CAREER SUCCESS OF BLACK

WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS

IN HIGHER EDUCATION
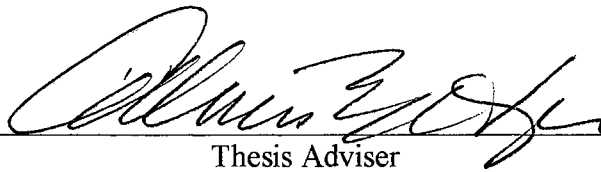

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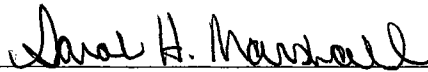Waltham, Massachusetts
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PREFACE

A variety of challenging decisions were required even to begin this research.
Among the first was the choice of nomenclature. The participants in the study range mid-thirties to mid-seventies in age. Their lives and career experiences span a period during which the terms "Colored," "Negro," "Black," "Afro-American," "Black American," and "African American" have been used to describe them. Because the 1960s and 1970s were pivotal times in many fo their lives, and based on my own preference, I chose "Black" as the consistent racial descriptor throughout the study. Katrina Bell McDonald (Simpson, 2001) points out that the labels we use can make a difference in the mental image we form. My choice of descriptor is intended to conjure the ageless, positive imagery of "strong Black women."

A second challenging decision then had to be made regarding style. In keeping with a practice I was taught in high school, I have consistently capitalized "Black" when it is used as a descriptor throughout the report of this study. In addition, throughout the study report I used formal titles such as "Dr."and "Mrs."as a symbols of respect and in atonement for the days when Black men and women generally were not afforded that courtesy (Litwack, 1998).

of assistants in the Inter-Library Loan and Document Delivery department, were invaluable in gathering and promptly delivering everything I needed. Ms. Fay Simms, Ms. Rita Goodman, Ms. Katherine Ott, Mrs. Sarah Brick Archer and Mrs. Jeanette McQuitty consistently were understanding and supportive of my needs. The librarians at OSU-Tulsa were equally unflappable in responding to my requests. I am deeply grateful also for the transcription assistance and saving kindnesses of Ms. Kathy O=Neal.

The ideal of sisterhood has been provided to me throughout my life by the "Washington sisters" B Eunice, Eva, Effie and Luberta B who are quite possibly the strongest Black women I will ever know. Throughout my life they have provided me a living example of "true womanhood" and an inspiration for telling the stories of remarkable women who look like us.

Finally, I am grateful to my family: My parents, Johnson and Effie Lee, both teachers by profession and example, who made me their best student and our home the best loving and learning environment. And my husband George, whose belief in me propelled me forward.

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Each decade
to seize and hold more space
to continue to deliver the goods of survival
in a society that does not know how big we are
and how much room we need
to stand to our full height.

~Bernice Johnson Reagon (Reagon, 1982)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

*By creating two separate categories for its major social problems – "the
race problem" and "the women's issue" – society has ignored the group
which stands at the interstices of these two groups, black women in
America* (Scales-Trent, 1990, p. 540).

Throughout a tumultuous 400-year history in the U. S., Black people, and

particularly Black women (Reagon, 1982; Marable, 1983; Dennis, 1970), have placed

high value on education as a means of self-improvement (West, 1972; Dennis, 1970) and

as a means of economic advancement (West, 1972; Dennis, 1970; Tyack, 1967).

Essentially, from the beginning, Black people have aspired to "the fundamental ideals

underlying education in a democratic society" (West, p. iii).

Before Emancipation, most Blacks in the U. S. were slaves for whom education

was a difficult and dangerous pursuit. As early as 1740, South Carolina exacted a fine of

"One Hundred Pounds current Money" on "all and every Person or Persons" for teaching

slaves or employing them to write (West, 1972, p. 10). Eventually most Southern states

enacted laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves but even with rigorous, sometimes deadly

enforcement "slaves could not be entirely shut off from learning" (West, p. 4). Following

Emancipation, newly freed Black families sought education for parents and children alike

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in missionary schools, boarding schools, industrial schools – education was held to offer entry to "a promised land of opportunity" (Tyack, 1967, p. 264).

