that formed clusters. These clusters are coupled with reflective remarks and pattern codes turned into "site analysis and interim summaries" which assisted in moving the work from description to inference. When the researcher moved up the inferential chain to generate meaning, Huberman & Miles called these "tactics." This method moves from basic cluster splitting variables and making metaphors.

Another proponent of the qualitative method was Thomas Cottle, who describes the In-Depth Interviewing as not only relevant, but interesting, and effective.

Cottle elaborates: "For years the words of people, the forms of their survival, the substance of their everyday and

everynight needs, activities and wonderings loomed as data to dissect, material to be poured into architectural forms of theory building and empirical analysis." Cottle goes on to say that, "The reader may question this approach. If someone has spoken about something that matters to him or her, why does this necessarily preclude analysis in the manner, for example, in which Freud performed it in his elegant and clearly literary case studies? The person's identity can be hidden, so what constrains the researcher from making further analysis?" (Cottle, 1977, p. 34)

Cottle further analyzes the effectiveness of conversations. "Naturally all sorts of political, economical, moral, or educational issues play dominant roles. No one can hide his or her biases, prejudices, or visions produced by professional training." Cottle believes that this is why the actual words spoken become so important and why no further objective analysis is left to be undertaken. "It is research based on aesthetic judgements and human intuition, both fundamental ingredients of the dramatic. One seeks to know how life is led." (Cottle, 1977, p. 35)

Inevitably, self-perceptions are shaped by common themes of American lives. As Robert Bellah et al. (1985) demonstrated, most Americans tell their stories around

certain common themes. In this sense, the review of the literature plays a dual role. Other writings by and about women, particularly African-American women, support broad historical patterns shared by the administrators. Also it indicates a framework within which participants have defined their own lives--since the ideas of Kanter, Giddings, Gilligan, and Washington are common among educational leaders today.

The researcher had to plot the variables that repeated themselves or occurred somewhat regularly. These phenomenological perceptions could draw on some themes addressed in schools but lacking a commonly understood story. For instance, class, race and gender powerfully affect curricular positions yet their salience is normally denied in a myth of common schools based on equal opportunity. Thus, MacLeod (1987) found low-income and African-American students repeating the achievement myth despite their visibly diminished hopes for either academic or career achievements.

The Interviews

Since trust building was essential for open and honest discussion, the researcher worked diligently to establish

and maintain rapport with the participants; this proved beneficial. The sustained relationship fostered openness and allowed participants to share in-depth perceptions that went beyond the superficial data many interviewees offer their interviewers (e.g., telling the interviewer only what the interviewee speculates s/he wants to hear). The participants all appeared comfortable with interview procedures.

This researcher found out that the first few minutes of the interviews were the most valuable. Breaking the ice was important. Some knowledge of the participant came from other sources such as awards, promotions, achievements. One participant was turned down--a real nervous and pushy type. This researcher is self-motivated and did not need someone to push in another direction.

This study did not seek to test a hypothesis, nor did it attempt to find answers to predetermined questions. Instead, it was based on the meaning the participants made of their experiences. The methodology was intended to have the participants reflect and focus on their past experiences. The author utilized active listening skills.

Prior to the first interview each participant signed a written consent form which outlined the purpose of the research, of participants' rights, and the use of material.

Steps were also taken to protect the anonymity of the participants (see Appendix A).

In conducting the interviews, the researcher asked general questions. The first interview concentrated on past experiences of the participants prior to entering the field of education. The subjects were encouraged to go as far back in life as necessary in order to gain an historical context for their career choice.

The second interview concentrated on actual work experience in education. The participants were asked to re-create the concrete details of their work experience, whether positive or negative. They described what it was like to work in public school. The detailed reconstruction included some day-to-day activities.

In the third interview, the participants were asked to reflect on what their work meant to them. How did they make sense of their work? How did they understand its place in their lives in the context of what had been previously discussed in the interviews? The focus questions established a framework; however, the interviews were open-ended. The interviewer encouraged detailed responses by nodding encouragement and occasionally asking for more information on points that seemed vague or exceedingly tense.

Repetitions, speech errors, and irrelevant materials had to be deleted from the quoted materials. The interview had to be reworded for clarity, trimmed, smoothed, and shaped. What was sometimes a rambling and disjointed monologue turned into a tight and polished story.

The data was analyzed to present profiles of selected female administrators and to identify common themes and patterns that prevailed among the group of participants. The interviews were conducted under like conditions mutually agreed upon by each of the participants. Within the body of this study, the names of the participants were changed in order to disguise their identity. Hopefully, both present and future African-American female educational leaders who read these interviews can relate and make some connections between the experiences of the participants and their own. Thus, the interviews better portray the meanings of these experiences and help clarify what it is like, and what it means, to be a female African-American leader in education in New England.

This type of research is filled with more intimate, sensitive, explicit, and credible details than one finds in newspaper and magazine interviews.

Establishing empathy for the participant could not be faked. Not only to understand what they were saying but also accept the "why" behind the stories being told, was important.

The following questions arose (not aloud) about the participants such as what favorite words does she tend to use? Does her speech tend toward emotion? Does this participant trust people? Will I know when to probe and when to stop?

The next interview session the researcher would say "Let's talk more about..."

Description of Participants

The participants in this study were all African-American women who were educational administrative leaders. Six of the seven women were born and reared in the southern United States, and all ranged from 40 to 60 years old. Five completed undergraduate education in the South while two graduated from northeastern colleges. All of the women were employed in various roles in public education from fifteen to thirty years. They were all employed in the northeast in public education K-12 as an educational lobbyist, research supervisor, supervisor, assistant principals, and principal (see Table 3). Six lived in suburban areas while one resided in an urban neighborhood.

The participants were from the following demographic areas: one was originally from North Carolina, two from South

Carolina, one from Texas, one from New York, and two originated from New England. They were all well educated. One held a master's degree and six held advanced or terminal degrees. All employed some type of household help and most own second homes. They enjoyed travel and lived in the better sections of the cities and towns near their workplaces (see Table 3). The participants were community leaders and actively participated in church activities, education, health, and politics.

Participants

1. Lanetta was a forty-two year old African-American female. The mother of two children, a male and a female whose ages were eighteen and eleven respectively. Lanetta is an educational lobbyist in New England. Previously, she taught science and biology at the high school level on the West Coast. Lanetta had been a legislative assistant to a state representative, and was also a supervisor for the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. She traveled extensively to Third World countries and also studied in St. Thomas and Hawaii. She lived alone in New England and also owned property in the Southwest.

2. Dolores was a forty-one year old African-American female, with a doctorate in Education. Her husband also

earned an Ed.D. and worked in education. They had a son and a daughter, ages 12 and 8. Dolores was employed as an assistant principal in a large comprehensive high school. At one time she taught English at the junior high level, and she also taught in the Southeast prior to moving to New England. Dolores lived in a suburban home, and she and her family spent their summers in an ocean-front home on the East Coast.

3. Rita was a fifty-one year old African-American female with a master's degree in education. A widow and mother of five children, she was employed as a Supervisor of the Chapter 1 Program in a large urban school system in the western part of New England. At one time Rita taught elementary school. She lived in the family home.

4. Carol was a African-American female with a doctorate in Education in her early forties. Married with two children, one male, age 18; one female, age 14, she was employed in the Central Administration Office in a large urban school system as a researcher. Previously she taught special education in the public schools of the South. She has taught special education also at the junior high level, and was then employed by the State Board of Education. Carol lived with her family in a suburban house in New England.

5. Zenobia, who also held a doctorate in Education was a forty-year old African-American female administrator, in a large urban public school system. She was married, owned a home in the suburbs where she lived with her husband and two children, a male, age 14 and a female, age 3.

6. Elizabeth, M.Ed., was born in the South, the oldest of two females. She attended public school in the South. Married to a military man, she traveled throughout Europe, raised three children, and settled in New England. She acquired a teaching position at a local junior high school, where she taught math and science and later became a guidance counselor. She was appointed acting principal and then principal, and served seventeen years in public school administration. She was an active participant in educational organizations on all levels: local, state and national.

7. Jeanette, Ed.D., is a forty-five year old African-American female assistant principal in a high school in a suburban public school system. Jeanette is single and owns her own home in the town where she is employed. She is an avid sports enthusiast and enjoys being referee to college sports on weekends.

Seven African-American female administrators were interviewed. There were two factors that determined the

number of subjects: the number of African-American female administrators available and their willingness to take part in three in-depth interviews.

Table 3 -- Profile of Participants

Participants' Pseudonyms	Age Range	Childhood Years Spent	Under-Graduate Experience	Type of School System Employed	# of Years Employed in Public Ed.	Current Work Role	Current Domicile	Highest Degree Earned
Lanetta	40-49	Rural South Central U.S.A.	Central U.S.A.	Northeast	15-20	Lobbyist	Suburban	Ph.D.
Dolores	40-49	Urban South East	Black Southern	Urban Northeast	25-30	Adminis. Super. Evaluates	Suburban	Ed.D.
Olive	50-59	Rural South East	Black Southern	Northeast	15-20	Supervisor	Urban	Masters' Plus
Carol	40-49	Rural South East	Black Southern	Northeast	15-20	Research Supervisor	Suburban	Ed.D.
Zenobia	40-49	Urban North East	Northeast	Urban South Southeast Suburban	15-20	Supervisor Adminis.	Suburban	Ed.D.
Elizabeth	50-59	Urban South East	Black Southern	Urban Central Northeast	25-30	Adminis.	Suburban	Masters' Plus
Jeannette	50-59	Urban North East	Northeast	Urban Northeast	15-20	Supervisor	Suburban	Ed.D.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICIPANTS' DESCRIPTIONS, RECREATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON THEIR EXPERIENCES

Although, we speak one language and share in many ways in one culture, we cannot assume that we understand precisely what another person, speaking as a member of such a group, means by any particular word. (Becker, 1969, p. 32)

This chapter adds important information in areas neglected by scholars in the past. It contains the participants' descriptions of their experiences. They discussed their family backgrounds, their own early education, elementary, junior high, high school and college experiences, and their feelings about their work in public schools. They repeatedly talked about obstacles and biases compensated for by the encouragement and support received from significant others, their pride, self-respect and self-esteem.

Education was important to each African-American educational leader. Their families maintained high expectations for them. Some of the women spoke about encouragement; others spoke about courage. All spoke of pride and self-esteem. These participants all went to school before the era of integration and all but one

attended Black schools. They all recalled positive experiences in their own education.

Education was important, expected, encouraged and supported by the African-American families and friends of the participants. This factor is a success indicator and is well-documented historically through other studies (Jones, 1985, Giddings, 1984) as well as in the personal interviews.

Their parents had high expectations about schooling and the advantages of advanced education. Lanetta recalled that her great aunt had taught school beginning in 1868:

Everybody talked about Aunt Lucy who died at the age of 105. She raised my grandmother who told my father the story. He told me the story. And it was just expected that I would complete college.

Jeannette described early hardships:

Financially, it was a struggle. Nonetheless, my education was a priority with my mother. She felt my job was to go to school and excel, and she would take care of the rest. When I graduated from high school, there wasn't a choice of work or college. I was told, "You are going to school." On my father's side many members were in education. Both grandfather and grandmother taught school. My father taught school, and also my uncle.

Olive related similar family values:

Basically, my parents had high regards for education. Both completed high school, however, they were unable to go on to college. Nonetheless, they had high expectations for me and expected me to continue. Thus achieving this goal represented a great accomplishment for me and my family.

Carol recounted her early interest in education and leadership:

I can remember playing school with my sisters, brothers and some neighbors. Specifically, I can recall playing the teacher. I liked order. I'd tell them to sit down and be quiet; open up your books. We used books from my regular school. We did our homework playing school. I can also recall that my sister, who is now a teacher, was always the one who was the smarter one. If we needed some help with something, we would have to do a chore for her. She would say, 'Well, if you need some help, you can do the dishes for me and I'll help you.' I can remember that my sister always tried to help us. She was valedictorian of her class.

Carol went on:

From the beginning, there was one person who was a role model for me. She was a home economics teacher who also happened to be a cousin who took an interest in helping us work and mature. She made us more aware of professional opportunities that would be available to us and gave us that extra push to go on to be whatever we wanted to be.

Early Encouragement and Support

Jeanette explained the importance of support from home, church and friends. Clearly, the teachers of these participants held high expectations for her:

If you misbehaved in school, your parents were notified and they usually supported the efforts of the school. The students were well-behaved; the teachers tended to be very involved in the community; they attended the same churches and provided encouragement in and out of school.

