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**A STUDY OF BLACK WOMEN PROFESSORS AND THE MULTIPLE
FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THEIR CAREER ASPIRATIONS
TO ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS**

By

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF BLACK WOMEN PROFESSORS AND THE MULTIPLE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THEIR CAREER ASPIRATIONS TO ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

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The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the disparity between black women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of black women professors. Cultural considerations, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, the world of work, and racial considerations were examined to determine their influence on these women professors.

In this descriptive study, a random sample of assistant, associate, and full professors was chosen from the main campuses of the Big Ten Conference institutions. A structured questionnaire was sent to the professors. Data analyses included frequency distribution of all the items, cross-tabulations with chi-square tests, t-test of significance at the .05 alpha level with various degrees of freedom, comparison of means with analysis of variance, and correlations of factors.

Findings indicated that significant differences existed between black and white women professors on the cultural, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and racial factors. The following outcomes were significant:

1. The majority of both groups of professors aspired to administrative positions; a slightly higher percentage of black professors did so. The higher the position level, the lower the percentage of aspirants.
2. The largest number of full professors were black, and the largest number of associate professors were white.
3. The largest number of doctorates were held by black women.
4. The majority of both black and white respondents taught in urban communities. More whites than blacks taught in rural communities.
5. The majority of black respondents' mothers had worked all their growing years; the majority of the white respondents' mothers had not worked.
6. The majority of the black respondents were employed in social science and education, whereas the majority of white respondents were employed in physical sciences.
7. Race, education, and racial factors positively influenced career aspirations.
9. Teaching level and mother's work years negatively influenced career aspirations.
10. Racial group and educational level positively influenced career aspirations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Fifteen years ago, Karr (1982) investigated the disparity between women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of women professors. Her investigation focused on whether factors such as culture, educational climate, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and world of work had an influence on women professors' aspirations for a position in administration. In her study, Karr dealt with women in general. She did not address specific groups of women. However, whenever a researcher proposes to study women, he or she should identify which women are being examined.

In this study, the researcher studied black professional women in higher education administration. Black professional women were chosen because they are concentrated in the fields of education and social science (Harvard, 1986). Moreover, they continue to make contributions in education. Using the same multiple factors as Karr did, in addition to racial considerations, this researcher investigated how such factors influence black women professors' aspirations for a position in administration.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher's purpose in this study was to investigate the disparity between black women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of black women professors. Also of interest was whether factors such as culture, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, the world of work, and racial considerations have an influence on black women professors' aspirations for an administrative position.

Research Questions

The following questions were posed to guide the collection of data for this study:

- 1. Do black and white women respondents differ in their aspirations for an administrative position in higher education?**
- 2. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of demographic characteristics?**
- 3. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of cultural considerations?**
- 4. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of educational factors?**
- 5. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of personal perspectives?**
- 6. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of psychological aspects?**

7. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of world-of-work perspectives?
8. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of racial considerations?
9. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of major teaching departments?
10. Do black and white women respondents differ in terms of perceived primary academic responsibility?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated to analyze the data collected in this study:

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in aspirations for an administrative position in higher education between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference in demographic characteristics between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference in cultural considerations between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in educational factors between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant difference in personal perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant difference in psychological aspects between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 7: There is a significant difference in world-of-work perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 8: There is a significant difference in racial considerations between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 9: There is a significant difference in major teaching departments between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 10: There is a significant difference in perceived primary academic responsibility between black and white women respondents.

Importance of the Study

The study is important because it focused on the black professional woman in the field of administration in higher education. Black women have figured prominently in the history of education. This is perhaps because, in large measure, teaching was the only profession open to the black woman until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when nursing became established as an area in which women—black and white—might serve. For the black woman, education was the means for improving her race. Perkins (1983) revealed that, as early as 1837, black women were encouraged to get an education for "race uplift" (p. 4).

Second, this study is important because both sexism and racism have been discriminatory realities for black women in higher education (Carey, 1979; Giddings, 1984). Epstein (1973) coined the term "double whammy" to describe the situation when racism and sexism are teamed together. It refers to the double ascribed minority status of black professional women. According to Howard-Vital (1987), black women are at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, subject to racial and sexual discrimination at all levels of academic life. They are underrepresented in

community colleges and senior institutions, where they tend to serve as assistants to assistants.

The black woman must contend with the gender bias that all professional white women experience. In addition, she must contend with racism. Because race is such an important factor in this study, it will be interesting to see what differences and/or similarities white women and their white counterparts have in common.

Third, this study is important because it focuses on the scarcity of research on black women in higher education (Shivers, 1985). Black women are lumped statistically under the broad headings of women, minority, or black; thus, they frequently are lost to the researcher. As Hull, Scott, and Smith (1982) noted, many researchers who have purported to study blacks have studied only black males; similarly, investigators who have focused on women have examined white females.

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) stated that black women in academia continue to be an area of research "victimized by scholarly neglect" (p. 161). Smith and Stewart (1983) concluded that the neglect of scholars to study black women demonstrates "our inability to view contextual interactions that are pivotal to defining commonalities and differences between racism and sexism" (p. 5). Perhaps this scarcity of research alone validates the need for conducting studies on black women in higher education.

Fourth, this study is of considerable importance because it focused on a serious problem in society—the problem of inequality. The 1985 College Board

publication entitled Equality and Excellence: The Educational Status of Black Americans included the following data on black women:

According to the College Board, black women have increased their share of degrees at all levels except at masters. In 1980-81, the majority of black females received B.A. degrees in business, education or social science. . . . Black women also accounted for the increases in doctoral and professional degrees. (There was an increase of 29% in doctorates and an increase of 71% in professional degrees.) (pp. 7-8)

Despite such gains by black women in degree attainment, both the American Council on Education and the College Board concluded that blacks have failed to reach enrollment in higher education proportional to their numbers in the general American population. This lack of proportional representation would tend to support the finding that black women feel isolated in higher education. This isolation of black women extends from undergraduate to professional experiences, according to the literature. Perhaps the most apparent cause of this isolation is primarily a lack of numbers. Carroll (1982) wrote,

Black women in higher education are isolated, underutilized and often demoralized. They note the efforts made to provide equal opportunities for black men and white women in higher education, while they somehow are left behind in the work of both the black and feminist movements. (p. 115)

This assertion contradicts the popular belief that because black women satisfy two criteria, race and gender, they have a corner on the employment market. If that is the case, why are there so few visible black women in higher education? Moreover, black career women constitute a larger proportion of the black professional community than white women in the professional world, but not as faculty members and administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities (Williams, 1985).

It is hoped that studies like this one will be significant if they provide data concerning those factors that influence black women to aspire to administrative positions.

Assumptions

This study was based on the following two assumptions:

1. Black women have the necessary attributes to enable them to assume the necessary responsibilities associated with an academic administrative position.
2. An individual's gender and race should not be a qualification in the selection process for an educational administrative position.

Delimitations and Limitations

The following delimitations and limitations were inherent in this study:

1. The data collected were based only on institutions in the Big Ten Conference.
2. The investigation was delimited to six categories of black women professors' aspirations in higher education administration: cultural considerations, racial considerations, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and world of work.
3. The descriptive nature of the study represents a limitation inasmuch as it described only what respondents perceived to be true and not what is true.
4. The data gathered in the study were affected by the degree of sincerity and frankness with which participants responded to the questionnaire.

5. The relationship between factors in this study was viewed as correlational and not causal.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined in the context in which they are used in this dissertation:

Academic administration positions. Positions in higher education of an administrative nature that call for responsibility for organizing, planning, directing, and evaluating the organization as a subdivision. In this study, such positions include president, vice-president, dean of a major academic unit, chief academic officer, and department chairperson.

Aspiration. The seeking after or active application for a particular level of educational administration.

Faculty. The persons responsible for teaching and departmental research activities who hold faculty rank, including academic department heads.

Higher education. Undergraduate through graduate programs, in this study limited to programs in the Big Ten Conference universities.

Multiple factors. Elements that may correctly or incorrectly influence career progression. They include cultural considerations, racial considerations, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and the influence of the world of work.

Women professors. Those who hold an academic position in the Big Ten Conference institutions in the rank of assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor.

Procedures

A survey instrument was used to obtain the necessary data to respond to the research questions. The instruments were mailed to a random sample of black and white women professors at the Big Ten Conference institutions: Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, the University of Minnesota, Purdue University, the University of Illinois, the University of Iowa, Northwestern University, the Ohio State University, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Indiana University.

Overview

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter I contained a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the research questions and hypotheses, the importance of the study, assumptions, delimitations and limitations, and definitions of key terms. Chapter II contains a review of literature on topics relevant to the study. The method of investigation is explained in Chapter III. Included are the sampling and data-collection procedures, the survey instrument, and the method of analysis. The results of the data analyses with respect to the research questions are presented and discussed in Chapter IV. Chapter V contains

a summary of the findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, implications, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

In In Search of Excellence, Peters and Waterman (1983) researched successful American companies and discovered that their success was recognizing the importance of human resources. In regard to understanding human nature, they concluded that "we are creatures of our environment, very sensitive and responsive to external rewards and punishment. We are also strongly driven from within, self motivated" (p. 56). They further stated that people desperately need meaning in their lives and need independence to feel as though they are in charge of their destinies. The authors reasoned that successful companies know this and provide work opportunities that continually reinforce this belief. However, what Peters and Waterman discovered is not new. In the 1700s, the German philosopher Gottfried Leibnitz (cited in Biehler, 1974) conceived of man as "purposive and self-directed" (p. 410). He opposed John Locke's theory that the mind is a *tabula rasa* (blank tablet) at birth and that humans learn only through the senses.

Later, Maslow (cited in Biehler, 1974) developed a systematic description of a theory of motivation, similar to Leibnitz's view. He proposed a hierarchy of needs, starting with physiological needs at the bottom and working up through safety needs,

needs for belonging and love, esteem needs, the need for self-actualization, and the desires to know and to understand, and culminating in aesthetic needs. According to Maslow's theory of growth motivation, when a person's lower deficiency needs are satisfied, he or she will feel motivated to satisfy the higher-level growth needs. According to him, we all share these deficit needs; however, we each have different growth needs.

Subsequently, Herzberg (1968) looked at motivation as it related to the work situation. He investigated how employees are motivated by examining events in the lives of engineers and accountants. He concluded that there are two distinct needs of humans, which produce job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction. However, these needs are mutually exclusive. One has no effect on the other, nor is one dependent on the other. Herzberg termed these two sets of needs hygiene (dissatisfiers) and motivators (satisfiers). A summary of his two-factor theory of job satisfaction is: To make people satisfied in the workplace, take care of the dissatisfiers; to motivate them, take care of the satisfiers.

The motivator factors or growth needs that are intrinsic to the job are achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility, and growth or advancement (Herzberg, 1968). The hygiene factors or dissatisfiers that are extrinsic to the job include company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, salary, status, and security (Herzberg, 1968). The basic assumption made in the business world—that people go to work to make money—is partially true. People also have the need to achieve

and, through achievement, to experience growth. Opportunities for growth are, and can be, secured in the academic setting. Although female faculty advance in status and salary (hygiene factors) by being granted tenure, they are not always selected for academic promotion and possible advancement into academic administration (motivators). Excluding women from significant involvement in administration and in the academics may preclude their ever satisfying their essential needs. Thus, the female faculty member's creative and productive capacity is not being used to its fullest extent.

This chapter contains a review of literature pertinent to the present research. The amount of literature on this topic is very limited. Very little research has been conducted specifically on black women in academe. Most research on racial/ethnic minority issues has treated minority groups as monolithic. Researchers have assumed that what is true for minority men is also true for minority women, and that what is true for white women also holds true for black women. In this chapter, the following topics are discussed:

1. Historical perspectives on women's advancement in higher educational administration.
2. The history of black women in higher education.
3. The status of black women employed in higher education.
4. Social and psychological factors influencing black women's career aspirations.

Historical Perspectives on Women's Advancement in Higher Educational Administration

The history of women administrators in colleges and universities in the United States is related to the history of women's access to higher education. Before women were admitted to colleges as students, the only avenue to men's colleges was through domestic employment like kitchen work or room cleaning.

The nineteenth century was a time of transition in regard to the education of women. At the beginning of the century, the majority of people opposed such education. Debates on the danger of education surrounded the question of education for white women. These arguments stated that higher education not only reduced a woman's chance of marriage but also resulted in physical and psychological damage (Woody, 1929). However, by the end of the century, the idea that women would be educated became reality. It was apparent that, within a democratic society, women must be educated. The nature of that education remained a matter of extensive debate.

As early as 1787, Benjamin Rush, in his publication Thoughts on Female Education, stated that women should be educated to become "stewards and guardians" of the family assets. And Noah Webster (cited in Perkins, 1983) warned that "education is always wrong which raises a woman above her station" (p. 20). Even as high schools for women became available before the Civil War, historian Thomas Woody (1929), in his seminal history of women's education, noted that the primary purposes of such institutions were to (a) extend the scope of female education, (b) increase the social usefulness of women, and (c) train teachers for the

lower grades as opposed to the preparation for college, which was the primary aim of the male high school.

Observers of the early nineteenth century frequently have cited the emergence of the "cult of true womanhood" as significantly shaping women's education during this period (Perkins, 1983). This concept of the "true woman" emphasized innocence, modesty, piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Female education was necessary for the molding of the ideal woman. Such education reinforced the idea of women's natural position of subordination and focused on women's being loving wives and good mothers. Literacy was deemed important for the reading of the Bible and other religious materials (Perkins, 1983). And needlepoint, painting, music, art, and French dominated the curriculum of "female" education (Cott, 1977; Rosenberg, 1982; Rothman, 1978; Welter, 1966). This "true womanhood" model was designed for upper- and middle-class white women, although poorer white women could aspire to that status.

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic shift in the social and economic fabric of the nation. The growth of factories and increased industry provided employment outside the home. With the coming of urbanization and industrialization, a new role for women emerged. In the early nineteenth century, women's "proper sphere" was emphasized as being within the home (Rothman, 1978). Throughout the antebellum years, white women were deluged with sermons and speeches stressing the "duty" of a "true woman" (Perkins, 1983). These speeches and sermons were reinforced by a proliferation of magazine and

journal articles and other printed materials that focused on instructing women about their proper sphere (Cott, 1977).

In the United States, higher education for women was begun in the 1820s and 1830s, with the founding of seminaries for white women. Emma Willard established the Troy Female Seminary in New York in 1821. She was the first person to have a vision of an institution that would give women an academic education that would make them qualified to teach in any school in the country. Historian Ann Firor Scott (1979) pointed out in her study of the Troy Female Seminary that the school combined the true-womanhood ideal with feminist values. Under the direction of Emma Willard, the institution sought to preserve the traditional social and political status of women while challenging the notion of women's inferior intellectual status. Despite this challenge to society's view of the intellectual inferiority of women, the Troy Seminary instilled within its students the belief that "feminine delicacy . . . was a primary and indispensable virtue" (Perkins, 1983, p. 20).

Shortly afterwards, in 1832, Catharine Beecher established the Hartford Seminary in Connecticut along the same lines as the Troy Female Seminary and later wrote widely about the need for better educated wives and mothers. The final member of this trio of founding mothers of women's academic education was Mary Lyon, who in 1837 established Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts. These women saw a need for better training for women to be more capable wives and mothers and, before marriage, teachers. They served as the first female administrators in women's educational history. Other such seminaries proliferated

In the nation before the Civil War. These institutions began the professional training of female teachers. However, few opened their doors to black women on a continuous basis.

Studies of the students and graduates of white female high schools and seminaries have confirmed that marriage usually terminated the employment of the women educated in those institutions. Teaching, the predominant profession of those women, was merely a way-station until matrimony. Scott's (1979) work on Troy women students and graduates during the period from 1822 through 1872 indicated that only 6% worked during marriage and that only 26% worked at any time during their lives. Although the majority of the student population taught at some point in their lives, most did so for fewer than five years. Only 6% made teaching a lifetime profession.

After the Civil War, the first real colleges for women were established. Their purposes differed little from those of the Troy Seminary or Mount Holyoke. Of the first three women's colleges, Vassar (1865), Wellesley (1875), and Smith (1875), only the third had a female benefactor. And only Wellesley opened its doors with a female president, Jane Howard, a Mount Holyoke graduate. However, she served only in a nominal role because Henry Fowle Durant, the school's benefactor, actually ran the school (Solomon, 1985).

In 1884, Bryn Mawr was founded by Joseph Taylor as a conservative Quaker institution to train mothers. However, its dean and second president, Martha Carey

Thomas, changed its purpose to one of equaling the academic rigor of the best of men's universities. She served as the first effective woman in college administration. At the same time as the first official women's colleges were founded, two other forms of women's higher education were emerging. The more conservative of the two was the coordinate college, a women's college run in conjunction with a men's college. An example of a coordinate college is Barnard College for women, established by Columbia University in 1889. Harvard established Radcliffe in 1894 to accommodate the demands of the wives, sisters, and daughters of Harvard alumni who sought a Harvard education for themselves. Other examples of the coordinate arrangement are Pembroke with Brown and Sophie Newcomb with Tulane.

Although the administrative structures of coordinate women's colleges varied, a female was likely to be hired as the dean or possibly president but reported to a male administrator in the adjoining male school. Some coordinate colleges hired their own faculty, who were sometimes moonlighting faculty from the adjoining men's institution, and a few shared faculty with the men's institution. Whatever the arrangement, in most cases the coordinate college remained heavily dependent on the good will of male administrators in men's institutions.

The second alternative to single-sex education was coeducation. Oberlin College in Ohio is rightly credited with being the first coeducational college in the United States, with its policy to admit women to its secondary program from the college's founding in 1834 and to its collegiate program in 1837 (Fairchild, 1883). A number of other small private midwestern institutions such as Olivet and Antioch

followed Oberlin's lead. Although a philosophical conviction of the equality of the sexes was the major reason for the admission decisions, the need for enough students to make the institutions viable was an equally compelling reason for women's admission.

The first public institutions to adopt the coeducational model were in the West and the Midwest. The University of Washington opened as a coeducational institution in 1862. The University of Iowa, founded in 1856, became coeducational in 1860. The University of Wisconsin became coeducational in 1860, and the University of Michigan did so in 1870. They were gradually followed by nearly all public state universities, with the University of Virginia being the last to admit women as undergraduates, in 1971, under federal court order.

The move to coeducation virtually guaranteed that one administrative position at each institution would be filled by a woman: a dean of women or a position with a different name but similar duties. Although this position gave women a start in university administration, chances of advancement from it were slim. The twentieth century has witnessed the continuance and evolution of all three kinds of women's higher education—single sex, coordinate, and coeducational—but a somewhat limited growth in the numbers of women administrators.

Women's colleges continued to have the most women administrators, except in the South, where men usually have held presidencies. Roman Catholic women's colleges, established early in the century, often had female administrators, largely because they were founded by sisterhoods. As late as 1984 they still had the

highest proportion of women presidents of any group of colleges or universities in the country (Office of Women in Higher Education, 1984).