No strangers to the workforce, having been held to be "economically as efficient as the man" and because of her production of children "in many ways more valuable" (DuBois, 1924, p. 261), and well-accustomed to caring for and nurturing children, Black women, many of them with limited education themselves, gravitated toward teaching (Collier-Thomas, 1982). According to U. S. Census data, from 1890 to 1920, the number of Black women teachers grew from 7,864 to 22,547 (Collier-Thomas, 1982, p. 97).

The development and growth of higher education for Black people – first in a few integrated white colleges such as Oberlin College in Ohio, subsequently in the growing number of Black colleges, universities and industrial schools – brought Black women to higher education as students, then teachers and administrators (Collier-Thomas, 1982). By 1920, more than 100 Black institutions admitted women for college training, including three that were exclusively for Black women. Although women played major roles in the development of these institutions, few occupied positions of formal power and administrative responsibility. In a segregated society that legalized the doctrine of separate but equal, Black women were consistently more separate and less equal, as gender discrimination limited their participation in the leadership of Black colleges and universities while race discrimination largely excluded Black men and women alike from any participation in predominantly white institutions.

This landscape changed in the 1950s and 1960s as passage of *Brown v. Board,* the momentum of the Civil Rights Movement and the passage of the Civil Rights Act again

awakened the hopes of Black people that education could lead to the promised land of opportunity. In that hopeful period, many Black women sought to prepare themselves for the times when their talents and abilities could be fully recognized and utilized in higher education teaching and administration (King, 1999; Farris, 1999). And, in the ensuing 40 years, many Black women have attained significant success, pursuing rewarding, productive careers in higher education as faculty and administrators. Nonetheless, their achievements at the highest levels – as deans, vice presidents, presidents, chancellors – appear to have been limited by glass ceilings and other, sometimes more visible, barriers.

Herstorical Context: Black Women in the Labor Force

Black women have participated in the labor force longer and in greater numbers than white women. During slavery, women slaves were held to the same standards of physical labor as men slaves and to the vicissitudes of womanhood as well – childbearing (by force or otherwise) as well as domestic tasks such as cooking and sewing (Marable, 1983). Following Emancipation, by 1890, the U. S. Census Bureau reported that 37 percent of Black women and 10 percent of white women between age 25 to 35 were gainfully employed (Marable). The 1900s saw massive shifts not only in the number of women working outside the home but also in the nature of women's work and occupational fields. Early limits on 'women's work' gradually gave way by the 1970s and 1980s to the point that shifts were documented in more than 33 traditionally male occupations including such wide-ranging fields as pharmacists, public relations specialists, and real estate sellers (Mimms, 1996). A 1988 study, reported by Richie (1992), showed that among nearly 300 women in the study, 54 percent of Black women

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had been in the work force for 80 percent of their lives compared with 29 percent of white women. (Richie noted that this trend has been shown in several studies where socioeconomic status was similar for both groups.) By 1990, census data indicated the labor force participation rate of Black women was 59.3 percent compared with white women's participation at 57.4 percent (Mimms, 1996). From these observations, it is clear that for Black women, work and career were not new pursuits.

The Value of Education

Even before Emancipation, education was highly valued among Black people as a vehicle for personal and economic success. Stories abound of surreptitious slaves risking their lives learning to read and passing that learning to others. In 1773, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, written by former slave Phyllis Peters Wheatley, became the first book written by a Black person and published in America. In the 1830s, following slave revolts in South Carolina and Virginia lead by educated slaves Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, southern legislatures passed stringent laws against black preachers and black education (Dennis, 1970).

During that same period, segregated (and generally inferior) schools for free Blacks could be found in many northern cities (Dennis, 1970).