Olive described how a former teacher encouraged, challenged and inspired her:

When I began school, I attended a small school within walking distance of my home. My first teacher made quite an impression on me. She was a strict disciplinarian who had high expectations and demanded excellence. She always commended me, and encouraged me and gave me a lot of support, so much so that at the end of second grade, she recommended that I skip a grade. She concentrated on the basics and required a lot of reading. I enjoyed reading in the heterogeneous group in a combined first and second grade classroom.

Dolores recounted experiences of early high expectations and role models:

Choruses from Black schools provided music in the Black churches, at conferences and celebrations. The director was a woman who had a tremendous amount of influence on me. She was a French teacher, who assumed an expanded role, often discussing values and expectations. She assumed responsibility for developing the whole person.

Zenobia described a supportive teacher:

I went to public junior high school, again within walking distance from home and loved it. There was a Black male teacher who taught English who was the epitome of intelligence. I was fascinated with his British accent and his accomplishments. He encouraged me to write poetry and gave me many opportunities to recite.

Elizabeth noted the importance of caring Black teachers:

There were Black teachers who encouraged and influenced me a great deal. They took a real interest in me. For example, if I did poorly on a test, my math teacher did not simply return the test; she forced me to go back and learn the material. She always expressed her high expectations, saying,

"Everybody in your family has gone to college; I'm sure you're going. You need to know this, you must try and work a little harder."

The implications of these experiences are obvious. These educators received support and encouragement at an early age from many people who believed that they could learn. The adults in their lives focused on their understanding of concepts, as well as individual needs of encouragement and support.

Pride, Self-Respect, and Self-Esteem

Carol reinforced the significant role adults played in building esteem:

I remember my school years had some positive experiences as well as some negative experiences. We were surrounded by role models, teachers and Black principals. People were constantly trying to help you build self-esteem. They were also in contact with your parents. One particular principal that I had in elementary school who made an impression on me was a former math teacher. I remember learning my multiplication tables the old-fashioned way. He had you stand up in front of class and repeat the tables over and over and I felt good that I was able to achieve.

Carol went on to say:

When I went into high school, a woman served as a role model for me. In her daily classroom activities, she constantly tried to instill in the class the need to further their education, to be somebody. I think at some point I probably tried to imitate some of her style. I was particular and fastidious about things, always wanting things just

right. I felt I was the more mature one, even though I was the middle child.

Zenobia expressed recollections and experiences and spoke of the role models who helped her to develop positive self-esteem. She described her father's strong opinions on the subject of self-respect:

He felt that we should stand up for ourselves and support and protect each other. We enjoyed a sense of pride in our family. His motto was: "If you do not respect yourself, no one else will." There were a lot of things about which he felt strongly. His roots in the Baptist religion contributed to his strong beliefs.

Clearly, these women's experiences revealed adults in their lives who played a significant role in building pride and self-esteem. These adults also provided elementary, junior high, high school and college opportunities to be successful; they served as role models, and influenced them by instilling lifelong values.

Elementary, Junior High, High School

Zenobia spoke of her life in junior high. Generally, her experiences were positive. School work came easy for her. She was an avid reader. She was involved in a wide range of extracurricular activities. Her primary interest was music. She was a member of the city-wide marching band and played clarinet and saxophone. She recalled her involvement in many activities:

I was editor of the school newspaper; I wrote poetry, short stories and essays. At one time I considered journalism, dancing, and music as professions. In spite of these aspirations, however, I chose teaching as a profession. I remember my interest in teaching came early. I loved to play school. I was usually the teacher.

Elizabeth recounted her experiences which differed greatly from Zenobia's. She spoke of financial difficulties and a mother who demonstrated strong determination and commitment to the education of her children.

The tuition at that time to attend St. Monica's was ten cents a week and my mother could not afford to pay the twenty cents a week for my sister and me. That's how bad the times were economically. Because she did not have a college education, she worked at very menial jobs, some of which brought on abuse by some of the kids in the White homes where she worked. Mother described an incident where the White kids spit on her when she was scrubbing the floor. She got up and slapped the kid and told the parents.

When the participants reached high school, they set their own high standards and goals that both challenged and satisfied. Dolores stated:

English and French were my favorite subjects. During my junior year in high school, I recall entering an oratorical contest. I won the award, which made me more confident. I was also involved in the Student Council. The advisor was a math teacher who was very personable and encouraging.

In contrast, Zenobia spoke about Northern high school experiences that showed not only racial oppression but demographic differences that created difficulties in adjusting:

I really have very bitter feelings about high school and what didn't happen to me. Partially because I didn't know, partially because my parents really did not know, and I was relying on my ability to make the right choice. I had an uncle who was a teacher but he lived in the South. I had an aunt who had gone to college to become a nurse, so I knew we could go to college and become things but I really didn't know the ins and outs of college because I majored in teaching but had a difficult time because I did not have a background in physical education. The activities I was required to participate in I had never done growing up in New York City. I had never played lacrosse or field hockey. I had never played golf. These are things I had to learn from scratch whereas many of the students there had had some background where they came from. So, I mean, it was tough for me to learn that kind of stuff. And that was what I had to know, gymnastics. I mean, you know, as a kid you learn to play around. You really don't get into the science of it. I was the only Black person. I did not know that there were Black people that lived in New England towns, until I was almost a senior in college.

The subject of the college experience required each participant to rely on courage as they experienced financial stress, separation, and the usual young adult adjustments. For these participants, acquiring a college education, was expected. When asked, "When did you decide to go to college," Dolores described it this way:

One of my uncles had attended a small Black, church affiliated college, well-known for its music department. Because I had a great interest in music, and because my uncle was influential, I chose this particular school. My parents preferred that I attend the state college, which was larger, and provided a stronger and more varied curriculum. I, however, felt that I would get better experiences at the small, private college. In 1963 I enrolled in the latter, attended college for three years, summer

school for two summers, and graduated in three years. A brother, who was one year younger, was also enrolled in college; this created financial hardships for my parents. I enjoyed college. I was scared at first, and was frightened to leave the campus, to go downtown, or to the movies. It took a semester before I got up nerve enough to venture out. I lived in the dormitory on campus with freshman girls. Strong restrictions were enforced. For example, there was a 6:00 p.m. curfew.

Carol talked about the issue of separation as she tried to adjust to college life. She described the college she attended and how she developed a network of friends:

The college I attended was small. There were fraternities, sororities and other social groups. I joined a sorority. At that time I thought it was important to belong to a group. I met girls who became good friends and provided a kind of family support group for me.

Elizabeth described how she was accepted to a nearby Black college of her choice:

It was twenty-five miles from home. I went with a lot of financial headaches because there were no scholarships. Every month my father sort of toyed with the bill, causing us to wonder whether or not it would be paid. He came through. I will be eternally grateful to him for having provided me the opportunity to get a college education.

Dolores spoke about belonging to the college choir:

I started singing with the choir in my freshman year. My second year, I was allowed to travel with the concert choir. I saw places I had never seen

before. We toured the Midwest, and as far south as Florida. We also toured the Northeast where we traveled as far as Connecticut. The person who influenced me more than anyone else was the choir director. Not only did he teach voice, but he talked about a lot of other issues that were important to him. Over the three years I sang, he was the only constant in my life. I met many friends there who came from the South and from the Northeast primarily. My two roommates were from Detroit and New York.

Most of the women interviewed in this study were born, reared and attended Black schools in the South. Most recalled positive early school experiences. All of the women came from families that valued education. The families provided encouragement and support. Many of the women interviewed endured financial difficulties related to tuition and expenses.

There was some oppression. They all cited African-American role models who helped them develop positive self-esteem. Many saw a need to develop supportive networks. They all focused on specific educational goals and demonstrated commitment and determination in achieving those goals.

The participants believed that education was the key to opportunity and they approached education as a powerful tool which would improve their lives and the lives of their children.

Work Experiences

The participants of this study described feelings about the early working years. For all of them, the struggle continued. They worked hard to overcome obstacles. They gained first hand experiences in the political arena of obtaining employment and promotions. Some of them recalled individuals who provided support and encouragement. All participants of this study combined work and school in order to earn advanced degrees.

Jeanette related an experience in her struggle to balance work and completion of a doctoral program:

It took eight years of part-time study to finish the doctorate. It was a struggle. When I started to work on the doctorate, I embarked upon a nine-step process. The University was in transition, and it was difficult to find faculty willing to commit themselves to being on a dissertation committee because they didn't know if they were going to be at the University. Also, as a part-time student, it was different from being a full-time student. Commuting created additional problems. There were time constraints. The story is that, as happened with most doctoral students, you get down to a crunch when your statute of limitations expires and you are writing your chapters. There had been illness in my family; my father had been hospitalized with a bone infection, and it created havoc within my own personal life. I needed an extension. At the same time, more work had to be completed. I needed time. My building principal had always said, 'If you ever need time just come to me, or just call and you can have it.' Therefore, I called him and requested the time. His reply was that I had a responsibility to the school. I retorted, 'This is the first time I have ever needed

to take time from school. I need two days to write.' He said I was to be at school within the hour. I got off the phone and cried. Then I called the Superintendent's office. He was not in. I explained the situation to his secretary. She felt that he would surely grant me the time. I stayed out for two days and wrote. Afterwards, my principal retaliated in any way he could. He made negative comments in my evaluations and attempted to prevent me from advancing to higher positions.

Carol moved to New England and recounted her experiences and the politics of finding employment:

The first year I was in New England, I became certified to teach. There was a reciprocal agreement with the state I lived in and the previous state in which I taught. However, I discovered that politics would be an issue. When I applied, the Personnel Officer assured me there would be openings, and I would be considered. I never got a phone call. I thought they had lost my telephone number so I called them, and they had no job for me. I did find employment with a private school working with the handicapped. I worked there for nine months. Again I waited in hope of being hired in the local school system. Again, I called the Personnel Director, who said there was nothing available. He was sorry. At that point, I called the Superintendent. He read my file, and the next day I was appointed to teach. It was then that I realized how important politics would be.

The work site was not a likely place for the participants to find meaningful relationships and a base for social experiences. Elizabeth related her experiences:

There was some socializing with other women. Each year a women's dinner was held where someone was chosen to receive an award. It was a pleasant experience. Some of the women tended to be sociable. We got along. There were occasions when I could have participated but did not because they

made me feel that they didn't want me. Occasionally, I attended a picnic or a cookout. People appeared friendly but I felt it was superficial. There were a few negative incidents involving some of the older women who made comments that were subtle racial slurs. Some were a little off-color.

You know, where I grew up in North Carolina, it was an achievement to become a principal of a school, or to serve in some other supervisory capacity.

Zenobia told about a negative experience during one Parent's Night. She recalled:

I had been assigned an apprentice. She and I were in the classroom. Parents lined up to speak with the teacher for a couple of minutes. I was standing wearing my name badge. Ninety-nine percent of the parents were white. A parent passed me and approached the young white apprentice. She assumed she was the teacher. When she saw my name badge, she announced in astonishment, 'Oh my God, you're colored! My daughter didn't even tell me you were colored! What a girl she is. What a remarkable girl! She's been in your class all this time, she talked about how wonderful you were, what a terrific teacher you were and never once told me you were colored!'

Dolores cited positive experiences that helped to sustain her:

I taught English and Journalism and I ran the school newspaper. I also incorporated Black history and literature in my teaching. I think those experiences were some of the most beautiful. I recall spending an entire period relating historical experiences from a personal perspective to a group of ninth graders. They listened so intently you could hear a pin drop. I felt that being a Black educator was probably one of the most significant contributions that I could make.

As a final thread, there were mentors to aid some of the educators in the transition from teacher to leader to administrator. Dolores recalled:

As I think back over my entire career of the people outside of my family who have been most influential, I think of one person: A male who encouraged me and directed my graduate studies program. I would say that he has been the most influential person in my career. The philosophy that he shared is very much a part of me now. The experiences that he provided helped me to grow tremendously and I'm still learning and growing as offshoots of the things I learned working with him.

Carol noted particular frustrations for African-American women who have attained senior status jobs. She called reaching such status a "glass ceiling"--an invisible obstacle which one can see through but cannot penetrate.

Lanetta began by saying:

At the start of any new job we enter, the entry phase of development is characterized by no movement in terms of job growth, and little or no direction in terms of personal goals. This phase includes the informal opportunities for encouragement that the Whites receive which Blacks are denied. We are not a part of the corporate club.

Elizabeth shared the following frustrations:

Being alone on boards and committees these years has had its share of isolated pain. For example, there were times when I had to sit at meetings and experience rejection; some people moved their seats to avoid sitting with me; some were attentive. Sometimes when I began to address a group, some people would actually say, 'Hurry up and stop talking.'