Coordinate colleges continued to thrive through the first half of the twentieth century, thus offering another outlet for the talents of female administrators. In the 1960s and 1970s, the status of a number of these institutions changed, reflecting contemporary demands for educational equity and more sexually integrated education. Radcliffe women began receiving a Harvard diploma in 1965, and now diplomas are awarded by Harvard-Radcliffe. Columbia did not actually admit women undergraduates until 1983. Despite these changes, women administrators continue to be highly sought after by the historically coordinate institutions.

Women's admission as students to coeducational institutions in the twentieth century did not necessarily make women administrators—or faculty—welcome. At the University of California at Berkeley, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, who served as dean of women in the early 1900s, and Jessica Peixotto, a female faculty member, felt so much hostility from male colleagues that they never attended a faculty meeting (Antler, 1988).

As land grant institutions developed home economics programs, women were hired to direct them, but again the opportunities for advancement into upper levels of university administration were limited (Ihle, 1991). Women faculty and administrators became the norm in departments such as nursing, public health, and home economics but often were excluded from mainstream disciplines and administrative responsibilities (Ihle, 1991).

An obvious conclusion from this brief overview of the history of women in educational administration is that, until very recently, women administrators have had more opportunity to excel in women's colleges and coordinate institutions than in coeducational ones. The historical perspective on women's advancement in higher educational administration was reviewed. As stated, the education of women was affected by the traditional role ascribed to women and the perceptions of the past. For purposes of this dissertation, however, a historical perspective is not complete without a review of the history of black women in higher education.

The History of Black Women in Higher Education

What higher education means has always varied according to the historical time and context. Both before and after the Civil War, many schools and colleges offered a combination of liberal arts and practical training. In the late nineteenth century, the growth of private secondary schools and the establishment of public high schools paved the way for more advanced collegiate study. The term "higher education" often applied to any studies beyond the elementary level, although the rate of educational development varied from region to region (Solomon, 1992). For example, southerners in the 1880s labeled as higher education what is now considered to be high school education, and even that education was a privilege available only to relatively few people.

During the same time period, however, other parts of the country were experiencing a significant expansion in the number of public high schools. When substantial populations of students were receiving a high school education, colleges

could raise their academic standards. As a result, the term "higher education" became equated with what might be considered at least two years of college today and, later, four years.

The black women who pursued college work in the nineteenth century truly were pioneers as the desirability of a college education for women of any race was still a debatable matter. As schools and, later, colleges for blacks opened in the decades following the Civil War, the goals and content of black women's education frequently were discussed. One such discussion concerned the moral improvement of the race.

The great concern for morality has been used to justify black women's education. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a commonly held idea, particularly among whites, was that black women tended to be promiscuous. Such a stereotype was clearly an affront to the moral reputation of black women. Whether or not they believed in this negative label, educators of blacks used the myth as a compelling argument for the further schooling of women. One such educator was William T. Alexander (1887). He embraced the widely accepted nineteenth-century belief that women were the key to the moral improvement of the human race through their influence in family life and therefore should be educated with this idea in mind. Alexander's belief in black womanhood can be summarized in the following statement:

Let her never be persuaded to forget that she is sent into the world to teach man that there is something more necessary than the claiming of rights, and that is the performing of duties; to teach him also that her rights should be respected, and her wrongs redressed; that her education should be such as

to draw out her powers of mind to the best advantage and their fullest extent: that there is something more than intellect, and that is purity and virtue. (Solomon, 1992, p. 46)

Alexander, however, offered no specifics as to the content of black women's higher education. Also, he made no reference to the necessity of preparing black women to work outside the home, unlike other educators of the time.

Other educators expressed their views on the perceptions of the moral conditions of the black woman by investigating reports made by others. They determined that the "extraordinarily strict regulations still in force in their schools during the 1920s were prompted by a racist belief that Negroes were particularly sensuous beings who could not discipline themselves and were not prepared to exercise free will" (Solomon, 1992, p. 50). However, upon further investigation, they concluded:

It appears that many of the Negro woman's [college] rules and regulations may possibly have been predicated on reasons relating to her foremother's sex role as a slave. . . . Her education in many instances appears to have been based on a philosophy which implied that she was weak and immoral and that at best she should be made fit to rear her children and to keep house for her husband. (Solomon, 1992, p. 51)

The second and foremost reason given for educating black women was for "race uplift" (Perkins, 1983, p. 17). For black women, education served as an avenue for the improvement of their race. Unlike their white counterparts, whose education was based on the true-womanhood philosophy, black women's education was based on the philosophy of race uplift during the nineteenth century. For white women, education served as a vehicle for developing homemaking skills and for reinforcing the role of wife and mother, as well as a milieu for finding a potential

husband. For black women, education served as an avenue for the improvement of their race. This education was for the entire race, and its purpose was to assist in the economical, educational, and social improvement of their enslaved and later emancipated race (Perkins, 1981).

During the period of the development of the norm of true womanhood, antebellum blacks struggled to abolish slavery and obtain equality in the nation. The theme of race uplift became the motto in black communities throughout the nation. One of the earliest black female educational societies, the Female Literary Association of Philadelphia, combined educational and civic objectives for the group's purposes. The preamble of the organization's constitution reflected the women's commitment to the philosophy of race uplift. It contained the following statement:

[It is our duty], as daughters of a despised race, to use our utmost endeavors to enlighten the understanding, to cultivate the talents entrusted to our keeping, that by so doing, we may in a great measure, break down the strong barrier of prejudice, and raise ourselves to an equality with those of our fellow beings, who differ from us in complexion. (Perkins, 1983, p. 19)

Unlike their white counterparts, black women were encouraged to become educated to aid in the improvement of their race. An article entitled "To the Females of Colour," which appeared in the January 7, 1837, issue of the New York black newspaper, The Weekly Advocate, urged black women to obtain an education. The article stated:

In any enterprise for the improvement of our people, either moral or mental, our hands would be palsied without women's influence. . . . Let our beloved female friends, then, rouse up, and exert all their power, in encouraging, and sustaining this effort [educational] which we have made to disabuse the public

mind of the misrepresentations made of our character, and to show the world, that there is virtue among us, though concealed; talent, though buried; intelligence, though overlooked. (Perkins, 1983, p. 19)

Although blacks perceived education as "uplifting," most whites viewed the education of blacks as threatening to their position of dominance. By the time of emancipation in 1863, every southern state had laws prohibiting the education of slaves, and in many instances of free blacks as well (Woodson, 1919/1968). However, before the 1830s, there were scattered opportunities for both free blacks and slaves in the nation to become literate. Catherine Ferguson, a slave who purchased her freedom, took advantage of such opportunities. In 1793, she took 48 children and opened Katy Ferguson's School for the poor in New York City. In 1820, 15-year-old Maria Becraft opened the first boarding school for black girls in Washington, D.C. By the 1830s, the number of black female graduates of schools run by whites had increased sufficiently to staff black schools in many communities.

The Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia became the training ground for a corps of women teachers who significantly raised the educational level of black schools and whose training could match that of the female graduates of white seminaries. In 1851, Myrtilla Miner, a white woman, opened a teachers' training school for black girls in Washington, D.C. Despite fierce opposition, lack of funds, harassment, and violence, she managed to maintain the school until 1859. It was on this foundation that her close associates continued, after the Civil War, to train teachers for the freedmen in Miners Teachers College, which is known today as District of Columbia Teachers College.

The decades of the 1830s and 1840s, in which free blacks sought access to educational institutions in the North, paralleled the founding of seminaries for white women. However, few seminaries opened their doors to black women. Advanced education was denied to black women longer than it was to white women. As a result, black and white women moved into the professions at different paces.

In 1833, Oberlin College administrators decided to admit both women and blacks on an equal basis with white men. Only nine black women could take advantage of this opportunity before 1871, and of these nine, only four graduated in 1870. Most of the earliest black college graduates, male and female, were Oberlin graduates (DuBois, 19090). In 1862, Oberlin bestowed the first baccalaureate degree on a black woman, Mary Jane Patterson. This event, happening before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, marks the beginning of higher education for black women in the United States.

It is significant that the first black woman college graduate received her training in a coeducational school and that a vast majority of black women, since then, have graduated from the same type of college. Coeducational schools were fostered primarily because they were less costly; southern states were not willing to set up separate colleges for men and for women because the overhead costs would have been doubled. Church organizations and other educational agencies have followed the same course, not always convinced that coeducation was the better course, but recognizing that it was the more expedient one.

It was not atypical for black families to relocate to Oberlin for the education of their daughters. When Fanny Jackson Coppin entered Oberlin in 1860, no black women in the nation had a college degree and very few black men were attempting higher education. Fanny Jackson Coppin expressed in her autobiography of 1913 that, from girlhood, her greatest ambition was "to get an education and to help [my] people" (Perkins, 1983, p. 21). Anna J. Cooper (1882), an Oberlin graduate of 1884 whose papers are housed at Howard University, stated that she decided to attend college while in kindergarten and devoted her entire life to the education of her race. Mary Church Terrell, also an Oberlin graduate of 1884, jeopardized her inheritance when her father, who wanted her to model her life on the upper-class-white true-womanhood ideal, threatened to disinherit her if she worked after graduating from Oberlin.

The history of the education of black women, therefore, does not parallel exactly that of white women. By the time Vassar College was founded in 1865, at least three black women had been awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Oberlin College. At the close of the Civil War, coeducational colleges for blacks sprang up in various places in the South, and the real education of black women began. Howard University, founded in 1867; Fisk University, founded in 1865; Atlanta University, founded in 1867; Shaw University, founded in 1865; Straight College, founded in 1869; and Tougaloo, founded in 1869, are among the important institutions that admitted women and men on the same basis. Those who entered

coeducational colleges studied the same subjects that men did. Indeed, there was only one course for students to follow—the traditional classical course.

Race uplift was the expected objective of all educated blacks. However, after the Civil War, responsibility for implementing this philosophy was placed primarily on the shoulders of black women. Women were prominent among the many educated blacks who migrated or returned south after emancipation to aid in the transition of emancipated blacks from slavery to freedom. Scores of black women went south to engage in the massive effort to educate the newly emancipated blacks (Blassingame, 1973; Williams, 1883).

Catapulted into a society that placed them in a most disadvantaged economic position, black women sought employment upon graduation. The majority of these graduates were in the teaching profession, which traditionally had been the main occupation for blacks and women. Teaching had provided the original justification for higher education. But the twentieth century opened other possibilities. Social work and school administration became options, with a few rarer possibilities in law, medicine, and business.

However, at the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, many elite blacks embraced the white male true-womanhood ideal of the 1820s and 1830s. As were New England white women of the antebellum period, black women were expected to be self-sacrificing and dutiful wives. Speeches and articles abound citing black women as the nurturers and the guardians, not the thinkers or leaders, of the race (Laney, 1899). Most black women educators accepted that

charge. By the end of the nineteenth century, sexism had increased significantly among educated blacks. It was clear that many black men viewed women as their intellectual subordinates and not capable of assuming leadership positions.

Fanny Coppin headed the prestigious Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, the oldest black private high school in the nation, from 1869 to 1901. After Coppin was forced to retire in 1901, the school was henceforth headed by black men. Likewise, the prestigious, oldest black public high school in the nation, M Street School in Washington, D.C., was initially headed by a black woman, Mary Jane Patterson. Patterson served as assistant principal to Coppin at the Institute for Colored Youth from 1865 to 1869 and was appointed principal of M Street School in 1869. She was removed several years later so that a male could head the institution. Anna Julia Cooper also served briefly as principal of M Street School, from 1901 to 1906, but was dismissed for refusing to adhere to the inferior curriculum prescribed for black students.

In the mid-twentieth century, black college-educated women continued to voice their concerns and opinions, despite the sexism of their male counterparts. They cited discrimination when they saw it in various forms. They spoke both of their own needs and of those of black women pursuing higher education. They began to produce leaders in higher education. One such black woman was Hattie Simmons Kelly. She was a student at Tuskegee from 1911 to 1915 and later served as dean of education and dean of women at that institution.

Another educational leader was Mary McLeod Bethune. Later in life she became a national figure as the first black woman to be a high-ranking federal administrator. She began her career by founding a school for black women in 1904. It became coeducational when it merged with Cookman Institute for boys in 1923. At Bethune-Cookman College, Bethune became the first black woman college president, serving until 1947. Lucy B. Slowe was enormously influential in black women's higher education. She was a founding member of the National Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools, and she was dean of women at Howard University from 1923 until her death in 1937.

On July 1, 1930, Mary E. Branch became the president of Tillotson Teachers College in Austin, Texas, and served in that capacity until her death in 1944. During her tenure, Branch made the all-women's school coeducational, largely as a means of increasing the college's enrollment and maintaining its viability. The institution survives today as the coeducational Huston-Tillotson College. The lesser known of the two surviving black women's colleges, Bennett in North Carolina, appointed its first woman president, Wilma Playera, in 1955, more than three decades before Spelman made history in 1987 with the appointment of Johnnetta Cole as its first woman president.

This brief review of the literature has provided a sampling of the dreams, obstacles, disappointments, and achievements in the history of black women's higher education. Progress at many times was slow and occasionally nonexistent, disheartening to all but the determined pioneers who made a difference. With their

tenacity, faith, talent, and dedication, these pioneering black women raised the educational level of their communities by founding schools. Some of the institutions have survived to the present day as private schools as seminaries.

Women of both races who advanced to higher education were grossly underrepresented in the professions. However, black women were somewhat better represented than white women. The relatively greater visibility of black women in the professions may have been due to the fact that they, whether married or not, were of necessity more likely to work than were white women. This reality was reflected in the way black families raised their daughters to accept work or a career as a natural part of their lives. This may have served to equip black women for the demands of a professional career better than most white women, in whom career demands often set up role conflicts and uncertainty as to their femininity.

The Status of Black Women Employed in Higher Education

Over the past decade, blacks have made tremendous gains in education. They are graduating from colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers. Blacks now make up 6.4% of all graduate school students. A decade ago, in 1984, blacks made up only 5% of all graduate school enrollments (see Figure 2.1). As well, blacks have made impressive gains in professional school enrollments. Some 21,000 blacks were enrolled in professional schools in 1994, up from 13,000 in 1984 (see Figure 2.2).

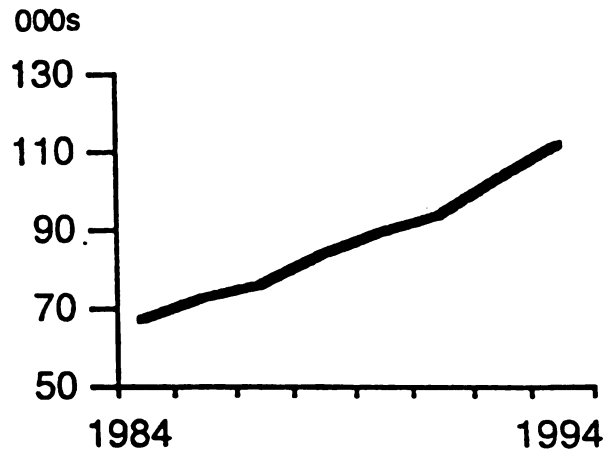


Figure 2.1: Total black student enrollments in graduate schools.

Source: U.S. Department of Education.

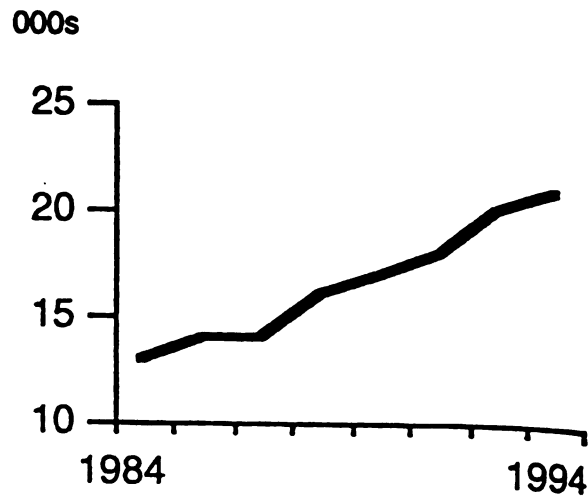


Figure 2.2: Total black student enrollments in professional schools.

Source: U.S. Department of Education.

As black enrollments have risen in the 1990s, the pattern of enrollment has reflected a tendency for more black students to attend historically black institutions (HBIs). Approximately 38% of all black students attended HBIs in 1992, an increase of 10 percentage points from 1982 (Daren, Bagaka's, & Li, 1997). Black women are dominating higher education. It is believed that black women have an apparent advantage in college enrollments because they make up a large portion of the enrollment at community and junior colleges. Indeed, according to the U.S. Department of Education enrollment figures for 1992, women comprised 59% of enrollees at two-year institutions.

However, the huge educational advantage black women have over black men is not restricted to two-year institutions. The educational gap between black men and women is large, and growing, at every level of higher education. Black women do make up 63% of all blacks in two-year colleges, but they also make up 60% of all blacks in four-year institutions. And nearly 100,000 more black women attend four-year institutions than attend two-year colleges ("News and Views," 1994/1995, p. 49). Both black and white women earn more bachelor's degrees than do men of their race, and more black and white women earn master's degrees than do men. For blacks, the advantage women have over men continues for those who earn first professional degrees and doctorates, whereas white men have an advantage over white women in these categories.

Black women are increasing their lead over black men in almost every area of educational attainment, and in many areas they are closing the educational gap

with white women. In 1994, black women made up 898,000, or 62%, of the 1,448,000 blacks enrolled in higher education (see Figure 2.3). The huge gap in enrollments between black men and women continues to widen. In 1984, women made up 59% of all black enrollments. In 1993, women made up 60.5% of all black enrollments ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 66). Black women are far more likely to graduate from high school than are black men. More than 36% of black women who graduate from high school enroll in college, compared to only 34% of black male high school graduates ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 66).

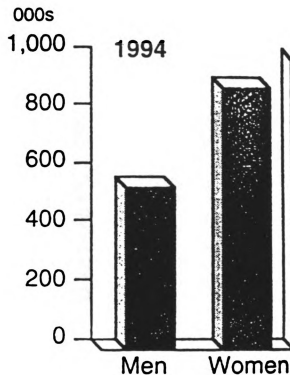


Figure 2.3: Black women have a huge edge over black men in college enrollments.

Source: U.S. Department of Education.

Enrollment at the historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) continues to soar. In 1993, total enrollment at 107 HBCUs was 284,247, up 2.5% from 1992 and up 32% from 1982 ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 56). Black women make up 60% of all black enrollments at HBCUs ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 56). Most of the recent gains by blacks in medical school can be attributed to gains by black women. In 1994, black women made up 56.4% of all black medical school graduates (see Figure 2.4). That was a 12.5% increase from 1982. Black medical school graduates reached an all-time high in 1994.

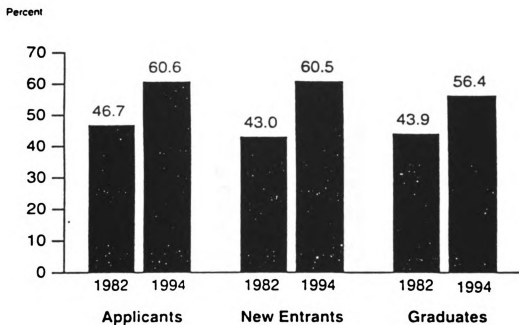


Figure 2.4: Percentage of all black medical school applicants, new entrants, and graduates who were women, 1982 and 1994.