Following Emancipation, education became even more important as newly freed slaves sought education as a means of gaining "a promised land of opportunity" (Tyack, 1967, p. 264) . By 1866, schools run by the Freedmen's Bureau in southern states reported that "black children attended school more regularly than whites" (Dennis, 1970, p. 151). The most widely known, hotly contested intellectual debate within the Black

community in the 19th century was carried out between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Although the two differed radically on the direction to be taken – both believed in the centrality of education as a means of improving the "economic and social position" of Blacks in the U. S. (Webb, Metha, & Jordan, 2000, p.195).

Black Women and Education

Throughout the history of Blacks in the U. S., Black women have taken heroic action and endured great sacrifice in efforts to protect, preserve, and secure their families and others of their race (Reagon, 1982). From the earliest days, many of these actions centered on education – encouraging others in their pursuit of education, seeking education for themselves, and teaching.

Even after Emancipation, economic hardship and harsh living conditions put education out of the reach of many Blacks. Still, many Black families sought education for parents and children alike. During the Civil War as northern-run contraband schools for Blacks began to appear in the South, missionaries reported that Black women offered to cook and wash for them in exchange for being taught to read the Bible (Dennis, 1970). By the 1880s, often with special encouragement and support from their mothers, Black women, as young as age ten, were sent to boarding schools where produce and dairy products could be paid to defray expenses. At age sixteen, in North Carolina for example, these young women could sit for primary grade teacher certification to teach Black children, despite, in many cases, having completed only the sixth or seventh grade themselves (Littlefield, 1994). Even by 1930, only two-thirds of Black teachers in the south were high school graduates (Tyack, 1967).

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In 1862, Oberlin College in Ohio graduated the first Black woman to earn a

bachelor's degree in the U. S. This achievement was followed closely by several

significant education attainment "firsts" for Black women: the first the medical degree in

Boston in 1864 , the first dental degree in 1887 in Michigan, and the first nursing school

graduation in 1879 in Boston (Ebony, 1997). By 1868, Black students were

approximately 20 percent of the Oberlin College student body and 25 Blacks were among

the graduating class, 15 men and 10 women (Tyack, 1967). Typical of the students of

that era was Ruth Anna Fisher who in 1906 at age 19, following in her father's footsteps

as an Oberlin graduate (he graduated in 1877), earned a B. A. degree in Latin and Greek,

and immediately accepted a teaching position at Tuskegee Institute. Although Ms. Fisher

lasted only three months at Tuskegee before a philosophical disagreement with the

President led her out of teaching (and ultimately, into a distinguished career with the

U. S. Library of Congress), many of her contemporaries pursued college teaching careers

in the predominantly Black colleges well into the 20th century (Render, 1975).

The hopeful period following Emancipation dissolved as Reconstruction was

marked by continued racial strife. This was true particularly in the South where

segregated schools developed, with Black schools bearing the burden of meager funding

compounded by the added costs of dual systems (Tyack, 1967). Nonetheless, in 1904,

Mary McLeod Bethune founded the Daytona Educational Industrial Training School in

Florida which later merged with Cookman Institute, forming Bethune Cookman College.

In 1923, with the merger, Mrs. Bethune became the first Black woman to assume the

presidency of an accredited college or university in the U. S. (Mimms, 1996). Until the

late 1960s, segregated schools, and the state-supported, segregated colleges and universities in most Southern and some northern states that maintained the "separate, unequal" principle, were the primary providers of education for Blacks.

With few exceptions, career opportunities in the predominantly white institutions comprising the American mainstream have been available for Black women and men only in the past 40 years, after more than 300 years of learning, teaching and leading in the shadows of slavery and segregation.

Current Perspectives

The picture for Black people, women, and Black women particularly, in American higher education today can be drawn from demographic data and from the body of literature reporting research findings. The demographic data provide a general overview while research studies and anecdotal accounts offer deeper insights into more specific situations and experiences.

Our Status Today: What the numbers show

A study of public higher education institutions in 12 of the 19 states that previously operated segregated systems of higher education found that Blacks were underrepresented in all 12 states, based on their proportion among administrators at state institutions (Southern Education Foundation, 1995). This report showed that the majority of Black administrators were employed in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Moreover, the report noted that two well-known public institutions in Louisiana and Texas reported no Black full-time administrators and one state (Tennessee)

reported no Blacks among the 49 full-time administrators in its predominantly white community colleges.