Zenobia, the only participant educated in the North, talked about feelings of self-doubt; she described how racism and the way society perceives the competence of African-Americans can cause feelings of insecurity:

At one point I doubted my ability. I realized I was at a low point. I stepped back and took another perspective. Some of my friends helped me to regain my confidence.

Dr. Edgar E. Smith (co-chair of NEBHE's Task Force and Vice President of Academic Affairs for the University of Massachusetts) confirmed the importance of nurturing and self-esteem:

It is very easy for me to address the topic of self-image in view of my background as a Black child growing up in rural Mississippi. The segregated society in which we lived was founded on the notion of White superiority and Black inferiority. Fortunately, those directly responsible for providing us with an opportunity to become educated did not believe in that concept. They made certain that we were reminded constantly of our inherent abilities and potential for accomplishing anything that we were willing to work for. All too often such assurances are missing in an environment such as that found in New England, the most predominantly White region of the Nation. In fact, they're bombarded regularly with negative images. (Smith, 1988, p. 14).

Spahier and King (1985) stated that schools need to nurture and build on the cultural norms that contribute to growth. "An academically effective school is distinguished by its culture: a structure, process, and climate of values

and norms that channel staff and students in the direction of successful teaching and learning. Students learn from varied positive experiences in the community" (Jones & Maloy, 1988, pp. 28-29).

Several interviewees spoke about stress when questions arose about, "How well will I fit in?" "Will I get the quality of help I need to get the job done?" "Does the quality of my education compare favorably to that of Whites?" "What training will I get?"

These African-American women administrators characterized their dissatisfaction with Whites in various ways. Some cited negative reactions to specific behaviors. Others talked about a rage that emerges periodically. Some questioned their self-confidence. Most appeared to hold anger inside about specific actions or the apparent indifference of school systems to the needs of African-American children.

The participants discussed and offered explanations of their frustrations. There were some instances of verbal confrontation with Whites. The African-American women described their growth as they became more vocal and expressed their feelings. Elizabeth related:

I am not intimidated by the sometimes vicious and insensitive comments made about administrators. As

a woman, an ethnic minority, and as an administrator who recently reached the "speed limit" 55 years of age, I know well what it is like to be rejected and ridiculed because I stood up on issues of importance. However, being whom I am, I could do no less.

Olive reflected on the lack of collegial friendships and lack of mentoring by White women on the job.

White women do not realize their super competitiveness is a turn off, especially when they talk down to us. They need to realize we have something to offer; they will not win the battle for equality without us; they must deal forth rightly. What does all of this mean? How many women of color did they mentor to work beside them. I don't know one, do you?

Supportive people provide rewards, reinforcement, and feedback. Networking is a political strategy used to gain professional advantage for the sharing of thoughts, talents, and information; and I'm not talking about cliques.

An African-American graduate student from the Washington, D.C. area cited some positive aspects to learning and working in an all Black environment. She felt that equal access for promotion, advancement, and leadership opportunity was more readily available in a Black school district and that the general exclusion of Blacks from policymaking and administrative functions prevails in the White majority-controlled school systems of the country and keeps the number of Black teachers and Black principals exceedingly small (Bumbry, Informal papers presented at the University of Massachusetts).

She went on to say:

The combination of being a Black female principal working in a Black community provides me with a keen insight into what it means to be struggling for self-determination. I can meaningfully collaborate with parents and community. I have a comprehensive understanding of Black family life and an appreciation for the struggle in the Black quest for education.

My experiences and self-interests are woven into how I interact and how I propose change in the school setting. My leadership style is an expression of my own aspirations for Black adolescents. I define two ongoing tasks for the principalship: first, enabling Black adolescents to understand that they have the right to play a meaningful role in the large system of institutions without loss of identity of their cultural and historical roots; and second, initiating and developing approaches and techniques for classroom instruction that make a concerted effort to enhance the adolescents' participation in the academic life of the class/school, increasing their ability to make and keep decisions.

She continued about educational processes for African-American adolescents.

When adolescents see a piece of themselves and their experiences in adults that provide them with a secure sense of their own worth, they have valuable role models.

My commitment is the development and implementation of programs that include adolescents in processes of participation in school life and to help adolescents maintain a sense of self-esteem and balance in the face of indifferent and ruthless effects of White racism.

Finally, the participants summarized what can be called the "Success Phase," where basic goals are met and progress is seen. There is no longer a need to fight with or punish Whites in interaction. Strong confidence continues to develop; as a result, the quality of productivity is expanded. There is a greater awareness of how the system works. Additional skills can also be acquired in dealing with the system.

Lanetta believed that despite the many improvements in public schools, some things have not changed at all. Oppression, racism, sexism are all a part of the entire picture. "One can separate these concepts when speaking or writing and one can observe the manifestations." She added, "Systematically, they continue to exist."

Lanetta summed up her feelings as follows:

African-American female faces are a rarity at the very top of public school systems in New England. During a decade that witnessed revolutionary changes in the societal roles of American women, nothing changed at the top of the school systems across New England. The top still remains very much a White male arena.

Zenobia talked about taking risks:

I turned forty years old and gave up a seventeen year pension to try something maybe not so different but at least in a different way, in a different place, with a different host of characters and I feel good about that. If there is a sense that I'm having difficulty with this whole topic then you're

right on target because I've always had a hard time putting into words the kinds of feelings and hurts and even joys that I've experienced.

Zenobia reflected:

I still have the sense that Black women are not taken as seriously as men in terms of administrative responsibility. For instance, in taking this position, it was an alternative position because the then superintendent felt that he could not politically appoint a Black female and especially a Black female from outside of the system to a principalship at a school where there had never been a Black principal and also in terms of and particularly since the other school in question presently had a Black male principal so the favorite son, who was a White male wound up getting the principalship opening and my offer was then to take his place as the Associate Principal at the senior high school.

Results/Discussion

The African-American women in this study who have earned their positions as administrators often faced risks. In this particular state they are the only African-American women in their particular milieu. Thus, the isolation from peers have some consequences that are difficult to judge. One continues to wonder if the difficulties they face are related to their gender and to what degree are the difficulties "par for the course" for anyone holding their positions.

These women have less access to feedback and communication about the work they perform. There are also

the issues of the informal channel of politics and other various and sundry pressures. With the tape recorder turned off, a couple of the women revealed an awareness of not being comfortable in some situations.

These administrators spoke of "not fitting in" and being always on guard. They also spoke of becoming tired and fatigued, which all appeared to drain their energy. Luckily, these women have good coping skills which arise from their feelings of self-affirmation and of being one's own support system.

In addition, these women all saw the need to develop effective communication skills that enhanced their leadership ability. Good communication skills signal support to another person. Using phrases that are visual, such as, "I see what you are saying," or "I'm in tune with what you are saying" shows support of the person.

Leadership characteristics that were supportive surfaced during the interviews and demonstrated consistency when the participants showed up at meetings with colleagues, and applauded and gave approval to their fellow administrators. Many relied heavily on their own vernacular to convey emotions.

Dolores commented about the significance of networks:

It's been important to have people with whom I could speak on the telephone. Though we don't see each other often, just being able to talk on the telephone and share experiences has helped me to cope. To know you're not alone, that you share common experiences and provide support for each other is a necessary ingredient to avoid isolation. I believe networking is important.

Comments on Internalized Oppression

Being a part of an African-American support network is a challenge and is sometimes where the internalized oppression is played out; trust remains a heavy issue. The behavior of the oppressor is imitated and played out by the oppressed.

Elizabeth says: "The isolated educator seeking support from a Black group always fears that the oppression will be played out on her by her own group. The hurt can last a long time. The hurt reinforces the mistrust."

One approach is to recognize internalized oppression in operation. Another is to make a conscious effort not to participate in any form. African-American women educators must not take on or play a victim role to this internalized oppression no matter what setting she finds herself in.

Elizabeth shared these suggestions:

Some of the positive things a Black woman educator can do for herself to improve the climate and

enhance her environment are to surround herself aesthetically with Afro-centric art, poetry, music and literature. Research proves that African-American gifts of artifacts, books, etc. do, in fact, play a critical role in helping individuals develop positive attitudes toward self. The absence of such items leaves room for negative and stereotypical images that are prevalent in some media and in the marketplace.

Other General Recommendations

Jeanette recommends when writing, one must continue to gather anecdotal as well as statistical data, whether writing/speaking on recruitment, retention, promotion, or salary. Be sure to report national, regional and institutional data for comparisons. Encourage, support and attend African-American social and cultural events. Look at new ways of learning and consider presenting these at conferences. Encourage administration to conduct exit interviews in order to obtain African-American views.

Carol warns that it is a very real concern as an administrator not to stretch oneself too thin. She was frequently contacted for advice from students, other faculty, and individuals from the community.

During African-American History Month, Carol says she was called upon for public appearances. These restricted her schedule a great deal. She went on to say:

One of the hardest things about being in administration is the shifting of priorities. I need to be about the business of writing a new grant or doing teacher evaluations. I'm not sure that speaking at other schools during African-American History Month will help me to do that. But then, there's that tradition of giving back to the community. You bear a burden because in a sense you are presenting the whole Black race.

"Do not try and fit into anybody's mold," advised Marilyn Yarborough at Knoxville, Tennessee in a recent article:

...the end which he knowingly and unknowingly pursues, is to become himself...He begins to drop false fronts, or the masks, or the roles, with which he has faced life. He appears to be trying to discover something more basic, something more truly himself. (Rogers, 1976, p. 108-109)

Jeanette described her feelings about work and what needs to happen to move "things" along. She spoke about facing hostility:

Meanness is not new to most African-Americans. They are descendants of people who survived a trip across the Atlantic Ocean. They survived three hundred years of the cruelest slavery the world has ever known and survived reconstruction, the Ku Klux Klan, and Jim Crow segregation. Our parents, and some of us, survived the Great Depression and World War II. I am not speaking of giving up nor am I talking about turning back. I believe that African-American public school administrators have a part and a responsibility to public school students. This offer has nothing to do with color or texture of hair. I believe that it has to do with suffering and the strength to cope with adversity.

Dolores commented on the roles of African-American administrators:

First, one needs to serve as a role model and as an inspiration for all students. Second, we have to help White students understand that African-Americans have made significant contributions to America and must share in the dream. Last, African-American educators need to provide the intellectual basis for survival.

Dolores specifically mentioned two people she greatly admired. One an African-American researcher, Ron Edmonds and another, Rosa Parks, a civil rights advocate. She says about Edmonds:

He is one of a small group of researchers and activists bringing new hope and determination to urban schools. His methods are sensible enough: find schools where poor and minority students learn especially well, see how the schools are different, and help other schools be more like them.

In essence, his message is that poor and minority children can learn and will learn if adults believe in them.

Lanetta ended on this note:

Everybody needs a hero. Everybody needs to be inspired. Inspiration comes in various ways. Sometimes it can come from just being there, sometimes it can come from a smile, an understanding look. Sometimes, it can come from adversity, from fighting for what you thought was a losing battle.

The presence of African-American administrators in the halls of the public schools have a meaningful relationship with the diverse population they serve. It seems reasonable that if the ratio of pupils to teachers is generally 22.5, then it is reasonable that 22.5 into that number of Black teachers is an indication of what a fair share would be.

The research is out there and it indicates that there is one principal for every 600 students in the public schools in the U.S. but there is only one African-American principal for every 1,400 Black students. African-American educators have the affirmative duty to present this data.

Jeanette concluded:

During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century, the leaders of the Great World Powers were primarily English-speaking Christian White Anglo-Saxon. The schools of those times reflected this type of character and outlook. The world has changed. A plurality of the world's people are Buddist. The majority of the skin colors are Black, Brown and Yellow. The leading language is Spanish not English.

Carol concluded her final interview about the meaning of work by saying:

In order for Black women in education to be able to empower their communities and be successful as professionals, they must be intellectually prepared, politically astute, financially secure and emotionally and spiritually strong.

Jeanette concluded her interviews by saying:

Black women should carve out a lifestyle and develop it as seriously as they would their career and that some Afro-American women continue to learn how to initiate power plays.

In summary, all women balanced work and continuing studies. They recounted political contexts for securing employment and performing their administrative roles. They cited difficult social situations related to both work and life in New England. Many experienced racial prejudice. Some described invisible obstacles and felt oppression,

racism and sexism. Many expressed periodic instances of self doubt. All recognized the importance of nurturing and self esteem. Many spoke of their commitment to young African-Americans and the importance of role models for them to succeed. Most had a vision of what schools ought to be like to reflect a pluralistic society and saw themselves playing a meaningful role. All cited positive experiences that helped to sustain them.

CHAPTER V

REFLECTIONS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter One presented an historical perspective of African-Americans. The chapter included the ethnic composition in New England. It also described barriers to leadership positions in a general way. The purpose, significance, and limitations of the study were described and the organization of the rest of the dissertation was outlined.