Source: Association of American Medical Colleges. (1994, November). Minority Students in Medical Education: Facts and Figures VIII.

Blacks make up 6.2% of all medical school graduates (see Figure 2.5). More than half of the black medical school graduates are women. However, blacks make up only 2.1% of the faculty at the predominantly white medical schools (see Figure 2.6). This number is certainly disproportionate to the number of black women graduates.

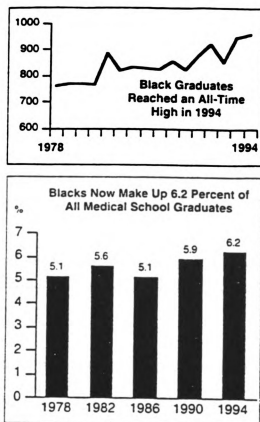


Figure 2.5: Black medical school graduates.

Source: Association of American Medical Colleges. (1994, November). Minority Students in Medical Education: Facts and Figures VIII.

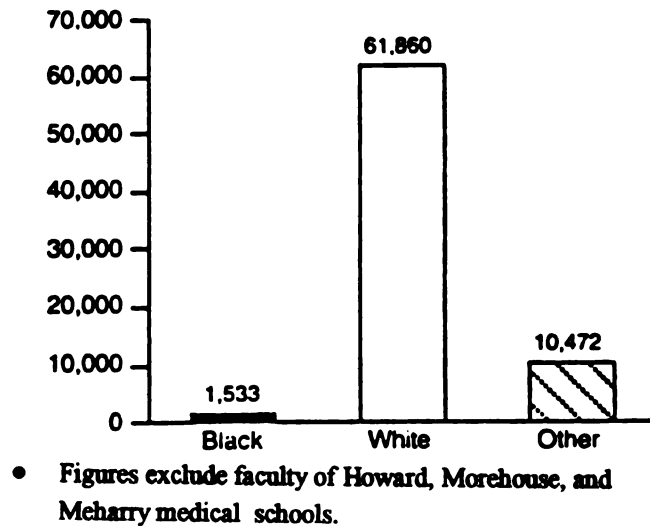


Figure 2.6: Blacks make up 2.1% of faculty at the predominantly white medical schools.

Source: Association of American Medical Colleges. (1994, November). Minority Students in Medical Education: Facts and Figures VIII.

The number of blacks earning Ph.D. degrees reached a 10-year high in 1993, posting a significant increase of 15% from 961 in 1992 to 1,106 in 1993 ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 58) (see Figure 2.7). Black women earned more than three-fifths (60.2%) of all doctorates awarded to blacks. However, doctoral awards for blacks continue to be concentrated in the field of education (see Figures 2.8 and 2.9).

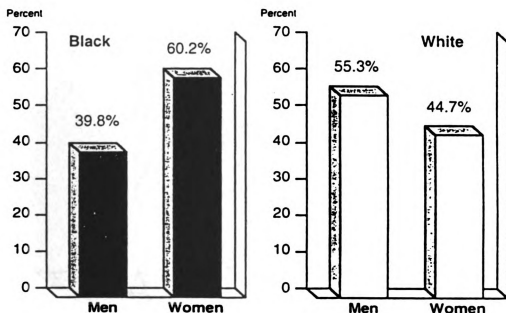


Figure 2.7: Black women are earning three-fifths of all doctorates awarded to blacks, whereas white women earn only 44% of all doctorates awarded to whites.

Source: National Research Council. (1993). Summary Report 1993: Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities. Washington, D.C.: Author.

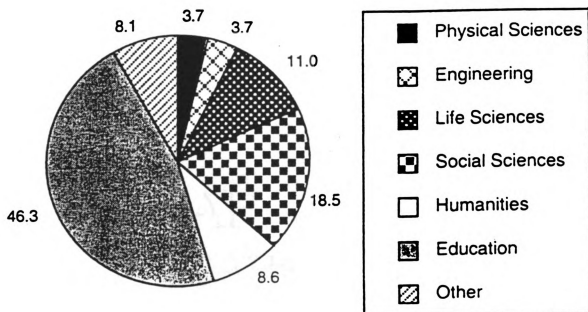


Figure 2.8: Only 7.4% of all black doctorates were awarded in science and engineering, whereas almost half were awarded in education.

Source: National Research Council. (1993). Summary Report 1993: Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities. Washington, D.C.: Author.

Only 9.8 percent of all black doctorates are in the physical sciences and engineering compared with 36.2 percent of white doctorates. More than 44 percent of all black doctorates were earned in the field of education whereas only 21 percent of white doctorates were in the field of education.

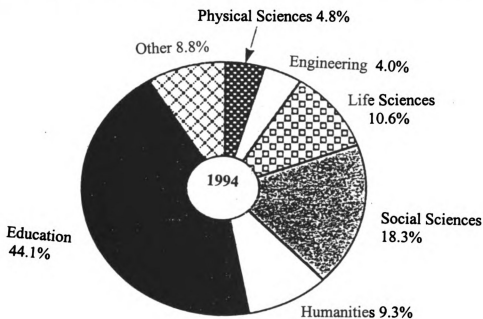


Figure 2.9: Distribution of black doctorates, by discipline, 1994.

Source: National Research Council.

Although the number of doctorates awarded to blacks in the physical sciences and engineering rose in 1994, the total continues to be essentially insignificant. Only eight blacks earned Ph.D. degrees in mathematics, six in computer science, and nine in physics ("Black Enrollments," 1995/1996, p. 58). More than 3,500 doctorates were awarded in these three fields nationwide. Whites were about four times as likely as blacks to earn doctorates in the physical sciences and engineering. Blacks earned no doctorates whatsoever in a number of key scientific disciplines, as shown in Table 2.1.

The dominant presence of black women in higher education also appears in the elite schools of the Ivy League, some of which were entirely closed to women until the 1970s. At all eight Ivy League institutions today, black women outnumber black men. As shown in Figure 2.10, black women represent 58.1% of all black students at Columbia. At Brown, Harvard, and Yale, black women comprise more than 57% of the black enrollment. The black gender gap is smallest at Cornell. There, black women make up 53% of all black students.

The growing presence of black women on the campuses of the Ivy League institutions has far-reaching implications. If black women are increasingly winning places at the nation's most prestigious colleges, it is reasonable to assume that these women will be selected for the nation's top positions. The fact that black women are achieving greater success at the nation's premier educational institutions will further widen the economic earnings and employment gap between black women and black men.

Table 2.1: The total absence of black doctorates in key disciplines.

Discipline	Total Ph.D.s	Black Ph.D.s
Number theory	36	0
Topology	35	0
Astronomy	65	0
Astrophysics	78	0
Nuclear physics	90	0
Meteorology	32	0
Oceanography	91	0
Marine sciences	34	0
Bioengineering	175	0
Agricultural engineering	89	0
Engineering mechanics	132	0
Petroleum engineering	42	0
Biophysics	123	0
Ecology	201	0
Toxicology	119	0
Plant physiology	70	0
Zoology	117	0
Archaeology	34	0
Total	1,563	0

Source: National Research Council.

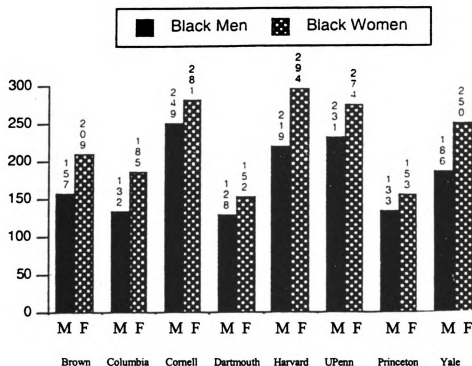
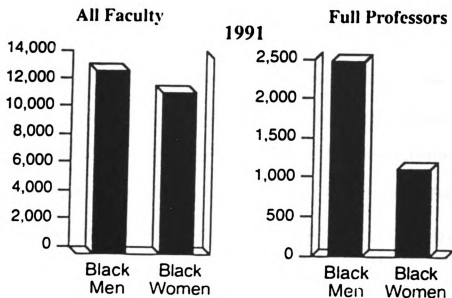


Figure 2.10: Black women outnumber black men at all eight Ivy League institutions, 1994-1995 academic year.

Source: "The Growing Gender Gap in Black Higher Education." (1994, Spring). Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2, 52.

However, this is not the case. There are still relatively few black women in academia. They continue to lag behind black men (Drummond, 1995; Leap, 1995; Park, 1996). Black women still lag far behind black men in faculty appointments, as well. In 1991, black men held 13,107 of the 24,611 or 53% of the faculty posts held

by blacks ("Growing Gender Gap," 1994, p. 22) (see Figure 2.11). This is the same percentage that existed a decade earlier, in 1981. Black men have an even larger advantage over black women in the highest faculty ranks. In 1991, there were 1,106 black women who held the rank of full professor at America's institutions of higher learning (see Figure 2.11). That same year, more than twice as many black men—2,466 in all—were full professors. Black women made up 31% of all black full professors, 5.2% of all women full professors, and 0.8% of full professors in the United States ("Growing Gender Gap," 1994, p. 22).



Source: U.S. Department of Education

Figure 2.11: Gender comparison of black faculty in the United States.

Source: U.S. Department of Education.

At the associate professor level, where a very large majority of the faculty posts are tenured, black women also have a higher representation but continue to lag behind black men. In 1991, there were 2,018 black women associate professors, compared to 2,924 black men ("Growing Gender Gap," 1994, p. 22). Black women made up 41% of all black associate professors, 6.2% of all women associate professors, and 1.7% of all associate professors in the nation ("Growing Gender Gap," 1994, p. 22). At the assistant professor and instructor levels, black women are represented in numbers roughly equal to black men.

In comparison to their white counterparts, black women lag behind them in full-time faculty membership, tenured faculty positions, and median salary (see Figures 2.12 through 2.15). In examining these figures, it can be concluded that black women are underrepresented in the highest faculty ranks. There is a disproportionate number of black women in the associate professor rank and a majority of black women in the lower faculty ranks. This also confirms the findings from studies done by Astin, Korn, and Lewis (1991), Billard (1994), Sandler (1993), and the U.S. Department of Education (1991), indicating that female professors in the academy are found in lower-paying, less prestigious, and less secure positions. If black women earned more than three-fifths of all doctorates awarded to blacks, they should have progressed along the tenure track in sufficient numbers to win associate or full professor status. However, the statistics indicate that black women are not achieving high-level faculty posts in proportion to the number of black women who are earning doctorates.

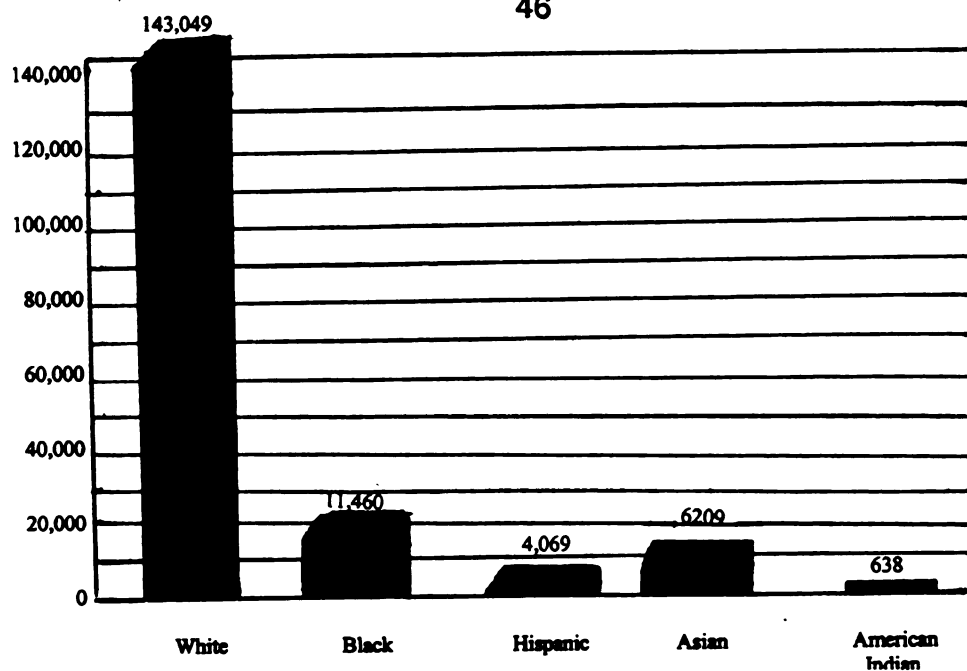


Figure 2.12: Distribution of full-time female faculty members, by race, 1991.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

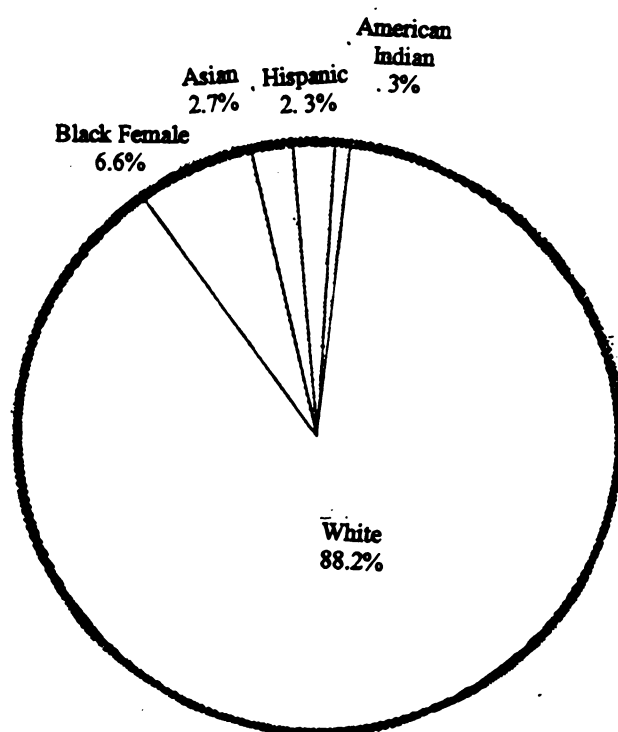


Figure 2.13: Percentage of tenured female faculty members, by race, 1991.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

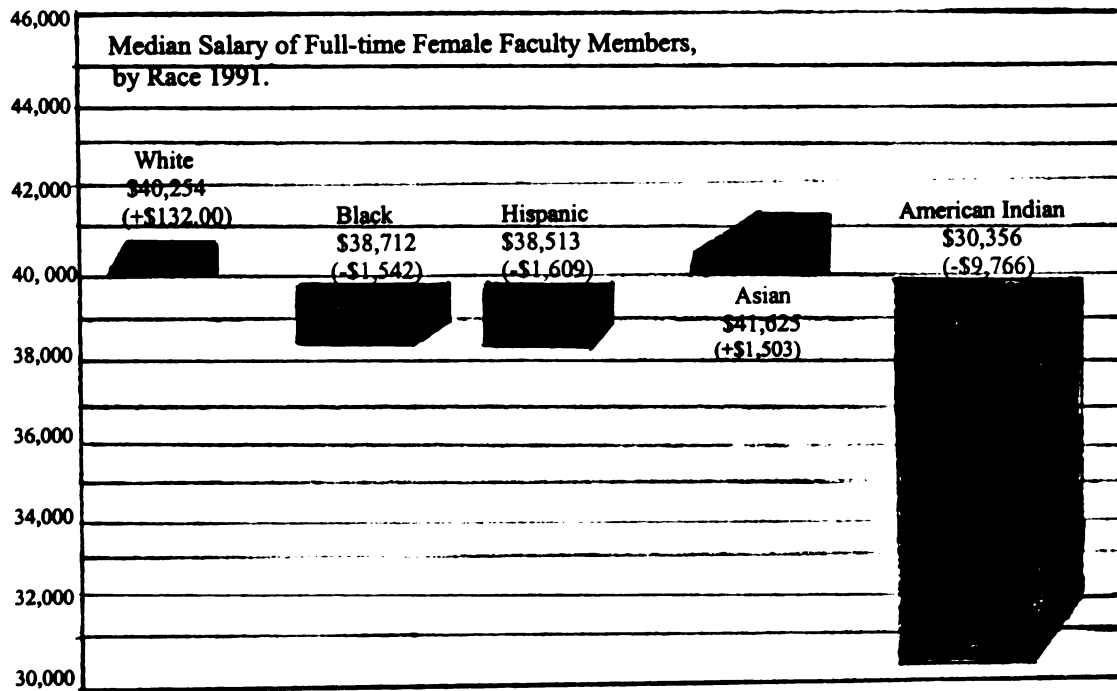


Figure 2.14: Median salary of full-time female faculty members, by race, 1991.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

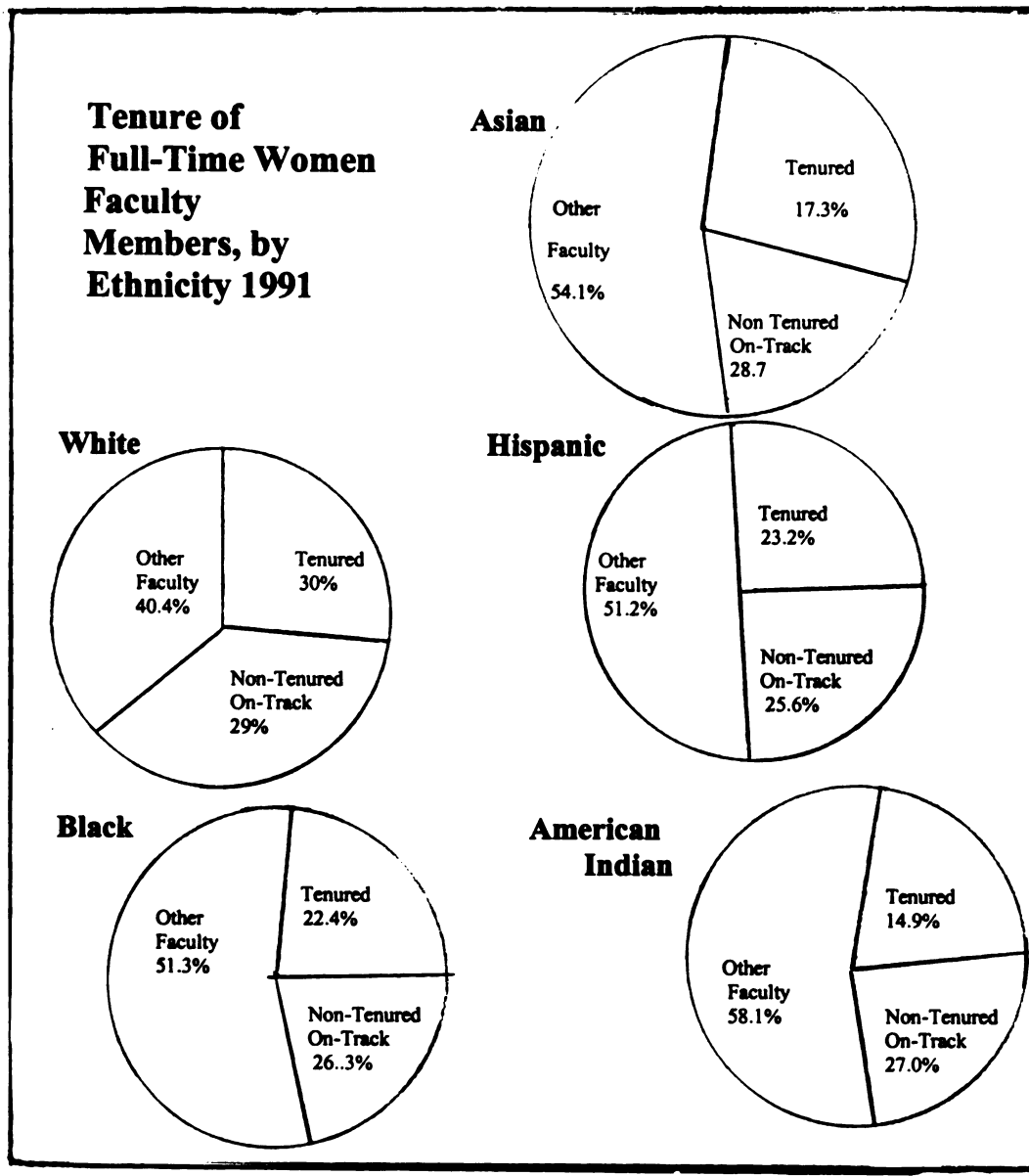


Figure 2.15: Tenure of full-time women faculty members, by ethnicity, 1991.