The pinnacle of career success in higher education administration remains the college presidency. In 1995, 453 (or 16 percent) of the nation's 2,900 colleges and universities were lead by women presidents, 39 of whom Black (9 percent). By contrast, in 1975, women presidents headed only 5 percent of the nation's 2,500 campuses. It should be noted that the first appointment of a Black woman to the presidency at a major research university did not take place until 1990 at the University of Houston. A recently released study by Ross and Greene (2000) celebrated growing diversity among college presidents. According to this study, since 1986 the number of women presidents (including African American, Hispanic, Asian and American Indian) rose by 40 percent and women now hold approximately 19 percent of all college presidencies while minorities hold approximately 11 percent. Significantly, the study noted that minority presidents were more likely to be women (26 percent) than are non-minority presidents (19 percent).

What the research shows: Limited research base

Despite the extent of their participation, relatively little is known about Black women pursuing professional careers in higher education, especially those in administration rather than teaching (Miller & Vaughn, 1997). In fact, in response to a recent study, Moses noted that information about Black women in the academy has been "glaringly absent from higher education research" (Gregory, 1999, cover notes). Much of what has been written is anecdotal. While the inspirational benefit of autobiographic and

biographic accounts of success and failure is widely accepted, these essays generally lack

the systematic approach, theoretical framework and rigorous analysis associated with

works of qualitative and quantitative research. Often when Black women have been

considered in the literature, variables were defined and data were collected in ways that

confounded disaggregation (Miller & Vaughn, 1997). This lack of attention in the

literature has applied to Black women in predominantly white institutions as well as those

in HBCUs.

Anecdotal accounts. Several insightful volumes of collected essays and

autobiographical accounts of Black women's experiences in predominantly white

institutions appeared near the turn of the 21th century (Geok-Lin Lim & Herrera-Sobek,

2000; Harvey, 1999; Benjamin, 1997). Drawing on the momentous "Black Women in the

Academy: Defending Our Name, 1894-1994" conference, convened in 1994 at

Massachusetts Institute of Technology and attended by more than 2,000 Black women

faculty and administrators from all types of institutions across the U. S., Benjamin

brought together 30 essays on Black women's experiences in higher education, examining

the place of feminism, the impact of race and gender on teaching, the challenge of social

dynamics and visions of the future. Harvey's volume contains essays by eight Black

educators who were among the first to attain senior and executive administrative

positions in predominantly white institutions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Each

autobiographical essay links early family and educational experiences with later career

challenges and success. The five women essayists (two former presidents, two former

chief finance officers, and one former graduate dean) each recounted early education and

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undergraduate studies in segregated, all-Black (often southern) environments, followed by graduate programs in desegregated (often northern) research universities (deGraft-Johnson, 1999; Farris, 1999; King, 1999; McDemmond, 1999; Solomon, 1999). Although the essays in the Geok-Lin Lim and Herrera-Sobek book dealt primarily with faculty issues, most were written from the critical theory/postmodernist perspective, adding the dimensions of power and class to their examinations of how women, Blacks, and other people of color experienced their careers in predominantly white higher education.

Studies. Moses' seminal study (1989) examined the climate for Black women across the spectrum of college life from college preparation through graduate studies. Looking at issues from admissions to curriculum policies, from research to social life, the study included Black women in HBCUs as well as predominantly white institutions. Moses provided an overview of each issue and offered more than 100 policy and action recommendations intended to "help institutions be more supportive and aware of the needs of Black women students, faculty members and administrators" (p.1).

In 1999, the updated, revised edition of Gregory's 1981 study, which focused mainly on Black women faculty rather than administrators, was described as "the first book since 1981 to examine Black women Ph.D.'s" (p. 2). Family support and community involvement, particularly in church-related activities, were cited as critical factors supporting Black women's career pursuits in higher education (Gregory, 1999). Institutional factors such as the academic labor market and organizational climate relative to matters such as affirmative action were noted as frequent obstacles along with

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individual factors such as geographic immobility (perceived or genuine inability to relocate) and "intellectual isolation and incompatibility" (p. 17).