Chapter Two reviewed the literature on African-American experiences with a focus on women and leadership roles. Chapter Three described the methodology of phenomenological interviewing. Chapter Four presented the participants' feelings, experiences, and reflections about the experiences as drawn from their words in the three interviews. Chapter Five contains reflections, conclusions, and recommendations. The interviews in this study aid in addressing a gap in the literature. They help to answer some questions about the work world in public schools. Data generated from the indepth interviews of these African-American administrators is presented in the participants' words. The author attempts to avoid looking

for a particular model. No single profile is presented. Nonetheless, some similarities among participants are recognizable.

All of the participants except one attended an historically Black college for their undergraduate work. All except one of the participants' parents were born in the South. The women repeatedly describe the people whom they admired and who served as role models. These role models continue to mentor, encourage, and maintain high expectations.

Life as a discriminated minority affects the self-concept, motivation, attitudes and cultural values of Black Americans. Yet for all of the theorizing about these issues, systematic studies of Black self-esteem, achievement, motivation, attitudes, and values are limited. More research along these lines is indicated if we are to clarify the human response to oppression and discrimination. (Farley and Allen, 1989, p. 417)

All of the participants recalled their enthusiasm and pride when they began their administrative positions. In the beginning, the women were all enthusiastic about prospects for the future. They were committed to improving the curriculum, teacher performance, student achievement and school climate. In other words, "striving for excellence" was a clear value that prevailed among the participants.

Most of the participants experienced some type of oppression/discrimination during their own education and during their careers in public schools. However, early in their careers, some encountered authoritarian personalities--patronizing majority male supervisors who appeared to be "father knows best" types.

All of the women reported that they were expected to perform additional auxilliary functions such as counseling students, serving on committees, and administration of special programs. While willing to give of their time and energies some disliked the fact that the additional physical and mental exertion was a professional disadvantage. These efforts were not acknowledged. One described negative evaluations that had no relevance. Another described direct efforts to prevent her upward mobility. Although historically exploited, African-American females in administrative positions also experienced disenfranchisement. They received disparate treatment and found they were often dealt with in a perfunctory manner which lacked sincerity. Some were humiliated; some were frequently placed on committees created to protect the institutions and the system.

Loneliness, pressure to marry and/or return to the community of their youth were also themes which energized from this research. Social isolation existed and had an influence on personalities later on.

Frustrations/Coping

From their testimonies, the participants appeared frustrated and sometimes angry toward those persons who have made their professional lives unhappy and lonely. These feelings of frustration, loneliness, and anger were shared along with their hopes, goals, and triumphs. Their ambivalence about their positions reflects their understanding of the condescending overtones about the value of their work which is also found in the literature.

The participants also found frustrating the continual resistance to implement programs for which they were responsible according to their job titles. For example, Olive comments on her coping strategies: "You continue with a positive outlook on a daily basis, remembering your goals and that all children can and will learn how to read."

Most of the participants felt that support in networking was an essential ingredient in enabling her to cope with job

stress. These women generally achieved a large measure of personal gratification from their work. Despite the hardships, most felt that they functioned effectively on the job.

In her book, Black Women, Do They Cope Better? Meyers claims that the majority of women indicated they sought the support of other Black women who were in similar situations as their own. Meyers suggests that Black women may select certain roles to measure their success in order to think well of themselves. She observed that, for most Black women, the roles chosen are most often occupational and family maintenance. The notion that work and education are also closely linked is shared by many. In addition, many non-traditional African-American females measure their success by how well they do educationally. Myers comments:

...we (Black women) are also capable of finding the means, or rather, the alternatives for developing and maintaining our emotional stability for feeling good about ourselves, at least some of the time, while living in a society that is not in tune with being bland and/or with being female--and at the same time! (Myers, 1980, p. 23)

Historically, African-American women have grown stronger and coped through adversity. Myers found that the Black women in her study relied on their social support systems. These systems were defined as "those helping

agents or individuals who provide social support and feedback in solving problems during periods of crisis." (Myers, 1980, p. 26) The most often used networks were family, friends and church clergymen. This study revealed similar support systems. Almost all of the participants mentioned individuals as well as the church in providing support.

The women in the study reflected on their experiences and came away with some clear understandings. Most felt that success and empowerment required that they be intellectually and politically astute, financially secure, and emotionally and spiritually strong. These women also stressed the importance of passing on a legacy of dedication and motivation to the younger generation.

What does all of this mean? These participants, as a whole, felt that the building of positive relationships was of primary importance. They also felt that the ability to articulate issues was important. In addition, they felt the need to develop socialization skills. Such skills can be developed through discussions, panels, workshops, classes, networking and in-service organizational training. Many African-American women are developing ways to help other African-American females locate workable strategies. It is

through these strategies, personal African-American networks and vital coalitions that the women become more apprised of leadership programs and other educational promotional opportunities.

Some women felt the double pressure of being African-American and female. They stressed the importance of African-American leaders in schools being careful not to be perceived as one-issue persons.

Many of the African-American women were often unsure about the double-pronged sword of color or gender. This double-edged sword satisfies two requirements for institutions. However, when reorganization takes place or recognition time comes, neither color nor gender is valued. Also, although the women have earned the leadership positions they held through perseverance, flexibility, hard work, and risk-taking, they still function in disciplines where males continue to dominate the upper rungs of the ladder.

Leadership is defined as one who leads, one who influences and one who directs. A true leader must be willing to take risks, to make mistakes and to learn from them, to be held accountable and to move forward. Leadership requires clarity of vision. Leadership requires

a sense of purpose. Leadership demands commitment to the purpose and to the vision. Leaders remain on course, leaders bear the personal slurs, slights, animosity; they are the molders.

Mary McLeod Bethune and Shirley Chisholm changed the history of America. They had power. Power born out of conviction. Power nurtured by vision and clarity of purpose. Some of these women were also willing to stake their own comfort some of the time for their convictions.

Implications and Recommendations

Now it is accepted in some sectors of the academic workplace that quotas can be utilized as a constructive tool to prevent discrimination and move forward by integrating the school work force when hiring and promoting. There is nothing mythical nor magical about the seniority system. Common sense suggests that this system should be meshed with other rational considerations so that the equality achieved over the past decade does not revert. Discrimination against African-American women was long accepted and condoned in the United States. To a minority educator hired within the last ten years, the imposition of a rigid last-hired, first-fired seniority system would only mean

that once again the dominant White male culture had protected its own kind at the expense of women and minorities. The objectives of Affirmative Action have not been met. The obstacles to effective implementation of Affirmative Action programs in the school systems of this particular New England state appear insurmountable. Some obstacles are personal and others appear structural.

If the wrongfulness of discrimination is to be overcome, New England schools must not allow themselves to be caught in a "web of oppression" such as "reverse discrimination." This, in the last analysis, would serve only to perpetuate discrimination of the past.

Teacher administration programs must consider candidates who demonstrate sustained commitment to the development of human capital and personal qualities that are effective in the human services area. Candidates must be regarded as human beings, not as mere statistics.

Those in power to admit students to teacher leadership programs also need to be concerned about the racial attitude of potential candidates as well as the cognitive skills of those candidates. Service to humanity, through closer involvement and their sensitivity, needs also to be investigated thoroughly.

Elizabeth, during her last interview, said she works in school because she loves children and enjoys the feeling of satisfaction. She feels teaching is an art as well as a science which demands a very special personal commitment and dedication. She believed that candidates who have displayed bigotry and those with crippled perspectives about the role, dignity, and integrity of other groups need to be screened, admitted and identified as needing remedial compensatory training. They should be required to learn the laws relevant to the rights of other groups in society.

The women in this study were often excluded from the system of "grooming" or that of protege, or from the opportunity of informal on-the-job training. Therefore, mentoring is offered as a viable solution under this issue.

Mentoring has a history of success beginning with Odysseus' decision to entrust the education of his son to a wise and learned man named Mentor some 3,500 years ago and continuing to its present application in training nurses (Fagan and Fagan, 1983), psychologists (Pierce, 1983), sociologists (Phillips, 1979), scientists, (Rawler, 1980), teachers (Gray and Gray, 1985; Gray & Rogers, 1982), educational administrators (Hepner & Faaborg, 1979; Moore & Sangaria, 1979; Hennig & Jardin, 1977; Klans, 1979; Kram, 1980, 1983, 1985; Levison & others, 1982).

Modern-day mentors are found in different segments of society and marked by both similarities and differences. The "Big Brother and Big Sister" programs are based on the mentor concept. Drama or athletic coaches may also be mentors.

The concept of mentoring is a complex one. Moore has asserted that "the essence of mentoring is sharing power, sharing competence, sharing self" (1980, p. 24) without the benefit of such sharing relationships.

The mentor relationship on the surface appears to be one answer for solving the problems of oppression and lack of direction experienced by some African-American women. With more research in this area, the role of the mentor in the career patterns can better enable future African-American educational leaders in their preparation for administration.

Research claims certain characteristics are important laws and found that good mentors are people-oriented, tolerate ambiguity, prefer abstract concepts, value their organization and their work, and respect and like their subordinates. Allenman (1982) found that successful mentors are confident, secure, flexible, altruistic, warm and

caring, sensitive to proteges' needs, and they trust their proteges.

What mentors do with and for proteges affects how enthusiastically proteges receive and respond to mentor help. Allenman (1982) concluded that "since no single mentor-type was found, selection is not the primary issue. Rather, mentor involves mentor-like behavior.

Once their behaviors have been identified, they can be taught. Kram (1980) found successful mentors fulfill several career functions. They expose proteges to new opportunities, coach them and sponsor them. In addition, mentors provide four psycho-social functions: role-model, counsel, accept-confirm and befriend them. These functions are all important as the mentor-protege relationship is being cultivated.

Mentors also provide an ear and create a non-judgmental open atmosphere by fostering camaraderie. They identify with, and understand, perceptions, feelings, and thoughts. Moore claims "that the essence of mentoring is sharing power, sharing competence, sharing self" (1980, p. 24). Without the benefit of such sharing relationships, many women may continue to find themselves lagging behind their male colleagues.

Moore goes on to say about the females in her study that, "male mentors were enthusiastic in their sense of the investment made in their careers by their male superiors; they were unanimous in believing that there are male members of the inner circles who are willing to share insights and experiences with women colleagues" (1980, p. 24). Women (African-American), however, cannot expect to sit back and wait to be approached by a well-meaning male superior who is interested in taking them in hand and personally grooming them for higher levels of achievement. What women can do instead is take the initiative and seek out male superiors for advice and counsel, let their interests and ambitions be known, and set up timelines and strategies for achieving goals.

Sharing, however, does not have to be dependent on male mentoring alone. Certainly, if men are more frequently found in positions of power, African-American women will want to establish mentoring relationships with them, but all women must also learn to share with other women.

Moore elaborated further by saying that "while the pressures of token women cannot be overstated, if these women are unwilling to assist other women, either as mentors or even role models, it is difficult to see how younger

professional women can hope to expand their roles within the academic institutions" (1980, p. 24).

MENTOR FUNCTIONS

Informal Contact

Assist with
Professional
Development
Plan

Role
Modeling

MENTOR

Observation
& Feedback

Direct
Assistance

Demonstration

Hidore (1986) speaks to the problem of homogeneity as a problem for minority women. In her article, "Mentoring as a Career Enhancement Strategy for Women," Hetherington and Barcelo (1985) issued a plea for "Womentoring" from a cross-cultural perspective (i.e., white women). Favoritism is also a problem because in the past it has been used in selecting men for positions of importance. With more research in the area of mentoring, a better understanding regarding the role of the mentor will be developed.

The teachers' association in the state of Mill Towne has recommended as one of its 1989 resolutions the following:

The Mill Towne Association believes that
...professional peer support systems such as mentor programs, if or when adopted, should be utilized solely for the development of professional expertise. The association believes that the planning, implementation, and evaluation of such programs must be cooperatively developed and negotiated with the local association.

The resolution continued:

Qualifications of mentor teachers and responsibilities of all parties must be clearly defined and uniformly administered. Selection of mentor teachers should be controlled by faculty members with advice from administrators. Participation must be voluntary. The state and local committees and boards of trustees also have the obligation to provide hold-harmless protection.

The association also believes that mentor teachers must be compensated for all additional responsibilities and that the program must be fully funded by the state.

The association also believes that mentor teachers should have reduced teaching loads and should be given released time during the regular school day to work with the mentees/proteges.

The Department of Education in the New England state Mill Towne cited in this research, reported that in the 365 cities and towns there were only fifteen female superintendents in the entire state. The number of female high school principals are somewhat higher, however, men still dominate. This report does not mention how many of the females are minority, specifically, African-American.