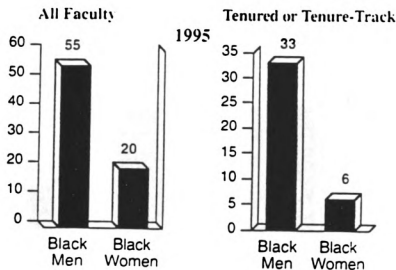
Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In 1981, black women were being appointed to assistant professorships at about the same rate as black men ("News and Views," 1995). During the decade that followed, these appointees should have had sufficient time to move along the tenure track to higher-level faculty appointments. Yet, in 1991, the percentage of black women in associate and full professor posts trailed that of black men; in addition, black women showed very little progress in closing the gap from a decade earlier. This suggests that academic appointments in higher education continue to be driven by strong institutional preferences for men. This evidence negates the myth that it is more advantageous to be black and female, known as the "twofer" (a black woman hiree who improves a university's diversity figures on two levels (Epstein, 1973, p. 5). This would lead one to believe that black women would be hired at a rate far exceeding that of black men. Yet this is not the case.

The failure of black women to make major inroads into high-level faculty positions at American institutions of higher learning is illustrated by the example of Harvard University. The first black woman at Harvard to be appointed to a full professorship with tenure was Eileen Southern, in the Department of African American Studies. This appointment did not occur until 1975, 245 years after the founding of Harvard College.

Today, black women make up 3.3% of all women faculty at Harvard, but only 0.8% of the total faculty (see Figure 2.16). Only two black women out of a faculty of some 2,000 teach at Harvard University. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has a joint appointment in Harvard's Department of African American Studies and as a

professor at the Harvard Divinity School. The only other black woman faculty member at Harvard University is Caroline Minter Hoxby, an untenured assistant professor of economics.



Note: Faculty figures do not include Harvard Medical School.

Figure 2.16: Distribution of black faculty at Harvard University, by gender, 1995.

Source: Harvard University's Affirmative Action Plan. (1995).

In 1995, 20 black women were on the faculty of Harvard University. Three had tenure ("News and Views," 1995, p. 23). Three others were so-called ladder faculty or on tenure track. Eight additional black women were on the faculty of Harvard Medical School; one had tenure. Excluding the medical school, black

women make up only 26% of the black faculty at Harvard, a rate far below the ratio of black women faculty to black men faculty in the nation as a whole.

Turning now to the administrative level, since 1981 the number of black administrators has been increasing. In 1989, the percentage of black administrators was 8.6%, and in 1991 it was 8.7%. Figure 2.17 indicates an increase in the number of black administrators, but it does not reflect what administrative positions.

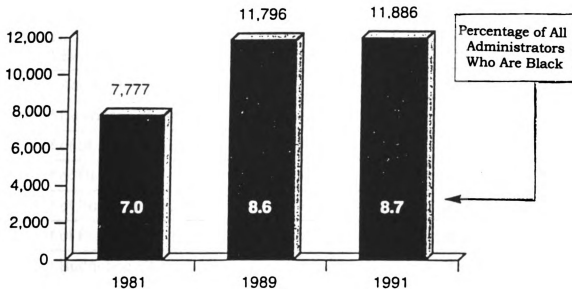


Figure 2.17: Percentages of black administrators at U.S. colleges and universities, 1981, 1989, and 1991.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Looking at the results of the advancement of blacks in key administrative roles over the past eight years (1986 to 1993) is not encouraging. The employment information displayed in Table 2.2 was derived from the 1986 and 1994 annual reports of the College and University Personnel Association (CUPA). Looking at the

figures for 1993, it can be seen that the position with the largest majority of minorities in leadership roles is Director of Affirmative Action (68.6%), which was an increase of 14.9% from 1986. The percentages of minorities in most of the leadership roles remained basically the same from 1986 to 1993.

Table 2.2: Percentage of minorities in leadership roles, 1986 and 1993.

Position Title	1986		1993	
	White	Minority	White	Minority
Chief Executive Officer	93.1	6.9	93.5	6.5
Chief Academic Officer	93.1	6.9	93.2	6.8
Chief Business Officer	93.8	6.2	94.5	5.5
Chief of Student Affairs	87.4	12.6	84.4	15.6
Chief of Development	95.3	4.7	96.0	4.0
Chief of Public Relations	96.0	4.0	94.9	5.1
Chief of Personnel	87.8	12.2	84.8	15.2
Chief Budgeting Officer	93.6	6.4	90.9	9.1
Learning Resources Director	88.6	11.4	90.8	9.2
Grants/Contracts Admin.	91.3	8.7	91.1	8.9
Affirmative Action Director	46.3	53.7	31.4	68.6
Chief Physical Plant	93.8	6.2	94.2	5.8
Student Activities Director	86.8	13.2	89.1	10.9
Campus Security Director	84.4	15.6	87.6	12.4
Information Systems Director	96.1	3.9	95.8	4.2
News Bureau Director	97.9	2.1	94.9	5.1
Financial Aid Director	85.1	14.9	85.9	14.1
Student Placement Director	90.3	9.7	89.2	10.9

Table 2.2: Continued.

Position Title	1986		1993	
	White	Minority	White	Minority
Student Counseling Director	87.2	12.8	86.4	13.6
Athletic Director	94.2	5.8	91.1	8.9
Alumni Affairs Director	94.4	5.6	93.8	6.2
Arts/Sciences Dean	92.0	8.0	91.5	8.5
Business Dean	92.9	7.1	90.8	9.2
Continuing Education Dean	92.2	7.8	91.6	8.4
Education Dean	87.7	12.3	87.2	12.8
Engineering Dean	94.2	5.8	91.4	8.6
Fine Arts Dean	95.6	4.6	92.6	7.4
Graduate Programs Dean	94.8	5.2	88.4	11.6
Nursing Dean	90.0	10.0	93.7	6.3
Social Work Dean	71.0	29.0	70.4	29.6

Source: CUPA Annual Reports.

Percentages of minorities in several positions increased over the seven-year period. They were Chief of Student Affairs (+3%), Chief of Personnel (+3%), Chief Budgeting Officer (+2.7%), News Bureau Director (+3%), Athletic Director (+3.1%), Business Dean (+2.1%), Engineering Dean (+2.8%), Fine Arts Dean (+2.8%), Graduate Programs Dean (+6.4%), and Nursing Dean (+3.7%). In contrast, the majority of the white leadership roles were in Chief Officer positions, such as Chief Executive Officer, Chief Academic Officer, Chief Business Officer, Chief of Student

Affairs, Chief of Development, Chief of Public Relations, Chief of Personnel, and Chief Budgeting Officer. It is clear that whites are overrepresented at the high administrative levels and that minorities are overrepresented at the low administrative levels. The percentages shown in Table 2.2 include all minority administrators, but there is a striking difference between the general minority population, the minority college population, and the numbers and classifications of minority administrators.

A study was done to determine whether progress had been made toward equity in the past decade for women and minority college and university administrators. The data sources for the study were the 1980-81 and 1990-91 Administrative Compensation Surveys from the CUPA. As shown in Table 2.3, overall minority representation increased slightly over the decade, from 9% in 1980 to 10% in 1990. The percentage of minorities in four of the six Chief Administrative Officer positions increased from 1% to 3%, whereas the percentage of minorities holding the post of Chief Executive Officer remained the same (6%) and the percentage of minority Chief Development Officers declined by 3%. The percentages of minorities in four of the six director-level positions increased, led by Director of AA/EEO at 13%, whereas the percentage of minorities holding the position of Director of Computer Center declined by 1%, and those in the position of Director of Training and Development declined by 2%. Chief Student Affairs Officer and Director of AA/EEO were the only positions to have more than 100 minorities in 1980 and 1990. It can be concluded from this study that the advancement of

minorities in leadership roles was not significant enough to make a difference over the 10-year period.

Table 2.3: Distribution of minority administrators, by position, 1980-81 and 1990-91.

Position	1980-81		1990-91		10 Yr. % Diff.
	No.	%	No.	%	
<u>Chief Officers</u>					
Executive	79	6	60	6	
Academic	73	6	87	7	+1
Business	65	5	66	6	+1
Development	33	5	19	2	-3
Personnel/H.R.	54	9	89	12	+3
Student Affairs	140	11	135	13	+2
Subtotal	444	7	456	8	+1
<u>Directors</u>					
AA/EEO	194	51	194	64	+13
Training & Dev.	14	15	19	13	-2
Personnel-AA	39	16	39	18	+2
Library Services	73	6	82	8	+2
Computer Center	47	5	29	4	-1
Inst. Research	41	8	45	9	+1
Subtotal	408	12	408	14	+2
TOTAL	852	9	864	10	+1

Source: CUPA Administrative Compensation Surveys.

In Table 2.4, minority representation is depicted by type of institution, with an aggregate range from 6% in baccalaureate to 13% in doctoral institutions. Within the four institutional types, the largest percentages of minority administrators were in the positions of Chief of Student Affairs and AA/EEO Director.

Table 2.4: Distribution of minority administrators, by institutional type, 1990-91 (in percent).

Position	Institutional Type			
	Doctoral	Comp.	Bacc.	Two-Year
<u>Chief Officers</u>				
Executive	4	7	5	7
Academic	5	9	5	9
Business	5	9	6	5
Development	1	4	2	3
Personnel/H.R.	10	14	10	12
Student Affairs	18	14	9	14
Subtotal	8	10	6	9
<u>Directors</u>				
AA/EEO	70	50	50	89
Training & Dev.	13	16	0	25
Personnel-AA	20	16	13	24
Library Services	4	10	8	9
Computer Center	6	4	2	7
Inst. Research	5	9	11	11
Subtotal	19	15	9	16
TOTAL	13	12	6	11

Source: CUPA Administrative Compensation Surveys.

In conclusion, leadership roles for minority administrators have remained at approximately the same level. Leadership roles for minority administrators will need to increase in order to respond to the increasing diversity of higher education. The evidence is clear that minorities, especially black women, are underrepresented in tenured faculty positions, faculty appointments, and the top administrative levels in higher education. Now it is time to look at the social and psychological factors that influence black women's aspirations.

**Social and Psychological Factors Influencing
Black Women's Career Aspirations**

The literature on women today abounds with sex-role images of the past. Such sex-role images ascribed to the majority woman were nurturer, childrearer, and homemaker. White women accepted these sex-role stereotypes ascribed by men until the 1970s. During the 1970s, however, an unprecedented and unforeseen social phenomenon occurred in the form of a mass movement of women, particularly wives and mothers, into the labor force (Malson, 1983). From 1970 to 1978, the labor-force participation rate of women with young children increased 18%, from 25.5 to 30 million, until half of the children under 18 had mothers who worked (Nelson, 1983, p. 102; see also Waldman, Grossman, Hayghe, & Johnson, 1979). The shift from home to office implied not only a change in work orientation, but also a shift in women's views of their roles. Women's roles as homemaker and childrearer now included that of paid worker. Such roles, which had been perceived as mutually exclusive, were now being merged and sometimes collided; this raised issues about the repercussions of work outside the home on childrearing and family life.

Whereas the events of the 1970s were revolutionary for white women, they were rather commonplace for black women, who have had a long history of participation in the labor force. For instance, DuBois (1969) pointed out in Darkwater that more than half of the black female population was employed in 1910, primarily as servants and washerwomen.

Unlike white women, the black woman was now acknowledged by society as feminine. The qualities of femininity, such as purity, submissiveness, and natural fragility, were not associated with the black woman. She was a slave, owned property. Because of her enslavement, her social experience was different from that of white women, and her own psychology was colored by her peculiar experience. For example, the black woman's sex role in the white world was one of concubine (sex object) and subservient (slave) (Malson, 1983). Although she was a slave, however, she was never subservient. Frazier (1948) wrote in The Negro Family in the United States, "Neither economic necessity nor tradition has instilled in her the spirit of subordination to masculine authority. Emancipation only tended to confirm in many cases the spirit of self-sufficiency which slavery had taught" (p. 102).

In her racial group, the social role of the black woman was equal if not superior to that of the black man. She worked beside the black man and sometimes worked in his place when he could not find employment. She assumed leadership responsibilities when necessary. She worked out of necessity. One of the ways that the black race has adapted to the economic and social inequalities of American life has been through black women's participation in the labor force. One of the fundamental differences in the lives of black and white females is the experience of black females as paid workers. The work force experience has profoundly influenced black women, in that it has shaped not only their views of themselves but also the way they are viewed by others.

The possibility that black women have a different sex-role ideology because of their longer experience as paid workers was proposed by Gump (1980) among others. Their sex-role ideology was that worker and homemaker roles were no longer mutually exclusive. In fact, women can have multiple roles. Indeed, the fact that black women have been employed workers, homemakers, and childrearers implies that they are able to integrate multiple roles. The black woman's sex-role integration was probably influenced by a history of labor-force participation and early socialization practices. Lewis (1975) proposed that black people, because of their African culture, were not socialized to polarize behavioral standards, according to sex. They believed behaviors that others saw as appropriate for one sex were appropriate for both. For instance, Young (1970) described how males and females are both taught to nurture young children. There is also evidence that both sexes are socialized to think that they can be responsible for the economic support of the family (Peters & de Ford, 1978).

Multiple roles are so widely exhibited by black women that role adaptation is viewed as one of the major characteristics of black families (Hill, 1972). Billingsley (1968) stated that traditional sex-role norms were overly simplistic frameworks for examining how black families functioned. Exchanging instrumental (male) and expressive (female) functions was one of the ways that black families adapted to the social and economic demands of American life. Nobles (1978) also defined the role flexibility and interchange that black families often exhibited as one of their special characteristics.

Researchers also have indicated that black women exhibit traditional (family) as well as nontraditional (paid work) role orientations. Engram (1980) examined data collected from 361 young black women who were interviewed as part of the Parnes study (1970 to 1975) on the work experience of young women. Unlike previous investigators, who had found that black women were more predisposed toward work roles than family ones, Engram found similarities between young black women and white women in orientation toward work and homemaking/childrearing. Contrary to how black women usually were depicted, they considered traditional roles as well as participation in the labor force.

Gump (1975) also investigated the sex-role attitudes of 77 black and 40 white college women. Black women tended to have similar scores for traditional (family work) and nontraditional (paid work) items. On the other hand, white women in the sample had higher scores on the nontraditional items. Whereas white college women seemed to select role-related items that expressed nontraditional attitudes, black college women equally endorsed items from the nontraditional and traditional categories. These findings implied that black women saw both traditional and nontraditional traits as part of their lives. Gump (1980) concluded that black women's sex-role ideology needs a new examination and investigation, one that is devised of their own experiences and not measured against a white female yardstick. She suggested that the "traditional role, as it is generally understood, probably does not exist for black women" (p. 111).

Thus, women were identified with sex-role stereotyping as homemaker and childrearer. Such roles were characterized as being helpful, nurturing, emotional, and dependent. On the other hand, men were identified with leadership. Such leadership qualities are confident, reliable, aggressive, and ambitious. Women often were thought not to possess these qualities. Some have claimed that women simply are not socialized to be as career oriented or ambitious as men. Others have claimed that women still are largely responsible for childrearing and housekeeping, thus giving them less time and energy to forge successful career paths. Therefore, they were not meant to be in leadership positions.

Central to sex-role stereotyping is the existence of a gendered division of labor. A gendered division of labor arose through the institutionalization of organizational roles that carry characteristic images of the kinds of people who should occupy them (Kanter, 1977a). Thus, certain tasks, such as dealing with clients, may be gender-typed as feminine, replicating the gender stereotypes that exist outside the corporation. Gender typing of jobs leads to filling these occupational positions with specific persons who are biologically male or female (Acker, 1993). This further reinforces the initial assumption that certain work is "men's work," whereas other work is "women's work" (Johnsrud & Heck, 1994, p. 25). Moreover, men's work is typically depicted as involving greater complexity and difficulty than women's work and enjoys greater status and rewards than women's work (Acker, 1993). Hence, the sex-role segregation results in a sex-role hierarchy

in which the jobs identified as feminine and allocated to women are undervalued and underpaid.

Teaching duties have fallen and continue to fall disproportionately to women (Astin et al., 1991; Astin & Snyder, 1982; Hornig, 1980; Menges & Exum, 1983; Sandler, 1993; Wunsch & Johnsrud, 1992). In 1989-90, 43% of all male faculty, but only 36% of female faculty, taught eight or fewer hours per week. Conversely, 27% of female faculty, compared to 20% of male faculty, taught 13 or more hours per week. Eleven percent of female faculty, compared to 8% of male faculty, spent 17 or more hours per week in the classroom (Astin et al., 1991). In addition to spending more hours per week in the classroom, women spent more time preparing for their classes and more time advising students than did their male colleagues (Astin et al., 1991). This situation may be related to the fact that women are more likely to be assigned undergraduate and remedial classes.

In academia, women have been encouraged to take on traditional female roles of being helpful and nurturing by performing more service activities. Like teaching activities, service activities differ along gender lines. In addition to spending more time advising students, female faculty members engage in significantly more, and different types of, service activities than do their male counterparts (Allen, 1994). In 1988, the U.S. Department of Education found that female faculty, across all types of institutions, devoted a greater percentage of their time to institutional service activities than did male faculty. In 1990, the Carnegie Foundation concurred that female faculty were the most active participants in the

daily campus governance process: "Even though they devoted more time to the teaching function than did men, they were significantly more active in the work of the faculty senate, administrative advisory committees, and other campus-wide bodies" (p. 42).