Mimms (1996) explored the characteristics of successful Black women administrators in one state university system through analysis of in-depth surveys and interviews with two Black women who had attained presidencies and two who had not. Mimms identified six factors supporting career success: appropriate credentials (Ph.D.), visibility from participation in national organizations, communication skills, support from the "right" people, previous administrative experience and willingness to relocate. As identified in this study, obstacles to career success included issues related to "lack of socialization" (p. 354) in such areas as willingness to travel, professional organization involvement and risk-taking. Organizational factors were cited as obstacles for only one of the women who was not a president.

According to Ramey (1995), who surveyed Black women in senior administrative positions in the western U S., the barriers to career success included racism, sexism, family issues, perception of incompetence and a range of other factors such as "lack of authority, limited networking opportunities and isolation" (p. 117). Ramey further identified as supportive factors mentors, role models, and participation in special leadership development programs such as the Bryn Mawr Higher Education Resource Services Summer Institute for Women.

In one of the few studies making references to theoretical constructs, Lindsay (1994) surveyed and interviewed three Black women line administrators (dean and above) at three Carnegie-classified Research I and Research II universities and identified six

"pivotal factors" (p.430): racism, sexism, prior administrative experiences, mentors, skills in interpersonal relationships and communication, and risk-taking skills. This study concludes with six broad policy recommendations.

A Closer Look at Inhibiting Factors

The reports of selected successful Black women administrators (Harvey, 1999) and conclusions from studies by Gregory (1999), Mimms (1996), Ramey (1995), Lindsay (1994) and Moses (1989) have identified factors supporting and inhibiting the career success of Black women in higher education administration. Analyses of these reports indicated the inhibiting factors may have affected career success in at least two ways: by hindering participation in the application process and by limiting opportunities for professional growth and development after an administrative position was obtained. For example, factors such as limited opportunities for professional networking and lack of a mentor may have prevented the Black woman in higher education administration from gaining knowledge of a new position or decreased the likelihood that she would be known to the "right" people in order to progress in the selection process or be hired. In fact, it would appear some factors may have worked in tandem, possibly even compounding each other's impact. Unreluctantly embracing a commitment to work and career while also being socialized to the importance of family, a dominant pattern among Black women (Reagon, 1982) might have placed limits on the pursuit of "proper credentials" (Mimms, 1996), affected geographic immobility (Ramey, 1995) or limited freedom to accept opportunities to assume greater responsibilities and gain needed skills such as risk-taking or communication (Lindsay, 1994). When the factors of racism and

sexism were added, further compounding may have occured as it became increasingly

unclear which factors were creating which effects – was the problem that skills needed to

be improved? Or, that regardless of skills, the institutional culture did not support

women's success? Or, that irrespective of skills or gender, the institutional culture did

not support success among Blacks? Black women have remained the primary group for

whom these are continuing, taken-for-granted questions of everyday life in the workplace.

Even in a society now recognizing 30 Census ethnic categories, up from three in 1860

(Meacham, 2000), the landscape still is framed primarily in Black and white.

In the studies previously reported here, factors identified as inhibiting career

success among Black women in higher education administration may be grouped into two

categories: individual/personal factors and institutional factors. Individual/personal

factors would be those which might be considered attributes or characteristics and

experiences of the individual such as patterns of education, role and work socialization,

influences on career choice and mobility, and professional and personal support systems.