One finding of this research is that African-American female administrators are in small numbers in public education in the New England state in this study. The study results indicate that this type of research is effective for administration and a useful tool for those who are considering administration in education as a career.

It is necessary to encourage African-American students to enter and graduate from schools of education in greater numbers and that they be exposed to positive African-American role models, throughout their educational life on a regular and frequent basis.

Summation

Career advancement for most educators has been blocked in New England during the past 15 years, mainly due to a drop of 20 to 30 percent in school-age children. At the time of these interviews immediate prospects for either advancement or bringing other African-American educators into leadership roles seemed particularly bleak. Many urban districts had laid off minority teachers based on seniority despite the growing number of minority students in their schools. Nationwide, many African-American teachers approached retirement while few were entering teacher preparation programs.

On a more positive note, there are obviously far more than seven or seventy African-American educators in New England ready for leadership roles. However exceptional the career paths of the women interviewed for this study, their family support, deep concern for learning, caring about others, and administrative skills are not uncommon among African-American women. If all districts immediately sought to hire a proportion of minority teachers related to students in their schools and administrators on the same basis, there would be a lack of trained candidates. But at this time, there are certified African-American women in New England who have been laid off; and there are minority

teachers and administrators with leadership capacity eager for advancement. Their stories may differ in details and many are products of the greater openness to civil rights in the 1960's and 1970's, but they also shared many of the African-American cultural values--support from an extended family; respect for learning and schools; caring, concern and connectedness for others struggling to overcome oppression; and a capacity to balance family and career in ways that support their values.

Finally, the analysis revealed that there is no typical Afro-American educational leader. Instead there are several stories to be told.

When asked her views regarding African-American women superintendents and what advice she would give to them, Ashley (1989) responded:

Whether it's in the deep South, the great Midwest, or the pompous East, whether we like it or not, we will live in a...society that supports a double standard. A woman superintendent will have to work like a god. There is a certain amount of bitterness that I have when I think of the things you have to go through. The people want you to be a symbol of leadership. The woman has to work twice as much as the man does, and he will get twice the accolades that the woman gets, and he has done half the work. That connotes... (that women) don't particularly have the ability. It is hard work; make no mistake about it. Unless you are involved with a lot of God-given love, it will even affect your home.

Condition your mind to take anything that Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public can dish out. Be able to give of yourself and cooperate with the efforts of your community.

Historically, Ashley's successful tenure as a school superintendent makes her a pioneer in education.

The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to get answers to questions, nor to test hypothesis, or to "evaluate" as the term is normally used." Rather, the goal was to understand the experiences. "Understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience rather than being able to predict or control the experience" was the primary objective. (Seidman, 1983, p. 639).

When one has a vision for the future, a vast array of experiences, a deep love for a profession in education, and an equally deep fondness for students, there is only way to move and that is forward. The African-American female educators in this work are forward moving, unique administrators in the New England area. Public education needs leaders who are assertive advocates for our schools. This researcher believes that these participants "make a difference."

African-American educators and African-Americans in general need to own up to the fact that one cannot count or

depend upon the government or any particular person or agency to assure equity. It is up to the African-Americans. Frederick Douglass knew this back in 1849 when he wrote:

Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed on them; and these will continue 'till they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress. (Douglass, 1970, p. 15)

The experiences of the African-American administrators in this study have been difficult, sometimes sad but there have also been times of joy. Their intellectual honesty shatters the images of self pity, to those of self respect and positive self esteem. The themes and linkages made in this study can lead to a respect for the complexity of African-American females' work in public schools in New England. The study was able to ascertain some factors that may influence or help one relate and connect.

Mary McLeod Bethune, who served as an inspiration and role model for African-American female educators, left a legacy of hope and a responsibility to young people; likewise, this study concludes with a challenge to other African-American women entering the field of education to develop confidence and overcome obstacles and barriers to

their own successes. In addition, researchers need to continue to examine factors that influence the career goals of young African-American women entering education in the 21st century.

I leave you Love. I leave you Hope. I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another. I leave you a thirst for education. I leave you a respect for the use of power. I leave you Faith. I leave you Racial Dignity. I leave you a desire to live harmoniously with your fellow man. I leave you, finally, a responsibility to your young people.
(Mary McLeod Bethune)

APPENDIX A

WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

My name is Barbara Spence. I am a doctoral candidate involved in research based on in-depth taped interviews at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

The data obtained from these interviews will be used in my dissertation, future talks and classroom lectures. I am trying to make sense, meaning and purpose out of interviews with educators in the Public Educational school systems from Massachusetts.

1. You are asked to be a participant in this study which will consist of three 1 1/2 hour in-depth interviews. These interviews will be held at the convenience of the participants. The names of the participants and the names of the school systems will be changed.
2. The first interview will concentrate on historical experience prior to entering the field of education. How did you happen to enter education? What is it like being in the field of Public Education? The third interview will explore "What does this experience mean to you?"
3. The interviews will be taped and later transcribed. My goal is to understand by careful analysis and composing from the actual data obtained in these interviews.
4. While consenting, at this time, to participate in these interviews you may at any time withdraw from the actual interview process.
5. In signing this form you are agreeing to the use of the material from interviews. If the material from these interviews was to be used again in any way that is not consistent with what is agreed upon, I would contact you to obtain written permission.
6. In signing this form, you are also assuring me that you will make no financial claims on me for the use of material in your interview.
7. Finally, in signing this form you are thus stating that no medical treatment will be required by you from the University of Massachusetts, should any physical injury result from participating in these interviews.

I, _____ read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated above.

Signed by

Date

Interviewer

5/7/87

INDIVIDUALS ARE PROTECTED FROM EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION
THROUGH THE ENFORCEMENT OF SEVERAL LAWS

- * The Civil Rights Act of 1866
- * The Equal Pay Act of 1963
- * The Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended
- * The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, as amended
- * The Rehabilitation Act of 1973
- * The Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Act
- * Executive Order 11246, as amended

In general, all of these laws and order prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. Executive order 11246 also states the principle of Affirmative Action.

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY

Certain terms are used in this work and may require explanation. The following terms and explanations are offered to help the reader to better understand some of the words used in this work. These terms are presented in alphabetical order.

Adverse Impact (Effect) - Applying uniformly to all applicants or employees certain personnel policies (e.g., word-of-mouth recruiting, diploma requirements, intelligence tests, minimum height requirements) that have the effect of denying employment or advancement to members of protected classes. Business necessity is the only justifiable reason for adverse impact.

Affected Class - Any employee group that has suffered and continues to suffer the effects of unlawful discrimination.

African-American - Up until the year 1990 the United States census called people with African heritage colored, Negro, and Black.

Affirmative Action - Special efforts to employ and advance women and minorities in an attempt to overcome the effects of past discrimination. Affirmative Action strives to include members of these groups at all levels of an organization's workforce. When women and minorities achieve statistical parity (when their percentage in the workforce equals their percentage in the available force), such special efforts will no longer be necessary. In Affirmative Action, race, sex, and national origin are taken into account.

Affirmative Action Plan (AAP) - A plan whose execution will assure measurable, yearly improvements in hiring, training, and promotion of minorities and females in all parts of an organization. The effectiveness of the plan is measured by the results it is intended to achieve.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 - the ADEA, enacted in 1967 and amended in 1978, protects persons between the ages of 40 and 70 from discrimination on the basis of age in any terms or conditions of employment.
Enforcement: EEOC

Alienation - Being cut off from others and feeling powerless to change.

Applicant Flow Record - Written, objective measure used to analyze and monitor the recruiting efforts in an employer's Affirmative Action Plan. This record shows each job applicant's name, race, national origin, sex, referral source, date of application, position applied for, whether the job applied for was offered or why it wasn't.

Civil Rights Act of 1866 - This act protects all persons from discrimination because of their race or national origin. This law was enacted shortly after the abolition of slavery, but had little effect for its first hundred years. However, in recent years individuals have won race discrimination suits under this act. It provides added protection in situations not specifically covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Enforcement: The Federal Court System

Civil Rights Act of 1964 - The 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended in 1972, generally prohibits all forms of discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. Title VII of the act specifically prohibits discrimination in employment. Today, most discrimination charges are filed under Title VII, and it is viewed as one of the most complex collections of regulations and guidelines ever issued by the Federal Government. Naturally, it has been subject to many differing interpretations by the business community, enforcement agencies, and the courts. Title VII applies to all public and private employers with fifteen (15) or more employees, and covers labor organizations and employment agencies as well.

Enforcement: EEOC and The Department of Justice

Confidence - Full trust, self reliance, assurance.

Courage - The ability to face difficulty or danger with firmness and without fear.

Dedication - To devote wholly and earnestly.

Enlightened - To give intellectual or spiritual light to.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 - The Equal Pay Act of 1963 gives men and women the right to get equal pay for doing substantially the same work. Protection from sex discrimination in wages is guaranteed by this law. Pay differences that are legal under the Equal Pay Act are also valid under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.
Enforcement: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) - The right of all persons to apply and be evaluated for job opportunities without regard for their race, color, sex, national origin, religion, age, and mental or physical handicaps.

Equitable - Fair, just, the same, uniform, evenly balanced, equivalent.

Exclusion - To prevent entrance, to shut out from consideration.

Executive Order 11246 of 1965 (amended 1967) - The U.S. Government buys and sells goods and services, and like other organizations engaged in such business activities, it places certain conditions on its purchases and sales. Executive Order 11246 makes it a condition of doing business with the government that there be no discrimination in employment opportunities by the contractor.

The principle of "Affirmative Action" arises out of this Order as well. Essentially, it means making special efforts to increase employment opportunities for minorities and women in all employment areas. The Order originally applied only to minorities but was later amended to give the same protection to women. Affirmative Action programs seek to improve the minority and female of the sex and race of workforce, and therefore permit consideration of the sex and race of qualified job applicants in making employment decisions. There has been much political and judicial controversy about this aspect of Executive Order 11246.
Enforcement: Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, Department of Labor

Gender - The word gender comes from the Latin genus and the Greek genos meaning "kind," "class," or even "race."

Mask - (1) Cover for all or part of face.
(2) Anything that disguises or conceals.

Mentor - A wise and trusted counselor.

Obstacles - Barriers or road blocks.

Oppressed - Unjust or harsh exercise of authority, to weigh down, as weary, cause discomfort, upsetting.

Pride - High opinion, dignified, something one is proud of.

Racism - Racism is a form of oppression that has been systematically initiated, encouraged and powerfully enforced by the distress patterns of individual members of the majority culture and their institutions.

Self-Esteem - Self-esteem is made up of thoughts and feelings (positive or negative) you have about yourself, and is based on the unique experiences and personal relationships that have made up your life. Appreciating your uniqueness is positive self-esteem. The more positive feelings you have about yourself, the higher the self-esteem.