There are several reasons for these differences. First, female and minority faculty members, and especially black female faculty, may have more "opportunities" for serving student groups and community organizations, as well as individual students, because they are sought out by other women or minority members as positive role models or because of their areas of research interest (Menges & Exum, 1983; Sandler, 1993). Second, faculty women are more likely to be approached by students with personal as well as academic concerns with the expectation that women will be more caring and sensitive than men (Simeone, 1987).

Third, women, as well as minority men, are given more "opportunities" for university service than are white men. For example, they may be asked to serve on various committees in order to guarantee representation of their group or simply to symbolize their institution's commitment to affirmative action and diversity goals (Garcia, 1974; Howe, 1980; Menges & Exum, 1983; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974; Sandler, 1993). Fourth, women and minorities may view their service work as important and have difficulty abandoning it. They are more likely to devote time to service activities insofar as they are more likely than white men to perceive the need for change in the policies, procedures, and institutional structure of the university. They are also more likely to perceive themselves as having a special responsibility

to other female and minority faculty and, indeed, to other women and minorities outside of the academy. Finally, women are thought "to enjoy and to excel in the 'pattern maintenance' chores that governance involves" (Park, 1996, p. 54; see also Menges & Exum, 1983; Simeone, 1987; Turk, 1981).

Although all university faculty are expected to teach and to serve, as well as to conduct research, male and female faculty exhibit significantly different patterns of research, teaching, and service. Men, as a group, devote a greater portion of their time to research activities than women do, whereas women, as a group, devote a much higher percentage of their time to teaching and service activities than do men (Park, 1996). As a result, men publish more extensively than do women (Allen, 1994; Astin & Davis, 1993; Billard, 1994).

Research is the primary criterion for tenure and promotion (Park, 1996). It has taken priority over teaching and service. One argument explains why this is the case: "Research separates the men from the boys (or the women from the girls). Teaching and service won't serve this function because everyone teaches and does committee work" (Park, 1996, p. 51). Thus, research is implicitly deemed "men's work" and is explicitly valued, whereas teaching and service are characterized as "women's work" and are explicitly devalued (Park, 1996). Using research as the primary criterion for tenure and promotion separates the men from the women. The men advance to higher-level administrative positions, and the women tend to be clustered at lower administrative levels. As Sandler (1993) contended,

Women administrators remain concentrated in a small number of low status areas that are traditionally viewed as women's fields (such as nursing and

home economics) or in care-taking roles (such as in student affairs and affirmative action) or in other academic support roles (such as admissions officer, registrar, or bookstore manager). (p. 205)

Women still have limited opportunities to formulate university policies as presidents, vice-presidents, academic deans, and department chairs. Tenured female faculty, especially faculty women of color, often are overlooked for high-visibility and high-status administrative posts, while they are frequently steered toward "dead-end" special positions, such as director of minority affairs or affirmative action officer, "positions that usually have no advancement track in the academic structure" (Sandler, 1993, p. 192; see also Andrews, 1993; Farmer, 1993).

Hennig and Hardim (1977) attributed the reason for women's not advancing to higher-level positions in administration to their being outsiders in male-dominated organizations, which puts them at a disadvantage. Most organizations, including educational institutions, were founded by men. Therefore, the formal structures, informal structures, rules, and values of organizations reflect male experiences. Organizational theorists recently have begun to look at the ways in which allegedly gender-neutral corporations and bureaucracies are dominated by masculine principles and structures, which lead to advantages for male employees and disadvantages for female employees (Acker, 1993; Calas & Smircich, 1993; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994; Kanter, 1977a, 1977b).

Sexism is embedded in the structures, norms, and policies of the university itself. Henning and Jardim (1977) and Sagaria and Johnsrud (1987) found that women were less likely than men to have mentors to explain the unwritten

organizational rules, make contacts, and open doors of opportunity. Because women have been outsiders for so long, men are not quite sure that women understand the rules of the game, that they are team players, and that they can be trusted to be loyal and to perform competently when the going gets tough. Therefore, men hire men and men promote men. Cullivan (1990) stated that people in any organization hire people who are similar to themselves—people they can trust to be loyal, particularly if there is uncertainty in the environment. Kanter (1977a) provided further evidence of this pattern of hiring and promotion in her arguments of "homosocial reproduction" in organizations, which results from the inclinations of men and women to hire and promote colleagues of the same sex. Thus, institutions that are dominated by male faculty members should have a higher probability of hiring men than those that are dominated by female faculty members, and vice versa.

Tolbert and Oberfield (1991) investigated the unequal distribution of women among college and university faculties. Consistent findings of an association between demographic and compensation patterns in higher education were used to derive three testable hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that institutions with higher levels of slack resources would have smaller proportions of female faculty members. This hypothesis was based on two assumptions: "The first is that wages are a function of marginal productivity (that is, more productive employees receive higher wages than do those who are less productive); the second is that men are generally more productive than are women" (p. 305). On the basis of these

assumptions, organizations with higher levels of slack will be able to hire the most productive workers and therefore will hire a larger proportion of men. Slack was defined as "payments to members of the organization in excess of what is required to maintain the organization" (p. 306). This hypothesis was supported by the findings.

The second hypothesis was that institutions with a high proportion of female students would have larger proportions of female faculty members. This hypothesis assumed that constituents (individuals and groups who are major recipients of organizations' services or outputs) prefer to interact with organizational members who are similar to themselves (Tolbert & Oberfield, 1991). In other words, if the major recipients are female students, then the colleges and universities should have a large proportion of female faculty. This hypothesis was supported.

The third hypothesis was that institutions with strong research orientations would have a smaller proportion of female faculty members. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that individuals make rational decisions about investing in career-related activities on the basis of the expected return on those investments (Tolbert & Oberfield, 1991, p. 308). Accepting this theory, Mincer and Polachek (1974) argued that women generally anticipate limited participation in the labor force because of child care and family responsibilities. Because lower participation decreases the rate of return on education and job training, women are expected to invest less than men in these activities. As a consequence, women presumably are less productive than men, on the average, and thus have relatively lower earnings

and rates of promotion. This hypothesis was not supported, according to the research. In summary, the results of Tolbert and Oberfield's analysis suggested that the unequal distribution of women across college and university faculties is affected by both employers' and constituents' preferences. There was little support for the argument that it is the outcome of women's intentional choices of or preferences for employment in certain types of institutions.

If women are outsiders and are at a disadvantage in male-dominated organizations, black women are even more outsiders and are at a greater disadvantage because of their racial and cultural differences. Black women are more outsiders because they are so few in number. Because of their racial and cultural differences, it is said that black women faculty members and administrators have a different way of communicating. For example, Atwater (1995) stated that black female faculty members and administrators have a unique style of communication, or voice. Because they use different symbolic speech (Atwater, 1995) from the traditional white male voice, the voices of black women often are viewed as political or without substance (Phillip, 1993), or men deem their experiences and discursive forms of voice illegitimate because they do not understand them.

Kanter (1977a) asserted that being different raises at least two issues for the person in this situation: visibility and contrast. First, the individual is more visible and therefore receives more attention. She lacks privacy and often is overobserved. Her performance is likely to affect not only her own personal advancement but also

the future acceptability of other members of her minority group. In addition, being the only representative of one's race/gender in the workplace typically leads to immense performance pressures, either self-imposed or exacted by the organization.

Second, the presence of someone who is different illuminates the differences between the individual and representatives of the dominant culture. Those characteristics that distinguish the individual from the members of the dominant group tend to be perceived as highly salient, even if they are irrelevant to task performance. Thus, the presence of someone who is different, while making the majority culture more aware of what its members have in common, threatens the continuation of this commonality.

Furthermore, Sodano and Baler (1983) contended that being different from others in the organization provides the individual and the system with a variety of problems as well as opportunities. Phelps (1995) concurred with Sodano and Baler when she stated that black female faculty members have unique advantages and challenges in predominantly white colleges and universities that are often intertwined, thus making it difficult to clearly distinguish the advantages from the challenges. Recognizing these two points is important in understanding the complex, interrelated nature of the benefits and challenges facing black female faculty. For example, black women and racial minorities in the academic environment are likely to occupy positions of "solo status" (i.e., to be either the only

member or one of a small number of their gender or racial group in a work situation (Fontaine & Greenlee, 1993, p. 121).

Black women faculty members and administrators often find themselves in the position of being solos because there are so few of them. The first benefit of being the sole black female faculty member in a department is reinforcement for being special. Being the only black woman faculty member in a department can result in being sought out by colleagues; being asked to serve as a consultant, workshop facilitator, or research assistant to others in the institution and community on multicultural issues; and being upheld as the department's symbol of diversity (Phelps, 1995). On the one hand, this attention provides validation and the feeling that one is doing something important. On the other hand, this specialness can lead to overwork, overcommitment, and burnout, as one faculty member related:

When I first arrived at the university (my first professional appointment), I enjoyed the attention I received. After a short while, however, I realized that the responsibility associated with being the only Black female in my college, and only one of a handful in the university, was overwhelming. I have suffered several instances of burnout and exhaustion. As a consequence I have learned to maintain a less visible profile as a coping and survival strategy. (Phelps, 1995, p. 257)

Being automatically assumed to be the expert on multicultural issues within and outside of the department can be rewarding. It can result in the faculty member's being able to carve her niche, to develop her own area of expertise, and to implement some of her own ideas regarding multicultural issues. Having to be the expert on multicultural issues simply because she is the sole black in the department, however, can also work to her detriment. The faculty member may be

placed unwillingly and continually in the role of multicultural expert, unable to move beyond that role because of other colleagues' expectations and assumptions. Thus, she becomes the symbol or token for her race rather than being viewed as an individual by the majority group. As a token she is encouraged to behave in ways that are stereotypical of her group. As Kanter (1977b) stated, solos have a greater chance of being placed in stereotyped roles by the majority members, whether the stereotypes concern gender, race, or a handicap. In general, the individual characteristics of solos are distorted or misperceived to restrict solos to preconceived stereotypes about the solo's group. The imposition of stereotypes on individuals leads to role entrapment. As a consequence, the only behavior that is accepted from solos is behavior that conforms to the stereotypes.

Moreover, such stereotypical roles relegate their participation to their minority position in the academic environment (Aguirre, Hernandez, & Martinez 1994). In other words, minority faculty are overloaded with minority-oriented institutional demands (multicultural and diversity issues) but are excluded from institutional committees focused on campus planning, decision making, or other mainstream activities. For minority women faculty, their minority position in the institution is a marker in all dimensions of institutional participation; for white women, minority position in the institution has generalized effects but not particular outcomes (Aguirre et al., 1994). The minority status for white women is perceived differently from black women's. The white woman's minority status is interpreted only in reference to her

number in academe. It does not create barriers to occupational advancement, as Kanter (1977a) contended.

No one group feels the effect of these stereotypical views more than does the black woman. Often she is a "double solo" (Fontaine & Greenlee, 1993), suffering the dual effects of racism and sexism in the workplace. In many cases, the two effects (racism and sexism) are so fused that distinguishing them is difficult. Frequently, colleagues assume that black women are hired solely on the basis of affirmative action initiatives, not because of their competence and qualifications for the position. Phelps (1995) concurred that racism and sexism are closely intertwined with the challenge of having to prove oneself. For the black female faculty member, these "isms" can affect various areas, such as her perceived credibility; her perceived competence as a professor and researcher; her teaching experiences, assignments, and evaluations; her perceived interpersonal skills; and her perceived decision-making skills (Phelps, 1995). Thus, in addition to facing the routine challenges and pressures of the academic environment, a black female faculty member must also deal with the racist and sexist behaviors and attitudes of colleagues and students (Andrews, 1993; Hooks, 1991; Howard-Vital, 1989; Moses, 1989). This assumption can lead to resentment, disrespectful treatment, and notions that black women are less competent and qualified than their majority-group counterparts.

According to Kanter (1976), numerical scarcity or being in solo status may influence the solo's effectiveness as he or she tries to carry out a prescribed activity

or responsibility. Whereas Kanter and others have speculated about the consequences of solo status for different social categories, in their empirical work they did not address the actual perceptions of black women in solo status. Consequently, Fontaine and Greenlee (1993), in an exploratory study, examined the perceived effects of being in solo status positions. The study was designed specifically to assess the perceptions of black women in solo status positions in academia and to determine the effect of solo status on their ability to succeed in the workplace. Black female faculty and administrators from colleges and universities in Virginia completed a 41-item questionnaire. The study findings indicated that 75% of the respondents reported increased pressure to outperform others. Black women reported pressures not only to outperform, but also to outshine and outthink their colleagues. Contrary to what Kanter (1977b) found, the black women in this study did not report being less successful as a result of the increased pressure to outperform. None of the black women reported being less successful; in fact, 64% reported being more successful.

In addition to pressures to outperform others, black women in solo status reported feelings of isolation, pressures to assimilate, and doubts from their majority-group counterparts regarding their competence. Overall, 83% reported feelings of isolation. The extremely high percentages may be attributed to the increased effect of racial/cultural differences in addition to gender differences, according to Fontaine and Greenlee (1993). Forty-two percent reported pressure to assimilate, whereas 33% thought that their colleagues viewed them as less competent.

When asked whether they experienced greater difficulty advancing within the educational hierarchy than majority-group members, black women were split evenly on this question. Forty-two percent agreed that they experienced greater difficulty advancing, whereas 42% disagreed; 17% were neutral. However, 58% reported that they did not receive the same opportunities to advance as did their majority-group counterparts.

Moreover, black women did not report feelings of frustration in their efforts to advance because of race or gender. However, 92% thought that black women were doubly disadvantaged in their efforts to advance due to race and gender. Interestingly, black women unanimously agreed that women of color are subjected to greater degrees of discrimination than are white women. Also, black women perceived the combined effect of race and gender differences (being a double solo) as a greater barrier to advancement than just gender or race alone.

From the evidence presented, it is clear that few black female faculty members become presidents, deans, or department heads at predominantly white research universities (Blackwell, 1983; Howard-Vital, 1987; Wilson, 1987). If they are involved in administration, they are holding lower-level traditional administrative positions, and their opportunities for reaching the top are narrow and in many cases might not even exist (Gill & Showell, 1991). Overwhelmingly, the literature indicated that gender and race function as barriers with respect to tenure, promotion, and advancement in administrative positions. It also was evident from the literature that men advance faster than women in administration and with respect to tenure and

promotion. Men still hold stereotypes about the roles that women should assume in the college/university setting. These factors serve to limit the mobility and integration of black women into the white-male-dominated academy.

Still, black female faculty must aspire to become administrative leaders. The presence of black female faculty and administrators can provide minority students and white students at research institutions the opportunity to become acquainted with and develop friendships with different people. The diversification of the faculty and administration at research universities will cultivate educational systems in which academics of both genders and all races can teach and explore knowledge from different, creative, conflicting, and sometimes compatible perspectives.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The researcher's major purpose in this study was to investigate the disparity between black women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of black women professors. Also of interest was whether factors such as culture, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, the world of work, and racial considerations have an influence on black women professors' aspirations for an administrative position.

Chapters I and II served to introduce the problem under investigation and to review the literature pertinent to the primary concerns of the study. The purpose of Chapter III is to explain the investigator's methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing the data derived from the instrument administration.

Type of Study

The descriptive method of research was used in this study. Sax (1968) described the goal of this particular type of study as follows:

The purpose of descriptive research is to show conditions as they exist without being influenced by the investigator. Descriptive research encompasses a number of different techniques, including correlational

analyses, case studies, surveys, and interviews as well as direct observation. (p. 36)

Both white and black female professors in the Big Ten institutions were given the identical questionnaire for the purpose of determining their levels of administration aspiration as well as their level of aspiration. Using a descriptive study enables the researcher to obtain the necessary data for analysis and to determine the extent of the problem and indicate how serious and widespread it is.

Population and Sampling Methods

A random sample of assistant, associate, and full professors was chosen from the main campuses of the Big Ten Conference institutions. Boocock (1980) stated the following about random sampling:

The random sample, in which every case in a population has an equal likelihood of being included in the final sample, is the only kind that allows the researcher to make estimates about the total population and to compute the degree of confidence to be placed in his or her estimates. (p. 24)

To ensure that sampling techniques were carefully observed at the various institutions, Dr. Louis Romano and the researcher wrote a letter to the respective directors of the Affirmative Action/Equity Offices in the Big Ten institutions to obtain their cooperation. Each of them agreed to conduct the sampling of their staffs and to distribute the questionnaires with return-addressed envelopes to the white and black female professors in their respective institutions. The representative sample was generated from the on-line data base of all the assistant, associate, and full professors currently associated with each university. The pool for the black female sample was all of the known black female professors at the university. The pool for

the white female sample was all of the known white female professors at the university. To avoid having to send a follow-up letter and yet secure a large enough sample for the study, 25 questionnaires for white females and 25 questionnaires for black females were sent to each of the designated institutions.

Five hundred survey packets were distributed to women professors at the Big Ten Conference institutions. Each packet contained a cover letter, a letter of explanation, a questionnaire, a separate answer sheet, and a return-addressed envelope (see Appendix). Completion of the research packet was identified as consent to participate in the research. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, respondents were asked not to put their names on the instrument and to return the packets directly to the researcher in the postage-paid envelopes provided for that purpose.

The population used in the study comprised white and black women from the ranks of assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor from the institutions in the Big Ten Conference. They include Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, the University of Minnesota, Purdue University, the University of Illinois, the University of Iowa, Northwestern University, the Ohio State University, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Indiana University. The following descriptions of these universities were obtained from Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges, 1997 (1996, pp. 48-56).

Michigan State University

East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Established: 1855

Student enrollment, 1996: 39,743

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$4,409

Highest offering: Doctorate

University of Michigan-Ann Arbor

Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Established: 1817

Student enrollment, 1996: 36,845

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$5,472

Highest offering: Doctorate

University of Minnesota Twin Cities

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Established: 1851

Student enrollment, 1996: 51,880

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$3,392

Highest offering: Doctorate

Purdue University

West Lafayette, Indiana 47907

Established: 1869

Student enrollment, 1996: 37,094

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$2,884

Highest offering: Doctorate

University of Illinois

Champaign, Illinois 61820

Established: 1867

Student enrollment, 1996: 38,912

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$3,750

Highest offering: Doctorate

University of Iowa

Iowa City, Iowa 52242

Established: 1847

Student enrollment, 1996: 27,688

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$2,455

Highest offering: Doctorate

Northwestern University

Evanston, Illinois 60208

Established: 1851

Student enrollment, 1996: 17,586

Affiliation: Independently supported

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$16,404

Highest offering: Doctorate

Ohio State University

Columbus, Ohio 43210

Established: 1870

Student enrollment, 1996: 50,623

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$3,087

Highest offering: Doctorate

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Established: 1848

Student enrollment, 1996: 39,999

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$2,737

Highest offering: Doctorate

Indiana University

Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Established: 1820

Student enrollment, 1996: 35,551

Affiliation: Public

Undergraduate tuition and fees (in-state): \$3,373

Highest offering: Doctorate

Instrumentation

This study was undertaken to determine the aspiration levels of black woman professors for higher educational administrative positions. A survey was conducted using a structured questionnaire. Sax (1968) summarized the advantages of such an instrument:

- 1. The major advantage of the questionnaire is one of economics: the time and expense involved in questionnaires sent through the mail has practical ramifications over other types of survey, such as the interview.**
- 2. Each respondent receives the same set of questions phrased in exactly the same way: the job of summarizing and comparing responses is reduced.**
- 3. The use of the mail in sending out the questionnaires means that a larger variety of persons can be contacted. (pp. 214-215)**

The questionnaire used in this study was developed by Burleigh-Savage after a review of the literature pertaining to women in administrative roles in higher education. The first-draft questionnaire was critiqued by professors at Michigan State University the week of April 2, 1979. The identical questionnaire was used by Karr (1982). Some revisions were made, such as the opening paragraph of the general directions, and a few terms were changed. For this study, it was suggested that a fourth part be added to address the issues of gender and race to fit this particular investigation.