Institutional factors would be those outside the individual's control (though not

necessarily her influence) such as organization climate and culture in her place of

employment and the landscapes for politics and social justice at the local and national

levels. Further, within these two broad categories, the factors might be aggregated as

shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. FACTORS AFFECTING BLACK WOMEN'S CAREER SUCCESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION	
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS	**INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS**
Support Systems Intellectual isolation Mentors & mentoring Role models Social & professional networks	**External Environment** Academic Labor Market Racism Sexism Support for Affirmative
Work and Role Socialization Early family & educational experiences Family issues Geographic mobility or immobility Institutional incompatibility Professional organization participation	**Internal Environment** Academic Labor Market Organizational culture Organizational climate Racism Sexism

Preparation
Academic preparation & credentials
Breadth of administrative
      experiences/development of risk-taking
      skills
Communications skills
	Support for affirmative action
	Support for leadership training

These broader categories more readily reveal relationships to theoretical

constructs which, in turn, might be used by quantitative and qualitative researchers to

gain greater understanding of the individual factors. A role of theory in qualitative

research is to help shape the initial research questions (Creswell, 1994), not to be used as

a "container" for data (Lather, 1986). Theoretical constructs applied to the identified

factors might help answer questions such as how does the impact of a given factor vary

by individual or by institution? Or, at what level does a factor become a significant

issue? Or, in what ways can a factor's impact be neutralized or muted? Or, in the case of

supportive factors, amplified and maximized?

In this context, for example, support system factors might be explored through

Granovetter's work related to social network analysis and the strength of interpersonal

ties (1986; 1983; 1973). Braddock's work related to the contact hypothesis (1980) and

Braddock & McPartland's work in perpetuation theory (1989) might be useful in exploring role and work socialization factors. Similarly, Giddens' structuration theory (1984) or other theories of organizations might be useful to enrich understanding of local institutional factors.

A View Through the Lens of Theory

Since the early days of racial desegregation, social networking has been recognized as a crucial element for enhancing the life success of African Americans. In fact, according to Wells and Crain (1994), access to "prestigious predominantly white universities, high status employment, social networks and social institutions" (p. 531) was a core goal of desegregation litigation even before *Brown v. Board* in 1954. Many of the reports and studies related to career success among Black women in higher education administration have focused on same ethnicity networking as vitally important (Harvey, 2000: Gill & Showell, 1992; Moses, 1989). However, Braddock's work (Braddock, 1980 and Braddock and McPartland, 1989) with perpetuation theory and Granovetter's (1986; 1983; 1973) work with the strength of interpersonal ties related to network analysis might suggest that the greatest benefits may be derived from networking and mentoring across gender and ethnic lines. Granovetter made the case that social networks were most likely composed of same ethnicity individuals (strong ties) and that the most beneficial information about career and education might come from the most distant members of a social network (weak ties). Braddock (1980) observed that "anticipated racial hostility" (p. 179) had made some Black people "ambivalent about and reluctant to take full advantage" (p. 179) of potential opportunities offered in desegregated situations. He

further stated, "Blacks have learned to avoid and withdraw from interracial situations where they may experience pain and indignity" (p. 179). In fact, Braddock and McPartland (1989) noted "Blacks who are segregated in one institutional sphere – be it in education, residential location, employment, or informal social contacts – are also likely to have mostly segregated experiences in other institutional environments" (p. 267). Bell and Nkomo (1998) suggested that many Black women benefit from "armoring," a psychological shield, imparted through "racial-sexual socialization" (p. 286) primarily by Black mothers, which "enables a Black girl to develop and to maintain a sense of self-worth, dignity and beauty in the face of social standards clearly signaling otherwise" (p. 286). Another concept, biculturalism, has been used to refer to how ethnic minorities have successfully adapted themselves to majority culture for workplace and economic success while maintaining authentic connections with their own ethnic groups for personal support and sustenance (Hughes & Dodge, 1997; Richie, 1992; Bell, 1990; Beale, 1970). It might appear that armoring and biculturalism could provide key elements in reducing the reluctance and ambivalence described by Braddock, and thus could be positive factors in the ability to make Granovetter's valuable "weak ties," the type of interactions involved in professional networking and work in professional organizations.