Success - Success is attributed to sources outside of oneself. For example:

- * luck, timing, the simplicity of the task,
- * the efforts or mistakes of others,

APPENDIX D

OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY RACE/ETHNIC/SEX GROUPS, 1979

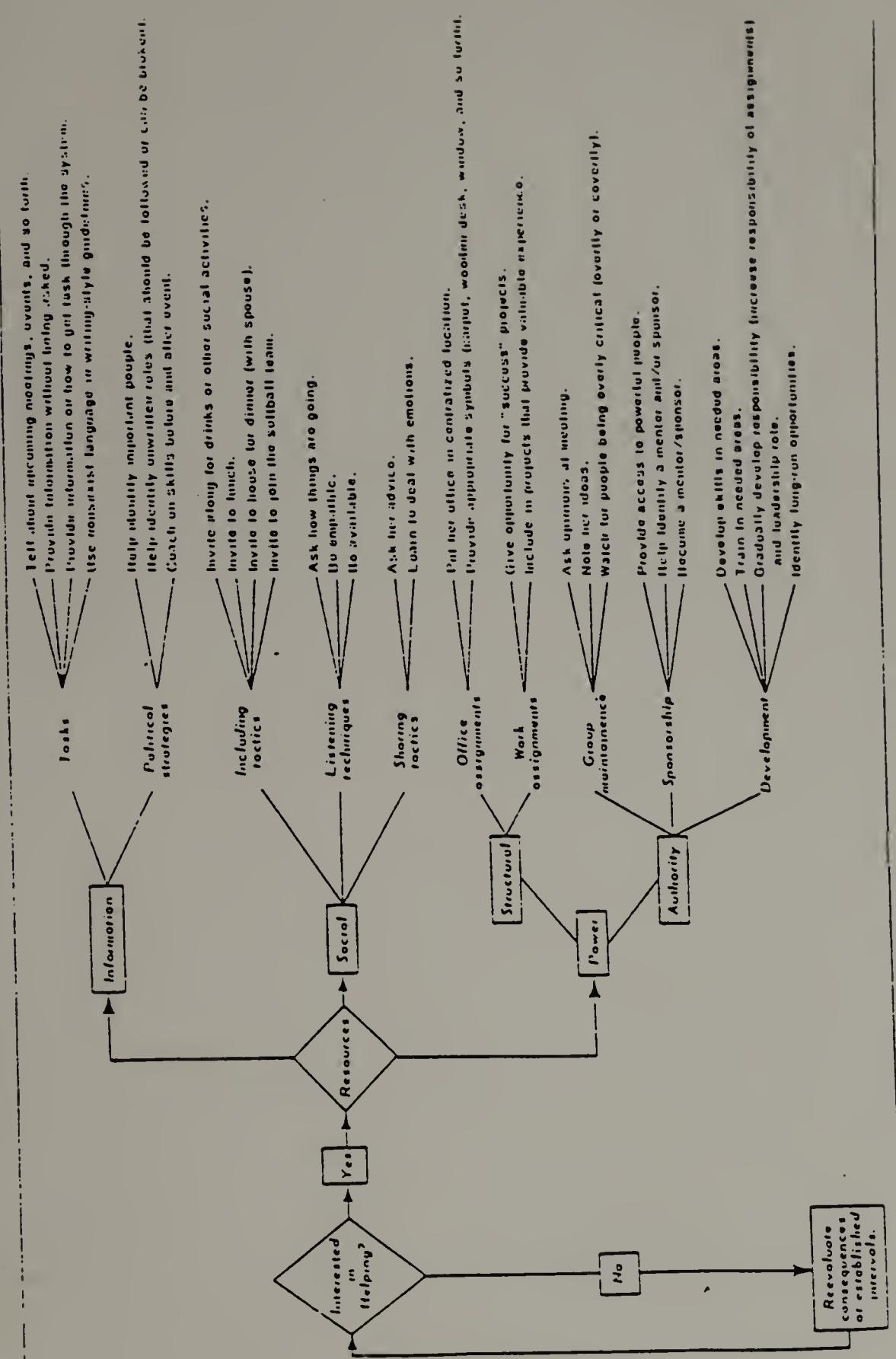
MASSACHUSETTS

JOB CATEGORY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	MALE	FEMALE	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL		
						BLACK*	HISPANIC	ASIAN AMERICAN#
TOTAL, FULL-TIME STAFF	108,355	41,513	66,839	104,279	4,076	2,904	921	211
OFFICIALS/ADMIN/MANAGERS	1,452	1,122	330	1,408	44	76	4	4
PRINCIPALS	1,927	1,608	319	1,875	52	44	4	2
ASS'T PRINCIPALS, TEACH	547	341	206	511	36	30	4	1
ASS'T PRINCIPALS, N.T.	1,056	914	142	1,024	32	26	4	---
ELEMENTARY TEACHERS	24,935	4,349	20,516	24,077	658	591	212	52
SECONDARY TEACHERS	32,125	18,528	13,597	31,016	1,049	749	204	79
OTHER TEACHERS	5,010	1,575	4,243	5,581	257	185	59	6
GUIDANCE	2,516	1,385	1,133	2,420	98	75	15	6
PSYCHOLOGICAL	572	281	291	563	P	5	4	---

** Includes Alaskan natives.

*Not of Hispanic origin. # Includes Pacific Islanders. Source: Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5). Minorities and Women in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1979 Report (September 1981)

APPENDIX E
FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING HELPING STRATEGIES



Source: M.A. Lyle's "Helping Women Managers," p. 73.

APPENDIX F

STATES THAT REPORTED NUMBER OF WOMEN
DEPUTY/ASSISTANT/ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENTSNortheast

Connecticut	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania
Maine	New Jersey	

North Central

Idaho	Kansas	North Dakota
Illinois	Missouri	Ohio
Iowa	Nebraska	South Dakota

South

Delaware	Oklahoma	Texas
Florida	South Carolina	West Virginia
Kentucky	Tennessee	

West

Alaska	Montana	Wyoming
Colorado	Nevada	
Hawaii	Oregon	

APPENDIX G
CORRESPONDENCE--CONFIRMATION

Dear

This note is to confirm our meeting date so that I may interview you for my research.

Day:

Date:

Time:

Place:

I look forward to this time.

Should you find the need to reschedule, please call me at one of the following numbers: (Days) 853-2300, ext. 405; (Evenings) 797-0026.

Thanks,

Barbara Spence

APPENDIX H

CORRESPONDENCE--APPRECIATION

Dear

This is just a short note of appreciation to express my deep appreciation to you for your participation in my research in connection with the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

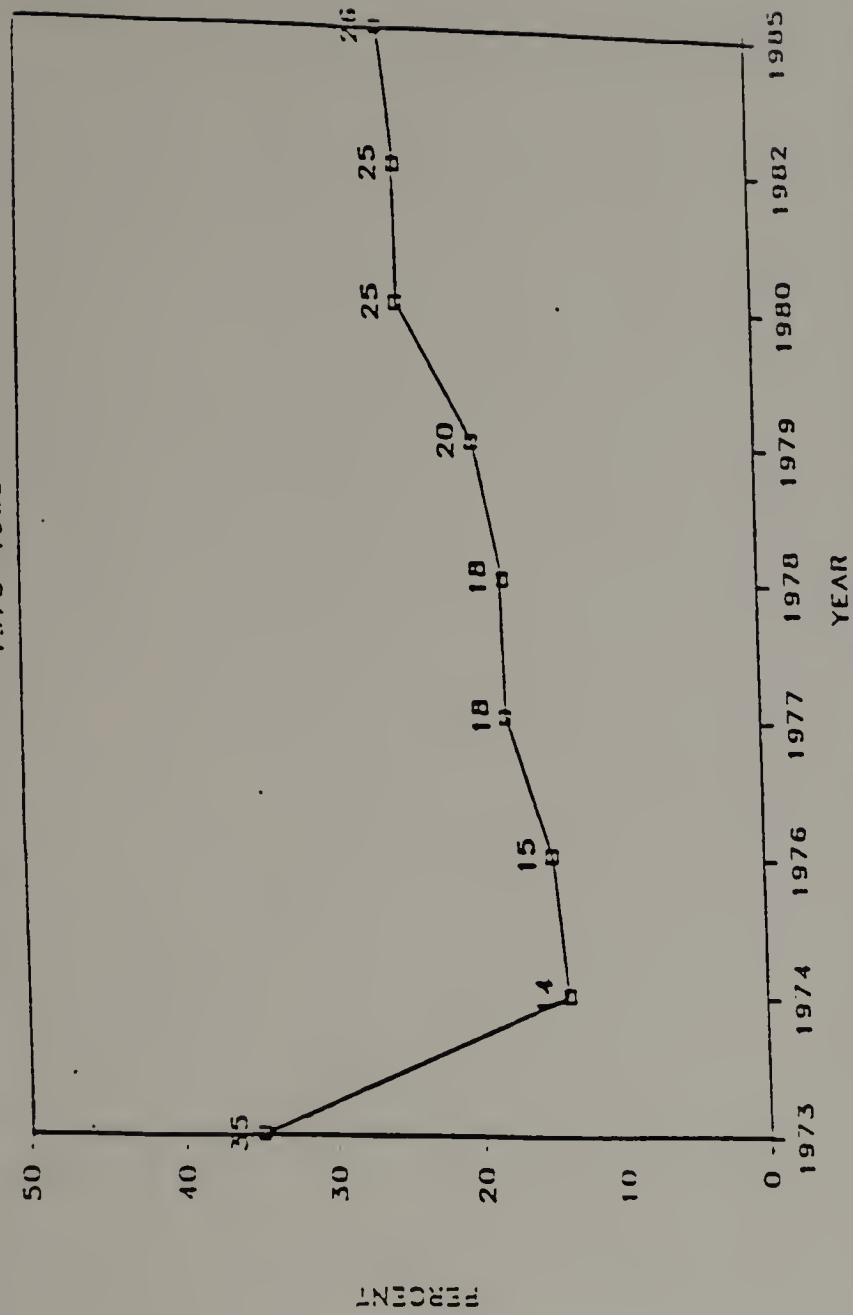
I am enclosing a token for you along with this note.

Thanks again.

Barbara Spence

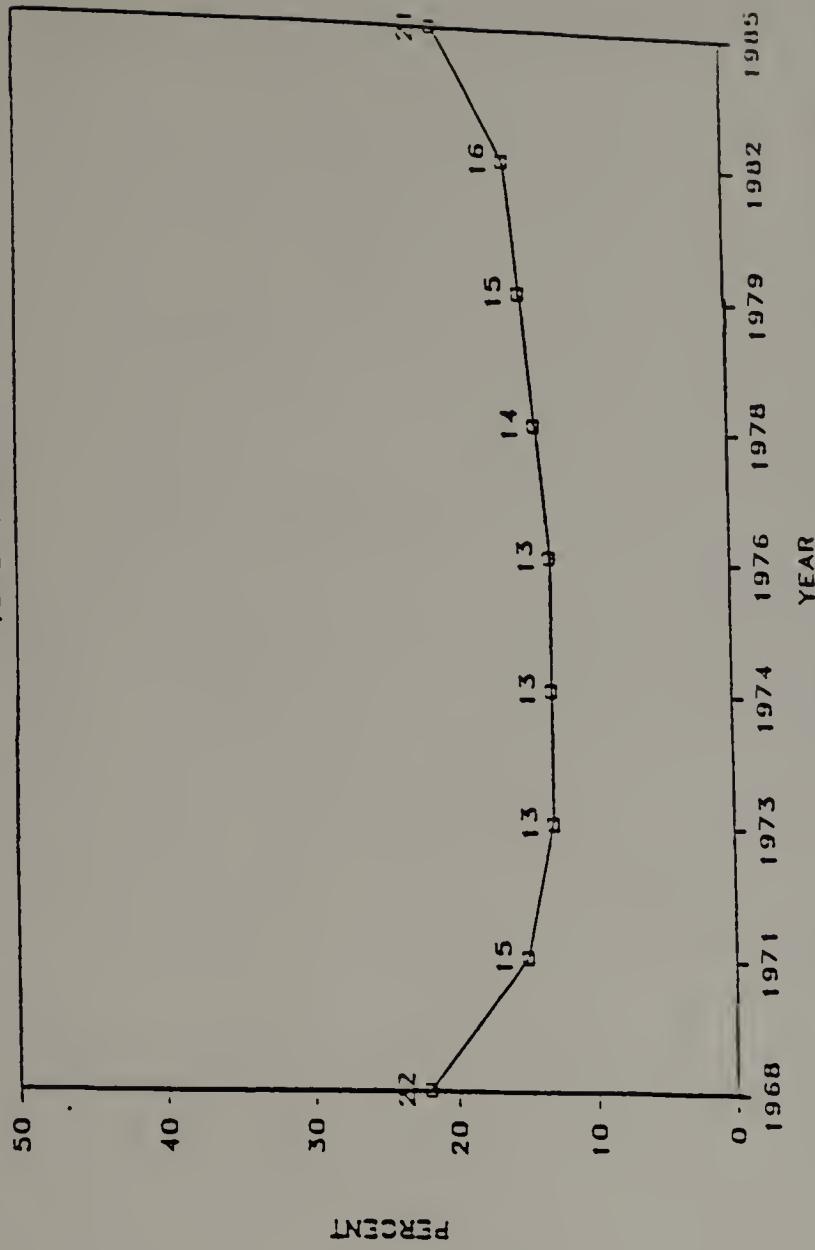
WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

1973-1985



The current survey attempted to determine women and minority representation in the combination of administrative and supervisory positions in school districts throughout the nation. It is in this general category that classifications and reporting methods varied widely among states. The percentage of women school administrators, as reported by the 34 jurisdictions, was 26% compared to 25% in 1981-82. Thus, it seems that the numbers stayed at about the same level since 1980. Racial minorities represented about 14% of the school administrator population in 1984-85, compared to 13% in 1981-82.

WOMEN IN THE PRINCIPALSHIP
1968-1985



Twenty-nine states reported sex data on their public school principles, including elementary, middle school, and secondary principals. Racial/ethnic minorities are more predominant in the principalship than in the superintendency or assistant superintendency. Based on a total of 21,974 principals from 23 states, 2,152 or 9.8% were Black, 1,119 or 5.1% were Hispanic, 355 or 1.6% were Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 42 or 0.2% were of American Indian descent. The percentage in each minority group fluctuated from year to year. Generalizations are not advised because the numbers involved are quite small. Racial/ethnic minorities were more equally represented in each category of the principalship.