A letter of explanation was developed to accompany the questionnaire. Also, at each institution, the director of the Affirmative Action Office asked for the

cooperation of the personnel in his or her institution. During the month of May, the sample from each institution received the same questionnaires.

The survey instrument was divided into three parts:

PART I contained levels of aspiration in higher educational administration for which an appropriate response might be:

1. I have applied for this position.
2. I would aspire to this position.
3. It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.
4. I would never apply for this position.

The administrative positions described were Chief Academic Officer, Dean of a Major College, Administrative Vice-President, College President, and Other (please specify).

PART II contained 13 demographic items intended to elicit the various backgrounds of the respondents, for descriptive purposes only.

PART III contained the following six major topic areas with appropriate statements for each one:

Cultural Considerations (Questions 1 through 11)
Educational Factors (Questions 12 through 21)
Personal Perspectives (Questions 22 through 31)
Psychological Aspects (Questions 32 through 42)
The World of Work (Questions 43 through 53)
Racial Considerations (Questions 54 through 64)

A 5-point Likert-type scale was used for responses, with 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = disagree, and 5 = strongly disagree.

Two additional items were also contained in Part III of the questionnaire. They were as follows:

1. Please indicate your major teaching department. (Question 65)
2. What do you consider your primary academic professional responsibility? (Question 66)

These two items were not treated as factors that might be related to administrative aspirations. Rather, they were included to ascertain whether a significant difference existed between white and black women professors in higher education.

Collection of the Data

Five hundred questionnaires were mailed to each sample (25 white female professors and 25 black female professors) selected from Michigan State University, Ohio State University, Purdue University, the University of Illinois, the University of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, the University of Iowa, Indiana University, and the University of Minnesota. An appropriate letter requesting participation in the study, a letter of introduction to the directors of the respective institutions, and 50 manila envelopes containing questionnaires, answer sheets, and stamped return-addressed white envelopes were contained in the packages sent to each institution (see Appendix).

Testable Hypotheses

To ascertain whether significant differences existed between black and white women professors concerning their levels of aspiration for a higher educational administrative position, it was necessary to test the following hypotheses using data gathered from Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire.

PART I: Intent of Aspiration for a Position in Higher Educational Administration

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in aspirations for an administrative position in higher education between black and white women respondents.

PART II: Demographic Data

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference in demographic characteristics between black and white women respondents.

PART III: Multiple Factors That Might Be Related to Administrative Aspirations

Cultural Considerations

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference in cultural considerations between black and white women respondents.

Educational Factors

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in educational factors between black and white women respondents.

Personal Perspectives

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant difference in personal perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Psychological Aspects

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant difference in psychological aspects between black and white women respondents.

The World of Work

Hypothesis 7: There is a significant difference in world-of-work perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Racial Considerations

Hypothesis 8: There is a significant difference in racial considerations between black and white women respondents.

Major Teaching Departments

Hypothesis 9: There is a significant difference in major teaching departments between black and white women respondents.

Perceived Primary Academic Responsibility

Hypothesis 10: There is a significant difference in perceived primary academic responsibility between black and white women respondents.

Treatment of the Data

The completed questionnaire forms, totaling 319 from the sample population, were given to the Michigan State University computer center for data processing. From the Data Processing Division, frequency distributions were generated. A research consultant assisted in recommending the appropriate statistical techniques for analyzing the data and also helped in the analysis. Data analyses included cross-tabulations, frequency distributions, chi-square test of association, comparison of means with analysis of variance (ANOVA), and the t-test of significance. Data were tested for significance at the .05 alpha level with various degrees of freedom.

Summary

This chapter contained a description of the planning and implementation of the study. Specific attention was given to describing the type of study and the population. The development of the instrument was then discussed, along with a description of the components of the final survey instrument. The procedures used to collect and analyze the data also were explained. In addition, the testable hypotheses were reviewed.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The researcher's purpose in this study was to investigate the disparity between black women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of black women professors. Also of interest was whether factors such as culture, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, the world of work, and racial considerations have an influence on black women professors' aspirations for an administrative position. In addition, the major teaching departments and perceived primary academic responsibilities were investigated.

In this chapter, the results of the data analyses are presented in the following sections:

- 1. The aspiration levels of both black and white women professors. The appropriate hypothesis is restated, with the accompanying data and discussion.**
- 2. The demographic data. The appropriate hypothesis is given, with the corresponding data and discussion.**

3. Factors influencing the higher educational administrative aspirations of the respondents, namely, cultural considerations, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, the world of work, and racial factors. Each hypothesis was analyzed to determine whether there was a significant difference between black and white women respondents. Data on major teaching departments and primary academic responsibility of the respondents also are presented.

**Black and White Women Professors' Levels of Aspiration
for an Administrative Position**

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in aspirations for an administrative position in higher education between black and white women respondents.

This hypothesis was tested using a t-test for equality of means. The independent variable was the racial group, and the dependent variable was aspiration. The t-value was -11.85, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, this hypothesis was retained. The aspiration levels for administrative positions of the black and white women professors in the sample, in numbers and percentages, are shown in Table 4.1. In Table 4.2, the aspiration levels of the respondents are shown on the basis of aspirers and nonaspirers for administrative positions in higher education.

Table 4.1: Black and white women professors' levels of aspiration for administrative positions.

Position	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
<u>CHIEF ACADEMIC OFFICER</u>				
Aspirers				
I have already applied for this position.	15	11	3	2
I would aspire to this position.	74	53	29	17
Total	89	64	32	19
Nonaspirers				
It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.	36	25	83	47
I would never apply for this position.	16	11	59	34
Total	52	36	142	81
<u>DEAN OF A MAJOR COLLEGE</u>				
Aspirers				
I have already applied for this position.	16	11	1	2
I would aspire to this position.	79	56	33	19
Total	95	67	34	21
Nonaspirers				
It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.	36	26	66	38
I would never apply for this position.	9	7	71	41
Total	45	33	137	79
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE VICE-PRESIDENT</u>				
Aspirers				
I have already applied for this position.	4	3	0	0
I would aspire to this position.	60	43	14	11
Total	64	46	14	11
Nonaspirers				
It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.	52	37	84	47
I would never apply for this position.	24	17	75	42
Total	76	54	159	89
<u>COLLEGE PRESIDENT</u>				
Aspirers				
I have already applied for this position.	3	2	0	0
I would aspire to this position.	49	35	5	3
Total	52	37	5	3
Nonaspirers				
It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.	53	38	72	41
I would never apply for this position.	35	25	97	55
Total	88	63	169	96

Table 4.2: Summary of aspirers versus nonaspirers to administrative positions in higher education.

Position	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
<u>CHIEF ACADEMIC OFFICER</u>				
Aspirers	89	64	32	19
Nonaspirers	52	36	142	81
Total	141	100	174	100
<u>DEAN OF A MAJOR COLLEGE</u>				
Aspirers	95	67	34	21
Nonaspirers	45	33	137	79
Total	140	100	171	100
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE VICE-PRESIDENT</u>				
Aspirers	64	46	14	11
Nonaspirers	76	54	159	89
Total	140	100	173	100
<u>COLLEGE PRESIDENT</u>				
Aspirers	52	37	5	3
Nonaspirers	88	63	169	97
Total	140	100	174	100

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference in demographic characteristics between black and white women respondents.

Age

The distribution of the black and white women professors by age is shown in Table 4.3. According to the table, both black and white women were fairly close in age in the different age brackets. In testing this hypothesis, a chi-square value of 3.90 was obtained, with 3 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis for age was rejected.

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by age.

Age in Years	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
20-29	5	4	3	2
30-39	29	21	26	15
40-50	52	37	62	37
Over 50	54	38	81	46
Total	140	100	172	100

Sibling Placement

Respondents were asked about their placement in their families in relation to siblings. As shown in Table 4.4, 1% of the black women and 5% of the white women were the second youngest to the middle child in the family. Within the other categories, there were small differences between the black and white respondents. In testing the hypothesis, a chi-square value of 2.973 was obtained, with 4 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the research hypothesis was rejected.

Marital Status

A larger percentage of white women than black women in the study were married (see Table 4.5). As shown in the table, 44% of the white women and 33% of the black women were married. The percentages of black and white women who were married, with children, were somewhat close: 39% of black women and 34% of white women. Also, a larger percentage of black women than white women was divorced/widowed, with children--8% and 1%, respectively. In testing the

hypothesis, a chi-square value of 9.07 was obtained, with 4 degrees of freedom. This was not significant at the .05 level because the alpha value must be less than .05 and the alpha value in this test was .05940. This explains the differences in the marital status categories. Therefore, the hypothesis concerning marital status was rejected.

Table 4.4: Respondents' sibling placement in their families.

Sibling Placement	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Youngest child	23	16	27	15
Second youngest to middle	2	1	8	5
Middle child	18	13	18	10
Middle to second oldest	27	19	34	20
Oldest child	71	51	91	50
Total	141	100	178	100

Table 4.5: Marital status of the respondents.

Marital Status	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Single	26	18	31	18
Married	47	33	78	44
Married with children	55	39	61	34
Divorced/widowed with children	10	8	2	1
Divorced/widowed without children	3	2	5	3
Total	141	100	177	100

Number of Children

As shown in Table 4.6, 41% of the black women and 44% of the white women did not have children. Of the black women, 26% had one child; 31% of the white women had one child. In addition, 33% of the black women and 23% of the white women had two to four children. No black women and 2% of the white women had five or more children. In testing this hypothesis, a chi-square value of 6.39 was obtained, with 3 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis for number of children was rejected.

Teaching Level

Twenty-three percent of the black women held an assistant professorship, as compared to 26% of the white women. In contrast, 46% of the black women and 33% of the white women were full professors (see Table 4.7). In testing this hypothesis, a chi-square value of 6.15 was obtained, with 2 degrees of freedom, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis concerning teaching level was retained.

Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents by number of children.

Number of Children	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
None	58	41	78	44
One	37	26	55	31
Two to four	46	33	41	23
Five or more	0	0	4	2
Total	141	100	178	100

Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents by teaching level.

Teaching Level	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Assistant professor	31	23	45	26
Associate professor	43	31	73	41
Full professor	64	46	59	33
Total	138	100	177	100

Racial Group

As shown in Table 4.8, the largest racial group in the study was Caucasian, which consisted of 177 (100%) white women respondents. The next largest racial group was African American, which consisted of 139 (100%) black women respondents. The hypothesis was tested for this variable and resulted in a chi-square value of 317, with 1 degree of freedom, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents by racial group.

Racial Group	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Black	139	99.3	0	0
White	0	0.0	178	100
Hispanic	1	0.7	0	0
Total	140	100.0	178	100

Level of Education

As shown in Table 4.9, 92% of the black women in the study and 88% of the white women had achieved a doctorate. Three percent of the black women and 9% of the white women had taken graduate hours beyond a master's degree. Five percent of the black women had earned a master's degree, as had 1% of the white women. None of the black women and 2% of the white women said a bachelor's degree was the highest level of education they had completed. In testing the hypothesis, a chi-square value of 15.93 was obtained, with 3 degrees of freedom, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Table 4.9: Distribution of respondents by highest level of education completed.

Level of Education	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Doctorate	129	92	155	88
Graduate hours beyond master's	4	3	17	9
Master's degree	8	5	1	1
Bachelor's degree	0	0	4	2
Total	141	100	177	100

Number of Years Teaching

Four percent of the black women and 6% of the white women were in their first year of teaching (see Table 4.10). In contrast, 22% of the black women and 15% of the white women were in their first through fifth years of teaching. Thirty percent of the black women and 25% of the white women were in their sixth through

tenth years of teaching, approximately the same percentages (24% and 26%) were in their eleventh through fifteenth years, and 20% of the black women and 29% of the white women had been teaching 15 or more years. In testing this hypothesis, a chi-square value of 4.85 was obtained, with 4 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Table 4.10: Distribution of respondents by years of teaching experience.

Years of Teaching	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
First year	6	4	11	6
1-5 years	30	22	26	15
6-10 years	41	30	45	25
11-15 years	33	24	46	26
15 or more years	29	20	49	28
Total	139	100	177	100

Educational Community

Approximately 80% of both the black and the white women were teaching in urban communities (see Table 4.11). Twelve percent of the black women and 7% of the white women were teaching in suburban communities. Teaching in rural communities were 5% of the black women and 13% of the white women. In testing the hypothesis, a chi-square value of 6.26 was obtained, with 2 degrees of freedom, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Table 4.11: Educational community in which respondents were teaching.

Community	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Urban	116	83	139	80
Suburban	16	12	12	7
Rural	7	5	22	13
Total	139	100	173	100

Participation in Sports

As shown in Table 4.12, 21% of the black women and 24% of the white women had participated in team sports as youths. Approximately the same percentages of black and white women had participated in team (21% and 24%) and individual (both 2%) sports. In contrast, 43% of the black women and 40% of the white women had not participated in any sports as youths. In testing this hypothesis, a chi-square value of .4913 was obtained, with 3 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Table 4.12: Respondents' participation in sports as youths.

Type of Sports Activity	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Team	29	21	42	24
Individual	4	2	4	2
Both team and individual	47	34	60	34
Did not participate	61	43	72	40
Total	141	100	178	100

Mothers Working

As shown in Table 4.13, 17% of the black women and 40% of the white women said their mothers had not worked either full or part time during their growing-up years. Six percent of the black women and 16% of the white women said their mothers had worked one to five years, and 16% of the black women and 18% of the white women said their mothers had worked six to ten years. Sixty-one percent of the black women's and 26% of the white women's mothers had worked all of their growing-up years. In testing the hypothesis, a chi-square value of 48.90 was obtained, with 3 degrees of freedom, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was not rejected.

Table 4.13: Number of years the respondents' mothers worked during the time they were growing up.

Number of Years	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Zero	22	17	71	40
One to five	8	6	27	16
Six to ten	21	16	32	18
All	85	61	45	26
Total	136	100	175	100

Worked for Female Administrator

As shown in Table 4.14, 63% of the black women and 57% of the white women in the study had worked for a female administrator. Only 37% of the black women and 43% of the white women had not had the experience of working for a female administrator. In both categories the percentages of black and white

respondents were fairly close with regard to their experiences of working for a female administrator. In testing the hypothesis, a chi-square value of 1.55 was obtained, with 1 degree of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Table 4.14: Distribution of respondents by experience working for a female administrator.

Had Worked for a Female Administrator	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	88	63	102	57
No	51	37	76	43
Total	139	100	178	100

Summary of Demographic Data

The results of analyzing the various demographic data for black and white women respondents are summarized in Table 4.15. As can be seen in the table, the hypotheses concerning significant differences between black and white respondents with regard to present teaching level, racial group, level of education, educational community, and mother working were not rejected. On the other hand, the hypotheses concerning significant differences between black and white respondents with regard to age, sibling placement, marital status, number of children, years of teaching, sports as a youth, and working for a female administrator were rejected.

Table 4.15: Results of tests for significant differences between black and white women respondents on various demographic variables.

Demographic Variable	Result of Hypothesis Test
Age	Rejected
Sibling placement	Rejected
Marital status	Rejected
Number of children	Rejected
Present teaching level	Not rejected
Racial group	Not rejected
Level of education	Not rejected
Years of teaching	Rejected
Educational community	Not rejected
Sports as a youth	Rejected
Mother working	Not rejected
Working for a female administrator	Rejected

Multiple Factors Influencing the Administrative Aspirations of the Respondents

Results of t-Tests

Cultural considerations factor.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference in cultural considerations between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value of 3.05 was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Educational factor.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in educational factors between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value was -1.26, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Personal perspectives factor.

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant difference in personal perspectives between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value was 3.40, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Psychological aspects factor.

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant difference in psychological aspects between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value was 4.61, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

World-of-work factor.

Hypothesis 7: There is a significant difference in world-of-work perspectives between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value was .51, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Racial factor.

Hypothesis 8: There is a significant difference in racial considerations between black and white women respondents.

A t-test was conducted to test this hypothesis. The t-value was -21.94, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, this hypothesis was retained.

A summary of the t-tests of significance for equality of means is presented in Table 4.16. This table reflects the results concerning the effect of status (race/gender); that is, significant effects of status were present on five of the seven factors.

Table 4.16: Results of t-tests of significance for equality of means.

Factor	Mean		t-Value
	Black	White	
Aspirations	2.54	3.30	-11.85*
Cultural considerations	3.52	3.35	3.05*
Educational	3.00	3.07	-1.26
Personal perspectives	3.22	3.02	3.40*
Psychological aspects	3.22	3.02	3.40*
World of work	2.66	2.63	.51
Racial considerations	2.30	3.49	-21.94*

*Significant at the .05 level.

A summary of the results of t-tests for significant differences on the seven factors is provided in Table 4.17. As shown in the table, the hypotheses regarding the aspirations, cultural considerations, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and racial factors were not rejected. Conversely, the hypotheses regarding the educational and world-of-work factors were rejected.

Table 4.17: Summary of results of t-tests for significant differences on the seven factors.

Factor	Result of Hypothesis Test
Aspirations	Not rejected
Cultural considerations	Not rejected
Educational	Rejected
Personal perspectives	Not rejected
Psychological aspects	Not rejected
World of work	Rejected
Racial considerations	Not rejected

Results of Analyses of Variance

The second type of statistical analysis that was performed was the analysis of variance (ANOVA). ANOVA is an inferential technique with many applications. It is used to determine whether means on one or more factors differ significantly from each other. ANOVA results in an F-value, which, if statistically significant, tells the researcher that the means are likely to have been drawn from different populations.

Cultural considerations factor.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference in cultural considerations between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of 9.30, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Educational factor.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in educational factors between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of 1.58, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Personal perspectives factor.

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant difference in personal perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of 11.54, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Psychological aspects factor.

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant difference in psychological aspects between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of 21.27, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

World-of-work factor.

Hypothesis 7: There is a significant difference in world-of-work perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of .263, which was not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

Racial factor.

Hypothesis 8: There is a significant difference in racial considerations between black and white women respondents.

Testing of this hypothesis with ANOVA resulted in an F-value of 481.47, which was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was retained.

Table 4.18 includes the ANOVA results on the effect of status (race/gender).

Significant effects of status were present on five of the seven factors.

Table 4.18: Results of the ANOVA tests of significance on the seven factors.