These are just a few examples of how the aggregated factors might be approached by investigators seeking to extend understanding of their impact. Clearly, the value of this extended understanding would be immeasurable. On the simplest, most direct level, it could improve the life chances for Black women who pursue careers in higher education administration (and their immediate and extended families.) Greater

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understanding could inform the preparation of younger Black women who were entering the career pipeline, allowing them to be better equipped and more knowledgeable at the starts of their careers. On a broader level, understanding factors affecting Black women's career success could expand the knowledge bases related to the impact of ethnicity and the impact of gender in the workforce. For United States' prominence in the modern global society to continue, the best minds, regardless of race, ethnicity or gender, must be applied in every field, but especially in education.

Statement of the Problem

For nearly 400 years, Black women in the U. S. have participated in the workforce, demonstrating their ability to handle myriad responsibilities while sustaining their families and themselves. Throughout that time, education has been held as a high value among Black people, and particularly Black women who have assiduously pursued educational achievements for themselves and their families.

In the 150 years since higher education became available to them, Black women have been students, faculty and administrators and leaders. Nonetheless, despite changes in the societal landscape of the past 40 years, the opportunities for Black women to attain the pinnacle of career success in higher education have been limited, particularly in mainstream predominantly white colleges and universities. What has accounted for this anomaly? While racism and sexism, individually and in interaction, undoubtedly have been important, they do not provide satisfactory or sufficient illumination of the problem.

There is scant literature on Black women pursuing careers in higher education administration. Reports and studies by Geok-Lin Lim and Herrera-Sobek (2000), Harvey

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(1999), Mimms (1996), Ramey (1995), Lindsay (1994) and Moses (1989) have identified several factors which appear to promote and inhibit Black women's career success in higher education. These can be grouped broadly into two categories: (1) Individual Factors such as support systems, work and role socialization, and academic preparation, and (2) Institutional Factors including global/societal factors and local factors.

Racism and sexism, independently and in interaction, undoubtedly have been important in understanding the career experiences of Black women in higher education. Both racism and sexism are concepts too broad to be truly helpful in illuminating the problem and in guiding viable solutions at the individual or institutional level. In my best judgment, the most useful explanation of the problem would acknowledge a complex interplay of individual and institutional factors. Examining the problem through the concepts of perpetuation theory and social networking theory, specifically strength of ties theory, appeared to hold potential for this understanding and, in contrast to the many other studies, appeared to provide the opportunity to develop theory-based recommendations for addressing the problem and increasing diversity among higher education administrators.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the career experiences of Black women in higher education administration, seeking to understand factors potentially inhibiting and supporting their career success using the theoretical frames of network analysis through "the strength of interpersonal ties" (Granovetter, 1973; 1983; 1996) and perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock and McPartland, 1989), and to develop

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theory-based recommendations for increasing ethnic and gender diversity of senior and executive leadership in colleges and universities. The study focused specifically on the context – higher education – within which the participants pursued their careers, not on the positions they held.

Theoretical Framework

Many of the reports and studies related to Black women's careers in higher education administration have focused on same ethnicity networking as vitally important (Harvey, 2000: Gill & Showell, 1992; Moses, 1989). However, Braddock's work (1980; Braddock and McPartland, 1989) with perpetuation theory and Granovetter's (1986, 1983; 1973) work with the "strength of ties" related to network analysis suggest that the greatest benefits may be derived from networking and mentoring across gender and ethnic lines. Granovetter makes the case that social networks are most likely composed of same ethnicity individuals (strong ties) and that the most beneficial information about career and education may come from the most distant members of a social network (weak ties). Braddock (1980), in his development of perpetuation theory, observes that "Blacks have learned to avoid and withdraw from interracial situations where they may experience pain and indignity" (p. 179). In fact, Braddock & McPartland (1989) noted "Blacks who are segregated in one institutional sphere – be it in education, residential location, employment, or informal social contacts – are also likely to have mostly segregated experiences in other institutional environments" (p. 267).

Research Questions

This study sought to answer four questions:

I   How do Black women higher education administrators in one Southern state experience their careers?

II   What factors appear to affect their career success?

III   How are factors affecting their career success impacted by Braddock and McPartland's (1980) perpetuation theory of racial desegregation and Granovetter's (1973) strength of ties theory of social networking?

IV   How can career success and attainment opportunities be enriched among Black women administrators in public higher education settings?