APPENDIX K

BLACK, HISPANIC AND TOTAL POPULATION PERCENTAGES

	1980 Black Pop.	% of Nat'l Black Pop.	% of State or Regional Pop.	1980 Hispanic Pop.	% of Nat'l Hispanic Pop.	% of State or Regional Pop.	% of Total Nat'l Pop.
U.S.	26,495,000	100.0%	11.7	14,609,000	100.0%	6.1	100.0%
N.E.	475,000	1.8	3.8	299,000	2.0	2.4	5.3
CT	217,000	.8	7.0	124,000	.8	3.8	1.3
MA	221,000	.8	3.9	141,000	1.0	2.4	2.5
RI	28,000	---	3.0	20,000	?	2.1	.4
ME	3,000	---	.3	5,000	?	?	.5
NH	4,000	---	.4	6,000	?	?	.4
VT	1,000	---	.2	3,000	?	?	.2

Source: NEBlE analysis of data from U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1988*.

REFERENCES

- Abramson, J. (1971). The invisible woman: Discrimination in the academic profession. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Adams, J. (1980). Women on top. New York: Hawthorn Books.
- American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1987). Minority teacher recruitment and retention: A call for action. Washington, D.C.: AACTE.
- Amsden, A.H., Ed. (1980). The economics of women and work. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Angelou, M. (1970). I know why the caged bird sings. New York: Random House.
- _____. (1974). Gather together in my name. New York: Random House.
- Apple, M.W. (1982). Cultural and economic reproduction in education.
- _____. (1988). Teachers & texts: A political economy of class & gender relations in education. New York: Routledge.
- Ashley, V.D. (1989). Personnel communication.
- Atkins, J. (1964). The age of Jim Crow. New York: Vintage Press.
- Banks, J. (1979). Teaching ethnic studies. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- _____. (1979). Teaching strategies for ethnic studies. Second Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Barnes, A.S. (1986). Black women: Interpersonal relationships in profile. Bristol: Wyndham Hall Press.
- Becker, G.S. (1957). The economics of discrimination. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bellah, R.S., et al. (1985). Habits of the heart.

- Bennett, L. (1987). Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America 6th ed.. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company.
- Bernard, J. (1964). Academic women. University Park, PA: The University Press.
- Bernard, J. (1966). Marriage and family among Negroes. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Berry, M.F. and Blassingame, J.W. (1982). Long memory: The Black experience in America. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Billingsley, A. (1968). Black families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bird, C. (1979). The two paycheck marriage. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Birmingham, S. (1982). Les grandes dames. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Bittel, Lester R. (1984). Leadership: The key to management success. New York: Franklin Watts.
- Blanchard, K. (1981). The one minute manager. New York: Berkeley.
- Blasingame, J. (1972). The slave community. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blauner, B. (1989). Black lives, White lives. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Block, D.G. (1981). Women over forty: Visions and realities. New York: Springer Publishing, Inc.
- Bonner, C.R. (1982). A Black principal's struggle to survive. New York: Vintage Press.
- Brigano, R.C. (1984). Black Americans in autobiographies. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Broverman, I.K.; Vogel, S.R.; Broverman, D.M.; Clarkson, F.E.; & Rosenkrantz, P.S. (1972). "Sex role stereotypes: A current appraisal." Journal of Social Issues, 28, 59-78.
- Brown, L.K. (1981). The woman manager in the United States: A research analysis. (pp. 63-70). Washington, D.C.: Business and Professional Women's Foundation.
- Brown, O.C., Sr. (1983). By a thread. New York: Vantage Press.
- Bullock, Henry Allen (1967). A history of Negro education in the south: From 1619 to the present. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Burns, J.M. (1978). Leadership. New York: Harper and Row.
- Byrne, J.A. (1987). "Let a mentor lead you - but beware of the pitfalls." Business Week.
- Cade, Toni (1970). The Black woman: An anthology. New York: New American Library.
- Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971). Between two worlds: A profile of Negro higher education. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Chafe, W.H. (1977). Women and equality. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chamberlain, M. (1988). "The college experience" in Women in academic progress and prospects. New York: Russell Sage.
- Chisholm, S. (1970). Unbought and unbossed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Chodorow, N. (1971). "Being and doing: A cross cultural examination of the socialization of males and females"; Women in sexist society; V. Gornick & B. Moran (eds.); New York: Basic Books.
- Clark, Kenneth B. (1977). Dark ghettos: Dilemmas of social power. New York: Harper and Row.

- Comer, J. (1988). Maggie's American dream: The life and times of a Black family. New York: New American Library.
- Cornelius, J. (1983). "We slipped and learned to read: Slave accounts of the literacy process, 1830-1865." In Phylon, 171-184. NAACP Publication.
- Cottle, Thomas (1977). Busing. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Daloz, L.A. (1987). "Martha meets her mentor; the power of teaching relationships." Change.
- Daniels, A.K. (1985). Invisible career: Women community leaders. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davis, A. & Havighurst, R. (December 1946). "Social class and color differences in child rearing"; American Sociological Review; Vol. 11.
- Davis, A. (1974). An autobiography. New York: Random House.
- _____. (1981). Women, race, and class. New York: Random House.
- Davis, G. and Watson, G. (1982). Black life in corporate America. Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- DiCesare, A., W.E. Sedlacek, and G.C. Brooks. "On intellectual correlates of Black student attrition." Journal of College Student Personnel, 13, (4).
- Doughty, R. (1977). "The Black women in administration." Integrated Education, 15, 34-37.
- Douglass, F. (1881). Life and times of Frederick Douglass, Written by himself. Hartford: Park Publishing Company.
- Doxey, A. W. (1968). Unnumbered leaf in Carter G. Woodson, The education of the Negro prior to 1861. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times.
- DuBois, W.E.B. (1979). The souls of Black folk. Tennessee: The Fisk University Press.

- DuBois, W.E.B. (1971). Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880. New York: Atheneum.
- (1908). "The Negro American family." Atlanta University Study No. 13. Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press.
- and Dill, A.G. (eds.) (1911). The common school and the Negro American. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press.
- Edmonds, R. (1979). "Effective schools for the urban poor." Educational Leadership, 37, (2), 15-24.
- Edmonds, R. and Frederiksen, J.R. (1979). Search for effective schools: The identification and analysis of city schools that are instructionally effective for poor children. Cambridge: Harvard University, Center for Urban Studies.
- Epstein, C.F. (1973). "Black and female: The double whammy." Psychology Today, 1, (3) 57-62.
- . "Positive effects of the multiple negative: Explaining the success of Black professional women." AJS 78 (4).
- Fallon, B.J. (1979). "Principals are instructional leaders--Hit or myth." NASSP Bulletin, 63, (423), 67-71.
- Farley, J. (ed.) (1983). The women in management. Ithaca: ILR Press.
- Farley, J., Brewer, J.H. and Fine, S.W. (1977). "Women's values: Changing faster than men's?" Sociology of Education, 50, 151.
- Farley, R. and Allen W. (1988). The color line and the quality of life: The problem of the 20th century. Oxford University Press.
- Fenn, M. (1980). In the spotlight: Women executives in a changing environment. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

- Fleming, J. (1983). "Black women in Black and White college environments: The making of a matriarch." Journal of Social Issues, 39 (3), 41-54.
- Franklin, J.H. (1987). From slavery to freedom: A history of Negro Americans. 6th ed. New York: Knopf.
- _____. (1964). Reconstruction after the Civil War. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Frazier, E.F. (1966). The Negro family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. (1932). The free Negro family: A study of family origins before the Civil War. Nashville: Fisk University Press.
- Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Seabury Press.
- Friedan, B. (1977). The feminine mystique. New York: Dell Publishing.
- _____. (1981). The second stage. New York: Sunset Books.
- Garawski, R.A. (1978). "The assistant principal: His job satisfaction and organization potency." Clearing House, 52 (1), 8-10.
- Gatz, M.; Gease, E.; Tyler, F.; and Moran, J. (1982). "Psychosocial competence characteristics of Black and White women: The constraining effects of triple jeopardy." Black Scholar, 13, 5012.
- Gehrke, N. (1988). "On preserving the essence of mentoring as one form of teacher leadership." Journal of Teacher Education.
- Gentry, A.; Jones, B.; Peelle, C.; Phillips, R.; Woodbury, J.; and Woodbury, R. (1972). Urban education: The hope factor. Philadelphia: Saunders.
- Giddings, P. (1984). When and where I enter. New York: Williams Morrow & Company.

- Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Glazer, M. (1979). Women in a man-made world. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Gray, S.W. and Associates (1966). Before first grade. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gutman, H.G. (1976). The Black family in slavery and freedom, 1750-1925. New York: Random House.
- Harian, A. & Weiss, C. (1980). Moving up: Women in managerial careers. Wellesley: Wellesley College, Center for Research on Women.
- Haring-Hidore, M.H. (November 1987). "Mentoring as a career enhancement strategy for women." Journal of Counseling and Development, Vol. 66.
- Harlan, L.R. (1975). Booker T. Washington: Vol. I The making of a Black leader 1856-1901. Vol II The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harmon, L.W. (1980). Life and career plans of young adult college women: A follow-up study. Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Montreal.
- Harragan, B.L. (1977). Games mother never taught you: Corporate gamesmanship for women. New York: Rawson Associates.
- Havighurst, R.J.; Leob, M.B.; and Warner, L.W. (1944). Who shall be educated? The challenge of unequal opportunity. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.
- Henniger, M.L. (1987). "Recruiting students at the high school level: The education week experience." Action in Teacher Education, 8(4)
- Hill, R. (1971). "Strengths of the Black family." Mimeographed. Washington, DC: National Urban League.

- Hochschild, A. (1983). The managed heart. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Horner, M.S. (1972). Toward an Understanding of Achievement-related Conflicts in Women. Journal of Social Issues, 28, 157-176.
- Huberman, A.M. and Miles, M.B. (1985). "Local causality in qualitative research" in Berg and Smith's The self in social inquiry. pp. 361-369.
- _____. (1984). Innovation up close: How school improvement works. New York: Plenum Press.
- Hughes, L. (1970). "Mother to son," in The poetry of the Negro, 1746-1970. New York: Doubleday.
- Hurley, D. (1988). "The mentor mystique: Special kinds of teachers and gurus may help you realize your dreams. But can mentors be made to order?" Psychology Today.
- Hurston, Z. (1938). Their eyes were watching God. London: J.M. Dent and Sons.
- Jackson, S.M. (Ed.,) (1982). Management basics for minority women. Washington, D.C.: Women's Educational Equity Act Program.
- Jones J. (1986). Labor of love, labor of sorrow: Black women, work, and the family from slavery to the present. New York: Vintage Press.
- Jones, B.L. (1976). Urban schools and planning for community development. Unpublished paper.
- Jones, B.L. & Maloy, R.W. (1988). Partnerships for improving schools. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Jordon, W.D. (1974). The White man's burden: Historical origins of racism in the United States. Oxford: University Press.
- Josefowitz, N. (1980). Paths to power: A woman's guide from first job to top executive. Reading: Addison-Wesley.

- Kanter, R.M. (1977). Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books.
- _____. (1980). Paperpulls. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- _____. (October, 1979). "You don't have to play by their rules." Ms. Magazine, pp. 63-65; 107-108.
- Katz, E. and Rapone, A. (1980). Women experiences in America. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Kellerman, B. (Ed.). (1984). Leadership. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Kessler, R.C., Price, R.H., and Wortman, C.B. (1985). "Social factors in psychopathology: Stress, social support and coping processes." Annual Review of Psychology 36.531-72.
- Kessler-Harris, A. (1982). Out to work: A history of wage-earning women in the United States. New York: Oxford University Press.
- King, C. (1969). My life with Martin Luther King, Jr.. New York: Holt.
- Kleinmann, C. (1980). Women's networks. New York: Lippincott & Crowell.
- Kluger, R. (1975). Simple justice: The history of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's struggle for equality. New York: Vintage Books.
- Korda, M. (1978). "Women and success." In Success. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Kortokraz-Clark, D. (1987). "The minority teacher shortage: An overview and a solution." Action in Teacher Education, 8(4).
- Kovarsky, I. and Albrecht, W. (1970). Black Employment. Ames: The Iowa State University Press.
- Kram, K. (1983). "Phases of the mentor relationship." Administrative Science Quarterly.