Factor	Mean		F-Value
	Black	White	
Aspirations	2.54	3.30	140.49*
Cultural considerations	3.52	3.35	9.30*
Educational	3.01	3.07	1.58
Personal perspectives	3.22	3.02	11.54*
Psychological perspectives	3.27	3.01	21.27*
World of work	2.66	2.63	.26
Racial	2.30	3.49	481.47*

*Significant at the .05 level.

A summary of the results of the ANOVA tests of significant differences on the seven factors is presented in Table 4.19. As shown in the table, the hypotheses regarding the aspirations, cultural considerations, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and racial factors were not rejected. Conversely, the hypotheses regarding the educational and world-of-work factors were rejected. These results correspond to those from the t-tests.

Table 4.19: Summary of the results of the ANOVA tests of significant differences on the seven factors.

Factor	Result of Hypothesis Test
Aspirations	Not rejected
Cultural considerations	Not rejected
Educational	Rejected
Personal perspectives	Not rejected
Psychological aspects	Not rejected
World-of-work	Rejected
Racial considerations	Not rejected

Results of Correlational Analyses

The principal advantage of correlational analyses is to analyze the relationships among a large number of variables in a single study. This method allows the researcher to analyze how several variables, either singly or in combination, might affect a particular pattern of behavior. Another advantage of the correlational method is that it provides information concerning the degree of relationship between the variables being studied. Correlation coefficients are used to measure the degree of relationship. They express in mathematical terms the degree of relationship between any two variables.

A summary of the correlations between aspirations and the other variables is provided in Table 4.20. The table indicates that race group and racial considerations had a positive relationship to aspirations (.5591 and .5648, respectively). On the other hand, both psychological aspects and personal

perspectives had a negative relationship to aspirations (-.3451 and -.1651, respectively). The correlation coefficient for cultural considerations indicated a lack of relationship between this variable and aspirations.

Table 4.20: Correlations between aspirations and other variables.

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
Race group	.5591**
Racial considerations	.5648**
Psychological aspects	-.3451**
Educational factors	.1137*
Personal perspectives	-.1651**
World of work	-.1392*
Cultural considerations	-.0834

*Significant at the .05 level. **Significant at the .01 level.

Correlations between aspirations and the demographic variables are shown in Table 4.21. It can be seen that racial group and educational level (.5538 and .1271, respectively) had a significant positive relationship with aspirations. On the other hand, teaching level and mother's work years (-.1703 and -.2121) had a significant negative relationship to aspirations. The other variables were not significantly related to aspirations.

Table 4.21: Correlations between aspirations and demographic variables.

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
Age	.0802
Gender	-.0868
Sibling placement	-.0190
Marital status	-.0614
Your children	-.0420
Teaching level	-.1703**
Racial group	.5538**
Educational level	.1271
Teaching years	.0217
Educational community	.0572
Sports participation	.1049
Mother's work years	-.2121**
Work for female	.0504

*Significant at the .05 level. **Significant at the .01 level.

Major Teaching Department

Hypothesis 9: There is a significant difference in major teaching departments between black and white women respondents.

This hypothesis was tested using responses to the following statement:

"Please indicate your major teaching department." The response had to be written in on the questionnaire form. Therefore, statistical analysis was not done on these responses. The results are shown in Table 4.22. The majority of the black respondents (27%) were in the Social Sciences Department. The College of

Education was a close second, with 23%, and Health Services and Arts and Letters tied for third, with 20% each. The majority of the white respondents (39%) were in the Department of Physical Sciences and Technology. Health Services was second, with 20%, and Arts and Letters was third, with 17%.

Table 4.22: Distribution of respondents by major teaching departments.

Department	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Education	32	23	20	11
Social Sciences	35	27	23	13
Health Sciences	30	20	35	20
Arts and Letters	30	20	30	17
Physical Sciences and Technology	13	10	69	39
Total	140	100	177	100

Primary Academic (Professional) Responsibility

Hypothesis 10: There is a significant difference in perceived primary academic responsibility between black and white women respondents.

This hypothesis was tested using responses to the following question: "What do you consider your primary academic responsibility?" Responses to the question were tabulated; Table 4.23 contains the responses. Twenty-six percent of the black respondents and 25% of the white respondents indicated teaching, research, and service as their primary academic responsibility. Twenty-five percent of the white respondents and 21% of the black respondents indicated teaching only as the

primary responsibility. Eleven percent of the black respondents and 8% of the white respondents indicated administration only. Only 10% of the black respondents and 4% of the white respondents indicated teaching and administration as their primary responsibility.

Table 4.23: Respondents' perceived primary academic responsibility.

Responsibility	Black		White	
	N	%	N	%
Teaching only	30	21	45	23
Research only	15	11	35	20
Administration only	15	11	15	8
Teaching and research	30	21	35	20
Teaching, research, and service	37	26	40	25
Teaching and administration	13	10	7	4
Total	140	100	177	100

Summary

This chapter contained the results of the statistical analyses designed to investigate the disparity between black women in higher education administration and the career aspirations of black women professors. Further investigation focused on whether factors such as racial considerations, cultural considerations, educational factors, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and the world of work had an influence on black women professors' aspirations for a position in administration in colleges and universities. In addition, the major teaching departments and perceived

primary academic responsibilities of the respondents also were investigated. Results of the hypothesis testing were reported, based on t-tests of significance, ANOVAs, and correlations. The .05 level was the criterion for statistical significance.

A summary of the study, discussion, implications for education, and recommendations for future research are presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter contains a summary of the purpose of the study, as well as the population and the procedures employed. The research findings are discussed, as well as conclusions drawn from those findings. The findings from this study are compared with those from Karr's (1981) research. Recommendations for educational practice and suggestions for further research conclude the chapter.

Summary

This study was conducted to determine whether differences exist between black and white women professors concerning their levels of aspirations for a higher educational administrative position. The women responded to a questionnaire that focused on their aspiration for an administrative position, and certain factors that might influence their advancement into such positions, namely, cultural, educational, personal, psychological, racial, and the work environment.

Literature was reviewed on the following major topics:

- 1. Historical perspectives on women's advancement in higher educational administration.**
- 2. History of black women in higher education.**

3. The status of black women employed in higher education.
4. Social and psychological factors influencing women's career aspirations.

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in aspirations for an administrative position in higher education between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference in demographic characteristics between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference in cultural considerations between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant difference in educational factors between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant difference in personal perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant difference in psychological aspects between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 7: There is a significant difference in world-of-work perspectives between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 8: There is a significant difference in racial considerations between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 9: There is a significant difference in major teaching departments between black and white women respondents.

Hypothesis 10: There is a significant difference in perceived primary academic responsibility between black and white women respondents.

A random sample of women assistant, associate, and full professors was chosen from the main campuses of the Big Ten Conference institutions. To ensure

a large enough sample, 25 questionnaires were sent to white professors and 25 questionnaires were sent to black women at each of the ten universities.

A structured questionnaire developed and critiqued by professors at Michigan State University was used to gather the data. The questionnaire was divided into three parts: Part I—levels of aspiration in higher educational administration; Part II—demographic items; and Part III—factors related to culture, education, race, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and the world of work. A 5-point Likert-type scale was used for responses. An additional item in Part III asked for the respondent's major teaching department and primary academic responsibility.

With the cooperation of the Affirmative Action/Equity Office at each of the ten institutions, the researcher sent packets containing a cover letter, a letter of permission, questionnaires, and return-addressed, stamped envelopes to the institutions for distribution to sample members. Of the 500 questionnaires that were mailed, 319 usable questionnaires were returned.

Findings and Conclusions

Black and White Women Professors' Levels of Aspiration for an Administrative Position

The findings indicated that significantly more black women than white women aspired to administrative positions in higher education. The breakdown of respondents aspiring to various positions is as follows: chief academic officer (64% black and 19% white), dean of a major college (65% black women and 21% white women), administrative vice-president (46% black women and 11% white women),

and college president (37% black women and 3% white women). Based on these findings, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Both black and white female professors had aspirations for administrative positions. However, the black female professors had higher aspirations than did their white counterparts, based on their percentages. In studies of occupational aspirations, some investigators have found higher aspirations among black women (Eckland & Alexander, 1980; Fleming, 1983; Gurin & Gaylord, 1976; Mednick & Puryear, 1976; Picou, 1973). Also, the black women's lower mean score indicated that aspiring to an administrative position was not as problematic for them as it was for the white female professors. In studies comparing black and white women, most researchers have found that black women showed stronger work orientation, longer history of participation in the work force, and stronger commitment to professional goals (Epstein, 1973; Gump, 1980; Smuts, 1971). Black women are less likely to rely solely on marriage but have become more self-sufficient due to their work history.

2. It also was concluded from the findings that black women's race did not hinder them from aspiring to administrative positions in higher education. In fact, just the opposite was true. Because of their race, they were more determined.

3. The higher the administrative position, the fewer aspirants there were for that position. Perhaps this is because it is more difficult to achieve higher levels in administration, and the process is more selective.

Demographic Characteristics of Black and White Women Professors

1. The majority of the women professors in this study were in the 40-to-50 and over-50 age brackets. More than one-third of the respondents (both black and white, 37%) were 40 to 50 years old, and even more were over 50 (white, 46%; black, 38%). No significant difference was found between black and white women professors with regard to age. This finding is consistent with previous research, indicating that female professors are older, teach more years, and postpone starting a family longer than their male counterparts.

2. With regard to sibling placement, half of the female professors (black, 51%; white, 50%) were the oldest child in the family. This was another commonality that women of both races shared. There was no significant difference on this variable. According to the literature, the oldest child assumes leadership responsibilities early in childhood by sharing in the childrearing in the home. Older children often are the achievers, the ones who are driven toward success in their given fields. According to Leman (1985) in the Birth Order Book, a person's order of birth has a lifelong effect on who and what that person turns out to be. As was evident from the data, the majority of the female professors in this study who aspired to administrative positions were the oldest child in the family.

3. The majority of the women professors were married or married with children. Forty-four percent of the white women and 33% of the black women were married; slightly more than 33% of both groups were married with children. No

significant difference in marital status was found between white and black women professors.

4. The majority of the respondents had no children. Approximately one-third of the respondents had from one to four children. The white and black women were similar with regard to this demographic variable. These findings confirm what has been noted in the literature—that women professors postpone starting a family in order to achieve their career goals.

5. The data on the professors' teaching level showed that the largest number of full professors were black (46% black, 33% white). Conversely, the largest number of associate professors were white (41% white, 31% black). There was a significant difference in teaching level between black and white women. The literature clearly has stated that women must have tenure for advancement into the higher levels of administration. Despite the barriers to obtaining tenure, the majority of the black female professors in this study had full professorships.

6. More black women than white women in this study had doctorates (92% and 88%, respectively), although it has been found that it takes blacks 16.5 years to complete this degree, as compared to 11.4 years for whites ("Black Enrollments in Higher Education," 1995). The data analysis showed a significant difference between black and white women on this variable. Based on the research, black women earn more doctorate degrees because being a minority, especially a black female, one must continually prove her competence and credibility as a scholar, not only to her colleagues but to her fellow students as well.

7. The majority (30%) of the black respondents had taught from six to ten years, whereas 25% of the white respondents had taught that number of years. Twenty-eight percent of the white women had taught 15 years or more, whereas 20% of the black respondents had taught that long. In the other categories, the percentages were similar between the two groups. Although the two groups did not differ significantly on this demographic variable, the findings are significant educationally because they reflect a relatively young group of black female professors in academia. These respondents were fairly new professionals in the academic environment. Their young status in academia may further imply that black female professors are not being hired as often as whites or that they have higher attrition. Therefore, the results may be relevant only for relatively new professionals. This finding is not consistent with the research literature, in which it consistently has been stated that female faculty in academia were older, although most of the research was done on white female faculty. The literature also has indicated that women teach more years and more courses than their male counterparts.

8. The majority of both black and white respondents (83% and 80%, respectively) taught in urban communities. More whites than blacks (13% and 5%, respectively) taught in rural communities. There was a significant between blacks and whites on this variable. The explanation for this difference is that female professors teach where the job opportunities are. Most of the time, the job opportunities for black women professors are in the urban communities where they live and where they went to school. Second, people in organizations hire people

who look like them and share similar experiences and values. This may account for the low percentage of blacks teaching in rural communities.

9. The majority of both black and white respondents (43% and 40%, respectively) had not participated in any type of sports activity as youths. Thirty-four percent of both groups had participated in both team and individual sports. Both groups were similar on this demographic variable. Not having participated in any sports precluded the women's being team players. Being a team player is another male attribute associated with leadership qualities.

10. In the category of number of years mothers worked, the majority (91%) of the black respondents' mothers had worked all their growing years, whereas only 26% of the white respondents' mothers had done so. Forty percent of white respondents indicated that their mothers had not worked during their growing years, whereas only 17% of the black respondents' mothers had not worked. This difference was significant. According to the research, the socialization process for black girls is different from that for white girls. Black women are socialized to be career oriented, whether they are married or not. Their role models and, later, mentors are their mothers.

11. The majority of the respondents (63% black, 57% white) had worked for a female administrator. Both black and white respondents were similar on this demographic variable. The explanation that people in organizations hire people similar to themselves can be applied here also.

Multiple Factors Influencing the Administrative Aspirations of the Respondents

Cultural factor. The black and white women professors differed significantly on the cultural factor. This difference can be attributed to their different socializations, sex-role stereotyping, and racial perceptions. The fact that black women had a higher mean score than their white counterparts indicates that this factor was more problematic for them. However, the mean scores for both groups were high, indicating that this factor influenced both races.

Educational factor. The black and white women professors did not differ significantly on the educational factor. The mean scores of both groups were close, indicating that the women had given similar responses. There were shared commonalities of gender on this factor.

Personal perspectives factor. There was a significant difference in the personal perspectives of black and white women professors. The fact that the black respondents had a higher mean score indicates that this factor was more problematic for them than it was for the white respondents. Again, this confirms other research findings suggesting that experience in the academy differs according to majority and minority status.

Psychological aspects factor. The black and white women professors differed significantly on this factor. Again, it was more problematic for blacks, who had a larger mean score than whites. Black women faculty perceived more barriers to their academic progress than did their white counterparts.

World-of-work factor. There was no significant difference between groups on this factor because their means were close. This indicates that both groups held similar perceptions of the work environment, such as men advancing faster than women and the "old boys" network promoting men over women for positions in administration.

Racial factor. The black and white respondents differed significantly on this factor. The mean score for the white group was higher than that of their black counterparts, indicating that the racial factor was problematic for them. The groups' differences can be attributed to differing racial perspectives.

Correlations of multiple factors. When all seven factors were correlated with aspirations, the findings were as follows. Race group and racial factor (.5591** and .5648**, respectively) correlated positively with aspirations. Because both factors had a positive correlation with aspirations, it was concluded that neither race group nor racial factors hindered black women's aspiration to administrative positions in higher education. In other words, black women's race did not keep them from seeking advancement to administrative positions such as dean, department chair, chief academic officer, administrative vice-president, and president. If their race and racial factors did not prevent black women's aspiring to administrative positions, it can be inferred that their race and racial factors were barriers to the black women's advancement in administration, which accounts for the underrepresentation of black women in academe. Another researcher will need to address these concerns because they are beyond the scope of this study.

The educational factor (.1137*) correlated positively to aspirations. This means that the higher the level of education a person has, the higher the individual's aspirational level. The psychological factor, personal perspectives factor, and world-of-work factor (-.3451**, -.1651**, and -.1392*, respectively) correlated negatively with aspirations. Such factors appeared to hinder or negatively influence the career aspirations of black women professors, as well as their white counterparts. This finding is not surprising because both the psychological and personal perspectives factors were problematic for both groups. However, what was surprising was the world-of-work factor. Although it was not significant statistically, it correlated negatively with aspirations. A chilly, unaccepting academic environment in which female professors have minority status perhaps would disillusion them to aspire to administrative positions. There was no correlation between the cultural factor and aspirations.

Correlations between aspirations and the demographic data. The findings indicated that racial group was positively related to aspirations, with a correlation of .5538**. Again, race did not hinder or act as a barrier to one's aspirations for either group. Teaching level and mother's work years (-.1703** and -.2121**, respectively) were negatively correlated to aspirations. This can be interpreted to mean that the higher the teaching level, the more aspiration one has, and vice versa. Also, the longer a respondent's mother worked during the child's growing years, the higher the individual's level of aspiration, and vice versa. The other demographic variables showed no correlation to aspirations.

Major teaching department. The majority of the black respondents taught in the Social Sciences Department (27%), the College of Education (23%), Health Services (20%), and Arts and Letters (20%). The majority of the white respondents taught in the Department of Physical Sciences and Technology (39%), Health Services (20%), and Arts and Letters (17%). The findings confirm what was stated in the literature—that the majority of black professors and doctorates were in the field of education. Very few were in the sciences or even pursuing degrees in the sciences. These differences were significant.

Primary academic responsibility. Most of the black and white female professors considered first teaching, research, and service (26% black, 25% white); second, teaching only (21% black, 23% white); and third, teaching and research (21% white, 20% black) to be their primary academic responsibilities. It appears that both groups of women professors highly valued teaching. Again, this finding confirms those of previous research, indicating that women value teaching whereas men value research.

Conclusions. The majority of both groups of women professors aspired to administrative positions, with a slightly higher percentage of black female professors doing so. The top administrative position of president had fewer aspirants because this position is perceived as more demanding. The female professors were married with no children, in their forties or older, and had taught at least six to ten years and more. Because they are already in their forties or older, minority women and women in general tend to be older when tapped for administrative positions. The research

has indicated that to move up in the administrative hierarchy is a slow process that usually takes a decade or more to achieve. If this is the case, most of the women faculty in this study will be in their fifties or sixties before they are promoted, which will be a great disservice to them and the university.

The majority of the women professors had doctorates and full and associate professorships and taught in urban educational communities. Most of them had not participated in sports as youths and had worked for a female administrator. The majority of the black female professors had mothers who had worked their entire childhoods, whereas the white female professors' mothers had not worked. Most of the black women professors were in the department of Social Sciences, Education, Health, and Arts and Letters, whereas most of their white counterparts were in the departments of Physical Sciences and Technology and Health. Both groups agreed that their primary academic responsibility was teaching, research, and service; second was teaching only.

The factors that influenced the career aspirations of black and white women professors were the cultural, personal perspectives, psychological, and racial factors. The factors that correlated positively with aspirations were the race group, racial, and educational factors. On the other hand, the factors that correlated negatively with aspirations were the psychological, personal perspectives, and world-of-work factors.

The demographic data that correlated with aspirations were as follows. Racial group and educational level had a positive correlation with aspirations. On

the other hand, teaching level and mother's work years correlated negatively with aspirations.

Comparison With the Karr Study

In comparing Karr's findings with those from this study, it should be pointed out that the first study included men and women professors from the Big Ten Conference institutions, whereas this study included black and white women professors from those institutions. Karr conducted her study in 1981, and this study was done in 1996, a difference of 15 years. This difference should make for an interesting comparison of what has changed in 15 years and what has remained the same.