- Kram, K.E. and Isabella, L.A. (1985). "Mentoring alternatives: The role of peer relationships in career development." Academy of Management Journal.
- Kraus, W. (1980). Collaboration in organizations: alternatives to hierarchies. New York: Human Sciences Press.
- Kriekard, J.S. (1980). Using the competency approach to define the principalship. NASSP Bulletin, 64, 1-8.
- LaBella, A. and Leach, D. (1983). Personal power: The guide for today's working woman. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Ladner, J. Tomorrow's tomorrows: The Black woman. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- Lebsock, S. (1984). The free women of Petersburg: Status and culture in a southern town, 1784-1960. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Lerner, G. (1973). Black women in White America. New York: Vintage Books.
- Lester, V. and Johnson, C. (1981). "The learning dialogue: Mentoring." New directions for student services: Education for student development, Edited by J. Fried. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Levison, D. and others. (1978). Seasons of a man's life. New York: Kropf.
- Lieberman, A. (1988). "Expanding the leadership team." Educational Leadership.
- ____ and Miller, L. (1984). Teachers, their world and their work: Implications for school improvement. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Lightfoot, S.L. (1980). "Families as educators: The forgotten people of brown," Bell, Derrick. Shades of brown, new perspectives on school desegregation. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

- Lightfoot, S.L. (1983). The good high school: Portraits of character and culture. New York: Basic Books.
- _____. (1988). Balm in Gilead: Journey of a healer. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Lindsay, J.N. (1985). "Groom your assistants for the big time." Executive Educator, 7, (2), 41, 48.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). Street level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lipsky, S. "Internalized oppression." Workshop Handout, University of Massachusetts.
- Lorde, A. and Rich, A. (1981). "An interview with Audre Lorde." Signs 6.
- Lortie, D.C. (1975). School teacher; A sociological study. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Love, B. Unpublished selected bibliographies on women. Center for Urban Education, Resource Center on Women in Higher Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
- _____. (1977). "Desegregation in your school: Behavior patterns that get in the way," Phi Delta Kappan.
- _____. (19--). "Racism, sexism & internalized oppression", The participation of women in the academic community--A workshop given by Barbara Love.
- Lowney, R.G. (1986). "Mentor teachers: The California model." Phi Delta Kappan.
- Lozoff, M.M. (1974). "Fathers and autonomy in women." In Ruth Kundsin, ed. Women and success. New York: William Morrow.
- Lyles, M.A. (1983). "Strategies in helping women managers--or anyone." In Personnel 60, 67-77.
- Maccoby, E. & Jacklin, C. (1974). The psychology of sex differences. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Maccoby, E. and Maccoby, N. (1954). "The interview: A tool of social science." In Handbook of social psychology, edited by G. Lindzey, Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Mack, D. (1978). The power relationship in Black families and White families; The Black family; essays and studies, Robert Staples (Ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- _____. (1971). "Where the Black matriarchy theorists went wrong." Psychology Today 4 (January) 24, 87 ff.
- MacLeod, J. (19--). Ain't no makin' aspirations in low-income neighborhoods. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Malone, W.C. (1981). Help your assistant principal climb the ladder to success. Executive Educator, 2, (4), 27 and 37.
- Mandel, R.B. (1982). Women and political leadership. Washington, DC: State Legislature.
- Martin, E. & Martin, J. (1978). The Black extended family. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marsh, L. (1981). Nobody knows the principals I've seen. Educational Leadership, 38 (7), 542-543.
- McAdoo, H. (1980). "Black mothers and the extended family support network." The Black woman. Rodgers-Rose, ed. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publication.
- _____. (1981). Black families. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- McCarthy, M. & Zent, A. (March 1982). "Affirmative action for school administrators: Has it worked, can it survive?" Phi Delta Kappan, 461-463.
- McCarthy, M.M. & Webb, L.D. (April 1977). "Women and school administrators: A status report." NASSP Bulletin, 49-57.
- Miller, L. & Lieberman, A. (1982). "School leadership between the cracks." Educational Leadership, 39 (5), 362-367.

- Milletts, K. (1970). Sexual politics. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Missirian, A.K. (1980). "The process of mentoring in the career development of female managers." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts.
- Mitchell, M. (1980). "Assistant principals can be effective counselors, mediators." NASSP Bulletin, 64 (436), 29-32.
- Moody, A. (1970). Coming of age in Mississippi. Delta Publishing.
- Moore, D.M. and Sangaria, M. (1979). Moibiity and mentoring: Indications from a study of women administrators. ERIC Clearinghouse, Ed 177 975.
- Moynihan, D.P. (1965). The Negro family: The case for national action. Washington, DC: United States Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research.
- Nathan, J. (1984). Free to teach: Achieving equity and excellence in schools. Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press.
- National Center for Education Statistics (1977). Number of administrative staff employed by public school systems, by type of assignment, sex, state, and outlying area. Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools. Washington, DC
- National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983). A nation at risk: A report to the nation and the Secretary of Education. Washington, DC: United States Department of Education.
- National Education Association. (October 1971). Professional women in public schools, 1970-71. NEA Research Bulletin, 67-68.
- National Education Association. (1971). Research Division Research Report 1971-R5, 25th Biennial Salary Survey of Public Professional Personnel 1970-71. Washington, DC

National Education Association. (1973). Research Division Research Report 1973-R8, Estimates of School Statistics, 1973-74. Washington, DC

National Education Association (NEA). (1974). NEA Research Report 1973-R8, Estimates of School Statistics, 1973-74. Washington, DC

National Education Association Research. (1982). Status of the American Public School Teacher, 1980-81. National Education Association, Washington, DC

National Education Association. (1984). An open letter to America on schools, students, and tomorrow. Washington, DC

The National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). A nation at risk: The imperative for education reform. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Noble, Jeanne (1978). Beautiful also are the souls of my Black sisters. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Pharis, W.L. & Zakarlyya, S.B. (1979). "The elementary school principalship in 1978: A research study." National Association of Elementary School Principals. Arlington, VA.

Phillips-Jones, L. (1983). "Establishing a formalized mentoring program." Training and Development Journal.

Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute (July 1974). "Women in administrative positions in public education." Philadelphia, PA.

Redfern, Bernice (1989). Women of color in the U.S.: A guide to the literature. New York: Garland Publishing

Reich, M. (1981). Racial inequality: A political-economic analysis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

_____. (1986). "The mentor connection." Personnel.

Reid, Inez Smith (1972). "Together" Black women. New York: Third Press.

- Richmond, A. (1979). The American woman: Her past, her present, her future. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Roble, E.A. (1975). "Challenge to management." In E. Ginzberg and A. Yokalem (Eds.). Corporate lib: Women's challenge to management. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Robinson, V. (November 2, 1981). "Women in the principalship: Why so few when once there were so many?" Education Times.
- Roche, G.R. (1979). "Much ado about mentors." Harvard Business Review, 57, 14-28.
- Rogalin, W.C. and Pell, A.R. (1975). Woman's guide to management positions. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rogers, C.R. (1951). Client-centered therapy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- _____. (1961). On becoming a person. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Sarason, S.B. (1982). The culture of the school and the problem of change. 2nd ed., Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- _____. (1972). The Creation of settings and the future societies. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schreiber, C.T. (1980). Changing places: Men and women in transitional occupations. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press.
- Scarf, M. (1980). Unfinished business. New York: Doubleday Books.
- Schultz, A. (1967). The phenomenology of the social world. (George Walsh & Frederick Lenhart, trans.). Evanston, IL: Northeastern University Press.
- Scott, H. (1980). The Black school superintendent-messiah or scapegoat? Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.

Seidman, E. (1985). In the words of the faculty: perspectives on improving teaching and educational quality in community colleges. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.

Seidman, E., Sullivan, P., & Schatzkamer, M.B. (April 1983). The few among the many: Profiles of minority community college faculty. Paper presented at American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, April, 1983.

Seidman, E., Sullivan, P. and Schatzkamer, M.B. (September 1983). "What we have learned about in-depth phenomenological interviewing." Chapter XIV, The work of community college faculty: A study through in-depth interviews. Final report to National Institute of Education. NIE Grant No. 6-810056.

Seyle, H. (1958). The stress of life. New York: McGraw Hill.

Shaevitz, M.H. (1980). Making it together as a two-career couple. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Shreve, A. (1988). "Mutual mentors." Working women.

Silberman, C.E. (1970). Crisis in the classroom. New York: Random House.

Sills, D. (1952). The volunteers: Means and ends in a national organization. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Simms, R. (1982). Shadow and substance: Afro American experience in contemporary children's fiction. Urbana, IL.

Sizer, T.R. (1984). Horace's compromise: The dilemma of the American high school. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Smith, E.E. (1989). "The report of the task force on Black and Hispanic student enrollment and retention in New England" in Equity and pluralism: Full Participation of Blacks and Hispanics in New England Higher Education. New England Board of Higher Education.

- Smith, J.P. (Ed.). Female labor supply. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smuts, R.W. (1971). Women and work in America. New York: Schocken Books.
- Solomon, B.M. (1985). In the company of educated women. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Splekberger, C. (1979). Understanding stress and anxiety. New York: Harper and Row.
- Stack, C.B. (1974). All our kin: Strategies for survival in the Black community. New York: Harper & Row.
- Staines, G., Travis, C., and Jayaratne, T.E. (January 1984). "The queen bee syndrome." In Psychology Today.
- Stampf, Kenneth M. (1956). The peculiar institution: Slavery in the ante-bellum south. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sterling, Dorothy (1984). We are your sisters: Black women in the nineteenth century. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Tax, M. (1980). The rising of the women. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Terborg, J. (1977). "Women in management: A research review." Journal of Applied Psychology, 62, 647-664.
- Terborg, J. & Ligen, O.R. (1975). "A theoretical approach to sex discrimination in traditionally masculine occupations." Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 13, 352-376.
- Theis-Sprinthall, L. and Sprinthall, N.A. (1987). "Experienced teachers: Agents for revitalization and renewal as mentors and teacher educators." Journal of Education.
- Thomas, A.E. (1983). Like it is. New York: Dutton.
- Thomas-Collier, B. (19--). "The impact of Black women in education: An historical overview." Journal of Negro Education, 51, (3), 173-180.

- Thompson, D.C. (1963). The Negro leadership class. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Thurow, L.C. (1980). The zero sum society: Distribution and the possibilities for economic change. New York: Penguin Books.
- Toffler, A. (1970). Future shock. New York: Random House.
- Treiman, D. & Hartmann, H. (1981). Women, work, and wages: Equal pay for jobs of equal value. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Treiman, D. (1979). Job evaluation: An analytical review. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Tyler, R.W. (1949). Basic principles of curriculum and instruction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Unger, R.K. (1979). Female and male: Psychological perspectives. New York: Harper and Row.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of population, 1980. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of labor statistics, Bulletin 2175, Washington, DC
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (May 1976). Families and the rise of working wives. Special Reports 189.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (June 1976). Women who head families: A socioeconomic analysis. Special Reports 190.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistic. (1979). Marital and family characteristics of workers: 1970-1978. Special Reports 219.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1979). Women in the labor force: Some new data series. Special Reports 575.

- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1977). U.S. working women: A datebook. Special Reports 1977.
- Walker, A. (1982). The color purple. New York: Pocket Books.
- Wallace, P.A. (1980). Black women in the labor force. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Washington, M.H. (1987). Invented lives: Narratives of Black women, 1860-1960. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.
- Weinberg, M. (1977). A chance to learn: A history of race and education in the United States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 13 & 41.
- Weingarten, K. and Daniels, P. (1978). Family/career decisions in women's lives. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley Center for Research on Women.
- Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. "The economic condition of Black women: A report of the National Invitational Conference." Research Report 3 (Spring, 1980).
- West, N. (1979). Leadership with a feminine cast. San Francisco: R & E Associates.
- Williams, George W. (1883). History of the Negro race in America from 1800-1880. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Willie, C.V. (1975). Oreo on race and marginal men and women. Wakefield, MA: Parameter Press.
- Wise, A.E. (1979). Legislated learning. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Woodson, C.G. (1969). Mis-education of the Negro. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers.
- (1968). The education of the Negro prior to 1861. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times.
- and Wesley, C.H. (1935). The story of the Negro retold. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers.

Wright, N. Jr. (1970). What Black educators are saying.
New York: Hawthorn Books.

Wright, M.L. (1980). Black women: Do they cope better?
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

RESEARCH/RESOURCE CENTERS

Black Women's Studies Institute, CUNY-Medgar Evers College,
1150 Carroll St., Brooklyn, NY 11225

National Archives for Black Women in History, 1318 Vermont
Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20005

SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS

BETA - Black Educators & Teachers Associations. National
Black Caucus.

Black Women's Agenda, Inc., 208 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, GA
30303

National Institute for Women of Color, 1400 20th Street, NW,
Suite 104, Washington, DC 20036

National Council of Negro Women, 1211 Connecticut AVE., NW,
Suite 702, Washington, DC 20036