In both studies, a large percentage of women professors aspired to become chief academic officer, dean of a major college, or administrative vice-president. In Karr's study, more women than men aspired to these positions. In the present study, more black women than white women aspired to these positions. With regard to the college presidency, Karr found that more women than men aspired to this position, although the percentages were smaller in comparison to the other three positions. In this study, the same was true of the black women professors.

In both studies, the following similarities and differences were found with regard to the demographic data:

1. In Karr's study, the majority of the females were 39 or younger, whereas in this study the female professors were 40 and older. The men in Karr's study were 40 and older.

2. In both studies, the majority of the women respondents were the oldest child in the family.

3. In Karr's study, the majority of the women were single with no children, whereas in this study the majority of the women were married and the majority had no children. The men in Karr's study were married with children.

4. In Karr's study, the largest number of assistant professors were females, and the males were full professors. In this study, the majority of the females were full professors and associate professors.

5. In the former study, male professors held the most doctorates and had spent more years teaching than the female professors. In this study, the black women professors had more doctorates and had taught fewer years than their white counterparts.

6. In both studies, the majority of the professors taught in urban communities.

7. In both studies, the majority of the female professors had not participated in sports as youths and had worked for a female administrator. In contrast, the majority of male professors in Karr's study had participated in sports and had never worked for a female administrator.

8. In the former study, the majority of both female and male professors had mothers who had not worked during their growing years. Conversely, in this study, the majority of black women's mothers had worked during their growing years, whereas their white counterparts' mothers had not worked.

In the Karr study, the cultural factor was the only one on which male and female professors differed significantly. In this study, black and white female professors differed significantly on the cultural, personal perspectives, psychological, and racial factors.

In the earlier study, the majority of respondents were in physical sciences and technology (males) and health sciences (females). In this study, the majority were found in the social sciences (blacks) and physical sciences (whites).

The majority of respondents in Karr's study indicated their primary academic responsibility as teaching only (males and females) and teaching and research (males). In this study, though, the majority of women professors indicated teaching, research, and service and teaching only as their primary academic responsibility.

Recommendations

According to the review of literature and the findings from this study, there are black women professors who aspire to administrative positions. However, the fact remains that black women faculty in the administrative ranks of academe are relatively few in comparison to their representation in the population. Whereas blacks comprise approximately 12% of the general population of this country, less than 5% of university faculty are black, and some people think it will require more than 100 years before the academy can boast of a faculty that is 10% black. In the meantime, black women are making great strides to see that the 10% goal is attained. However, for the retention, advancement, and ultimate success of black

women faculty, changes in the academic environment must occur. The following recommendations can be helpful to all those in higher education.

College and university departments providing graduate studies in higher education administration should reevaluate their graduate programs to see how well new doctorates are prepared for the role of faculty member. The pressure of time, work load balance, tenure, and research writing are issues with which women professors as junior faculty constantly grapple. Such a preparatory course would enhance the retention and success of faculty, not only for the institution, but also for the entire academic profession.

So that women faculty, especially black women faculty, no longer feel a sense of isolation, institutions need to develop initiatives that encourage women faculty to interact with each other and exchange ideas. Also, institutions should create opportunities for women faculty that encourage professional growth and enhance the positive identification of black women faculty. This, in turn, will reduce the sense of isolation and increase the likelihood that minority women faculty will identify positive dimensions in their workplace environment.

Furthermore, initiatives must be incorporated to promote mentoring programs. Researchers have found that neither majority women nor minority women have achieved full access to the arenas that position them for leadership, or to leadership positions themselves. Although women have the academic credentials and scholarly productivity, they may get stuck without colleague connections who can move their advancement along. Researchers have indicated that women and minority faculty

tend to be promoted and tenured more slowly than white male faculty and are more likely to leave an institution before gaining tenure. The most important goal of mentoring is to help junior colleagues plan and advance in their academic careers. The landmarks of an academic career are tenure and promotion. Men have more natural access to career advice from senior faculty mentors than do females, still hold the majority of senior positions, and have a stronger inclination to guide the careers of younger men and to socialize them into the department and the discipline and research networks (Boice, 1992; Kaufman, 1978; O'Leary & Mitchell, 1990).

Women should be integrated into the discipline at an earlier stage, like their male counterparts. A mentoring program to develop leadership roles is necessary for minority women faculty in order to alter their perception that the workplace is exclusionary. Perceiving that opportunity exists would increase the feeling among minority women faculty that they can aspire to administrative positions before reaching the age of 50 or older.

Furthermore, institutions must address the issues specific to women and minorities with policy and program initiatives if they are genuinely committed to the goal of diversifying their faculty. Structural discrimination (e.g., lack of support for gender- and ethnic-related research, lack of support for alternative research methodologies, and sick leave and maternity leave policies) and personal discrimination (e.g., sexual and racial harassment, sexual and racial stereotyping, and tokenism) are perceived by women faculty as barriers to their progress. For example, men currently holding administrative positions, as well as those men in

faculty positions having responsibility for the graduate education of women, may hold values, attitudes, and stereotypes that conflict with the concept of women as administrators.

Therefore, initiatives should be taken for sensitivity training to make men more aware of the capabilities of women and minorities in administrative positions. Department chairs, who are in key positions to recognize and eliminate structural and personal discrimination at the department level, must be trained to recognize and confront inappropriate conduct. Chairs could receive ongoing training in professional work climate, staff training and development, formative evaluation, sexual harassment, discrimination (race and sex), and affirmative action.

Moreover, women should become fully informed about the nature of discrimination and the subtle ways in which it is employed. In addition, women should take the responsibility to educate themselves about the legal means to combat discrimination and the legal rights due them, instead of leaving the university.

To further their own academic careers, women should take the initiative and seek ideas to increase their research productivity. For example, they can become acquainted with retired professors who no longer plan to revise their work. The theories and recommendations they developed can be revisited from the perspective of a black. Also, they can learn from colleagues the ways to recognize the "trap doors" that hinder professional advancement. For example, they should learn how to solve problems related to teaching and writing. They should also inquire about

the shortcuts and time savers colleagues use when writing and editing articles for publication, as well as ways to obtain new writing assignments.

Finally, black women faculty must take the initiative to become aware of promotion and tenure policies that influence the success of minorities and women employed by the university. Tenure-related anxiety, expressed particularly by minority faculty but experienced by all faculty, contributes to alienation and frustration. For example, the black female faculty member should discuss with colleagues at the department, college, and university levels the policies and procedures that cause them to feel like outsiders. Also, institutions can respond with policy and program initiatives. They can require all departments to update and clarify their tenure and promotion criteria. An explicit statement of expectations could be required as a part of the letter of appointment issued to new tenure-track faculty members. Annual reviews ought to explicitly address progress toward tenure—that is, the individual's progress should be measured against the departmental criteria, and the chair should make concrete recommendations for a positive decision. The granting of tenure demonstrates departmental and institutional commitment to faculty and relieves the pervading sense of anxiety.

In conclusion, university support or the lack of it can influence a black female's decision to accept or reject her role in fulfilling institutional goals. University support for the leadership behavior a female strives to maintain as a productive faculty member is critical. Thus, such support should include faculty role preparation, a reevaluation of tenure and promotion policies, a commitment to

affirmative action policies, and strategies to combat discrimination wherever it exists, as well as mentoring from those who can help to eliminate the obstacles facing black female faculty members.

If educators are serious about including women in the top administrative ranks, it is important that actions such as those recommended above be taken to recruit and retain talented women and to provide conditions that promote greater participation and advancement of women faculty members in the academic environment of the present and the future.

Suggestions for Further Research

The study of black women in higher education who aspire to an administrative position raises many issues. These issues need to be studied in depth, and, it is hoped, solutions will be found to the many problems surrounding this topic. The following are suggestions for further research.

1. Replicate this study on a national basis in order to obtain a cross-section of the population. The Big Ten Conference institutions represent large-enrollment universities, and a national study might yield findings that may provide a more representative grouping from the colleges and universities.

2. Because only one type of institutional setting (large, predominantly white colleges and universities) was examined, replicate this study using all-women colleges, teaching institutions, community college settings, and historically black colleges and universities. Experiences of female faculty at such colleges and universities may be very different.

3. Conduct case studies of successful black women administrators to determine what factors have enabled them to move up the administrative ladder.

4. Examine in depth a number of women in one institution, such as a women's college, to determine whether they aspire to an administrative post. What factors are at play that provide them with the incentive to move into administration? Also, it would be helpful to determine why some women do not aspire to move into administration.

5. Study a well-defined and well-developed mentoring program that works and has proven to be successful for women who aspire to an administrative position. What features in the program proved to be successful? What features in the program should be revised or dropped? Such a study might provide an excellent model for other institutions to emulate.

APPENDIX

Dear Colleagues:

My name is Carolyn Stone, a doctoral student at Michigan State University. My dissertation topic is "*The Scarcity Between Black Women Professors in High Educational Administrative Positions and Those Who Aspire to Such Positions.*" This study is being conducted to determine whether factors such as education, culture, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and the world of work, in addition to race and gender are significant in aspiring to administrative positions. As a black female this research study is very important to me.

I am inviting you to participate by responding to the enclosed questionnaire. It is a survey form which takes ten minutes to complete. It will provide data that may help educators to assess those factors which influence career aspirations of black women at the administrative levels of higher education, as well as, to assess the career opportunities available to them. This survey will be valid only if you will give complete information. Your confidentiality will be honored. We pledge complete anonymity of individual responses. The results will be reported in statistical form only. No individuals or institutions will be identified.

The questionnaire is easy to complete. Write only on the answer sheet using a #2 pencil. Fold the answer sheet into thirds as you would a letter. Return it in the self-addressed stamped envelope. Your response will be very much appreciated.

If you wish a review of the results when the study is completed let us know and we will be happy to oblige. Thank you for your time and interest.

Sincerely,

Louis Romano
Professor

Carolyn Stone
Project Co-Director

1603 West Kalamazoo Street
Lansing, Michigan 48915
May 1, 1996

To The Director of Affirmative Action/Equity Office:

My name is Carolyn Stone and I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University. My dissertation topic is *"The Disparity Between Black Women Professors in Higher Educational Administrative Positions and Those Who Aspire to Such Positions."* This study is being conducted to determine whether factors such as education, cultural considerations, personal perspectives, psychological aspects, and the world of work, in addition to race and gender are significant in aspiring to administrative positions. As a black female this research study is very important to me.

I invite you to participate by distributing the questionnaires to the female staff at your university. The questionnaire is a survey form which takes ten minutes to complete. It will provide data that may help educators to assess those factors which influence career aspirations of black women at the administrative levels of higher education, as well as, to assess the career opportunities available to them.

Fifty questionnaires are enclosed. A representative sampling of twenty-five black women professors and twenty-five white women professors are needed to complete the form. This sampling may include associate, assistant and full professors who are tenured or non-tenured. It is not restricted to the College of Education only.

The instructions for completing the survey form are self-explanatory. However, the answer sheets must be completed with a #2 pencil and returned as instructed. Only the answer sheets are to be returned as soon as possible. In doing so, confidentiality will be honored and complete anonymity of responses. The results will be reported in statistical form only. No individuals or institutions will be identified.

Your participation in distributing the survey forms will be greatly appreciated. If you wish a review of the results when the study is completed let us know. We will be happy to oblige. Thank you for your time and interest.

Sincerely,

Louis Romano
Professor

Carolyn Stone
Project Co-Director

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPIRATION QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL DIRECTIONS: This questionnaire is designed to obtain the opinions of female professors of the Big Ten Universities concerning their administrative aspiration. Aspiration is a term used to describe the seeking after or actively applying for a particular level of educational administration. It is an important issue regarding equal employment opportunities for all administrative applicants.

What is wanted is your own point of view about each of the statements in Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire. Part I indicates actual administrative positions: Part II simply seeks demographic data to aid in analyzing results obtained. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and at no time will individuals be identified.

After reading each item in Part III, indicate the extent of agreement with your point of view on each item by circling the appropriate response selected.

PART I

Answer each item under "Level of Aspiration" with an appropriate response from below. Numbers may be used as often as necessary.

- 1-- I have already applied for this position.
- 2-- I would aspire to this position.
- 3-- It is unlikely that I would aspire to this position.
- 4-- I would never apply for this position.

Level of Aspiration:

- 1. Chief Academic Officer _____
- 2. Dean of a Major College _____
- 3. Administrative Vice President _____
- 4. College President _____
- 5. Other _____ (Please Specify)

PART II

Demographic Data

Answer each of the following questions:

- 1. What is your age?
 - () 1. 20-29
 - () 2. 30-39
 - () 3. 40-50
 - () 4. Over 50

2. What is your sex?
 - ☐ 1. Male
 - ☐ 2. Female
3. What is your sibling placement in your family?
 - ☐ 1. Youngest child
 - ☐ 2. Second youngest to middle
 - ☐ 3. Middle child
 - ☐ 4. Middle to second oldest
 - ☐ 5. Oldest child
 - ☐ 6. Only child
4. What is your marital status?
 - ☐ 1. Single
 - ☐ 2. Married
 - ☐ 3. Married with children
 - ☐ 4. Divorced/widowed w/children
 - ☐ 5. Divorced/widowed without children
 - ☐ 6. Separated
5. How many children do you have?
 - ☐ 1. 0
 - ☐ 2. One
 - ☐ 3. Two - four
 - ☐ 4. Five or more
6. What is your present teaching level?
 - ☐ 1. Assistant professor
 - ☐ 2. Associate professor
 - ☐ 3. Full professor
7. What is your racial group?
 - ☐ 1. Native American
 - ☐ 2. Black/African American
 - ☐ 3. Asian-American
 - ☐ 4. Caucasian
 - ☐ 5. Hispanic
 - ☐ 6. American Indian
 - ☐ 7. Other
8. What level of education have you completed?
 - ☐ 1. Doctorate
 - ☐ 2. Graduate hours beyond Master's
 - ☐ 3. Master's degree
 - ☐ 4. Bachelor's degree
9. How many years have you been teaching?
 - ☐ 1. First year
 - ☐ 2. 1-5
 - ☐ 3. 6-10
 - ☐ 4. 11-15
 - ☐ 5. 15 or more
10. Identify the educational community in which you are now teaching.
 - ☐ 1. Urban
 - ☐ 2. Suburban
 - ☐ 3. Rural
11. Did you actively participate in sports as a youth?
 - ☐ 1. Team
 - ☐ 2. Individual
 - ☐ 3. Both team and individual
 - ☐ 4. Did not participate
12. How many years did your mother work during your growing years? full or part-time?
 - ☐ 1. 0
 - ☐ 2. 1-5
 - ☐ 3. 6-10
 - ☐ 4. All
13. Have you ever worked for a female administrator?
 - ☐ 1. Yes
 - ☐ 2. No

PART III

RATING SCALE: 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly Disagree

DIRECTIONS: Circle your response to each item.

Cultural Considerations

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. My colleagues would react unfavorably if I became an administrator. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. For psychological and social reasons, men are more effective administrators than women. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Women are better organizers than men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Women are more likely to seek proximity to others than to work independently. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. In a given task, women are more likely to ask for help or rely on others in face of a threat than are men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. In general, I consider women not as dependable as men because of women's biological and personal characteristics. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. A male spouse would be threatened by a competent, career-oriented wife. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Women generally have a lower level of achievement motivation than men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Men know more than women about how to seek and obtain opportunities to become administrators. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Women lack the drive to become administrators. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. College women who attempt to compete with men usually do so at the expense of their popularity or social life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART III

RATING SCALE: 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly Disagree

Educational Factors

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. Welcoming women as equals into the professional management levels may tend to downgrade the teaching profession. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. Female students who never experience women in leadership positions are not likely to develop aspirations or values that move beyond traditional stereotypes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. Women administrators have less power to make decisions than men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. I feel more comfortable working for a male administrator than a female administrator. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. In my college career, most college courses were designed for male advancement and emphasis. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. I would feel uncomfortable in a higher education administration class of all males. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. Educational counseling enabled me to plan for advancement in my career. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. There have been female administrators who have encouraged me to seek an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. Most administrators in my schooling process were male. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. In our institution both men and women are encouraged to apply for administrative positions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART III

RATING SCALE : 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly Disagree

Personal Perspectives

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. A woman can be a successful administrator and happily married at the same time. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. I feel I need to know a few administrators well in order to win their support for an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. I have too many family responsibilities to seek an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. My spouse would be upset if we had to move because I was selected as an administrators. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. In my home, I was encouraged to get a college degree. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. I have planned specifically for advancement in higher education administration. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. What my spouse thinks about an administrative position has an influence on me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. I would be eager to become an administrator, even if I had to move somewhere else. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. I have personally received encouragement from an administrator in my institution to apply for an administrataive position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. I have a negative image of university/college administrators. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART III

RATING SCALE: 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly Disagree

Psychological Aspects

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. I am satisfied with my present employment and would not seek an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. I feel confident in most leadership positions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. I would be willing to further my education or training for an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. Administrators in my institution would react favorably if I became an administrator. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. I have been in my present position too long to seek an administrative position now. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. I like delegating tasks and working with people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. Being an administrator would enhance my self image. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. If I applied for an administrative position, I feel I might be a top contender. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. I would rather not compete for an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. Administrators tend to become "out of touch" with the teaching environment. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. Seeking an administrative position involves too much "politics." | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART III

RATING SCALE : 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly

The World Of Work

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 43. People who are at administrative levels are often asked to compromise their principles. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. My present position provides too much security for me to seek an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. Men advance faster in administration with less experience simply because they are men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. The "white-male club" promotes men over women for positions in administration. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. I see a position in higher education administration as attainable by me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. Men are more often chosen for an administrative position than women. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. I am willing to "go for broke" in my quest for a position in administration. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. I consider that working with college students is more rewarding than administration. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. There is just too much competition in trying to become an administrator. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. Being a successful administrator is easier for men than for women. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 53. My university or college colleagues assisted me in seeking an administrative position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART III

RATING SCALE: 1 -- Strongly Agree
 2 -- Agree
 3 -- Undecided
 4 -- Disagree
 5 -- Strongly Disagree

Racial Considerations

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 54. The affirmative action policy assisted me in obtaining my present position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 55. Being a female of my race has made it more difficult in my present position. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 56. My race impacts on how I am evaluated as a female. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. Being a female of my race impacts the way students perceive my authority. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. Because of my race, my colleagues would react unfavorably if I became an administrator. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 59. Female students who never experience women of their race in leadership positions are not likely to develop aspirations or values that move beyond traditional stereotypes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60. Because I am an African American or other minority my credibility is questioned. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. For a woman of my race tenure is very difficult to obtain. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. In my institution, African American women and other minority women sometimes feel isolated as well as alienated. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

63. My race influences the types
of committee appointments and
administrative positions I
am offered. 1 2 3 4 5
64. Being a female and African
American or other minority
is an advantage. 1 2 3 4 5
65. Please indicate your major teaching department.
-
66. What do you consider your primary academic (professional)
responsibility?
-

Thank you for your assistance in my efforts to improve
higher education. Please return this form to:

College Of Education
Michigan State University
Erickson Hall, Room 415
East Lansing, MI 48824

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