Procedures

This study examined how Black women experience their careers in higher education administration in order to better understand the factors that affect their career success. At the beginning of the study, the variables were still uncertain and there was scant available literature related to the problem, this study seemed well-suited for a qualitative research approach. Creswell (1994) cites "the nature of the problem" (p. 6) as a key factor in selecting the paradigm for a research study, noting that qualitative methodology is appropriate to problems characterized by "largely unknown variables" (p. 10), "little information" (p. 10) available on the topic, and "focus on context" (p. 10) as it shapes understanding of the phenomena to be studied. Gay and Airasian (2000) posit that "there are different meanings in the world" (p. 9) and that "meaning is situated in a particular perspective" (p. 9), recognizing that qualitative research describes "particular

localized occurrences or contexts and the perspectives of a particular group toward events, beliefs, and practices" (p. 202). Naturalistic inquiry, an element of qualitative research, involves unobtrusive, nonmanipulative study of real-world situations without pre-determined constraints on outcomes (Gay & Airasian) which fit consistently with the approach planned for this study. The theoretical frameworks of social network analysis (Granovetter, 1973, 1983, and 1996) and perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989) offered a means of understanding and interpreting the data collected.

Crabtree and Miller (1992) describe the five aims of scientific inquiry as "identification, description, explanation-generation, explanation-testing and control" (p. 6), noting that the first three are considered exploratory research and are most commonly associated with qualitative research. According to Crabtree and Miller, qualitative description "explores meanings, variations and perceptual experiences of phenomena" (p. 6). Field research, a term sometimes used for qualitative research, uses "specific data collection methods, sampling procedures, and analysis styles" (Crabtree & Miller, p. 5) and "question-specific designs" (p. 5).

The case study is a frequent form of field research. Citing Merriam (1988), Bogdan and Bikel (1992) describe the case study method of inquiry as a "detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or a particular event" (p. 62). Case study research "probes deeply and analyzes interactions between factors that explain present status or that influence change or growth" (Best & Kahn, 1989, p. 92). These characteristics meant the case study method was consistent

with the focus of this study which sought to provide an in-depth exploration of Black

women's career experiences as administrators in the higher education system of a single

state. In accordance with case study data gathering methods cited by Best & Kahn (p.

93), this study utilized "interviews with the subjects" and "recorded data" from the the

State System Coordinating Board (OSRHE), the boards of regents and trustees for various

public and private postsecondary institutions, and other sources.

Setting

Current literature specifically focused on Black women pursuing full-time careers

in higher education administration is very limited. None of the identified studies

appeared to have been conducted in the State where this study was conducted or even the

southwest region of the U. S. (Harvey, 1999; Benjamin, 1997; Mimms, 1996; Ramey,

1995; Lindsay, 1994; Gill & Showell, 1991; Moses, 1989).

The tumultuous union of two territories to create this State in the early 1900s

brought together two geographically and politically dissimilar areas. In the late 1800s the

promise of land rushes and the lack of segregation and Jim Crow laws attracted many

Blacks to what would become the western portion of the State. In the eastern territory,

Blacks who were freed slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes constituted a large portion of

the population. In fact, the Dawes Rolls, records of an Indian census mandated by the

Dawes Act of 1887, list almost as many freedmen as Indian full bloods (Goble, 1980).

Shortly after Statehood, Southern Democrat segregationists prevailed over the more

democratic "Party of Lincoln" Republicans to set the conservative tone that continues to

dominate the state's politics (Baird & Goble, 1994, p. 333).

The State where this study was conducted was one of nineteen states which formerly maintained a segregated higher education system (Southern Education Foundation, 1995). Since 1948, the public higher education system in this State has been subject to at least five major desegregation and civil rights lawsuits and yet was described in 1986 as "unique among Systems of Higher Education in America" (Hagy, 1986, p. 2) regarding its stand on social justice matters.

Despite this legacy, higher education in this State has been impacted by several pioneering Black women, notably one who in 1948 sought and obtained backing from the U. S. Supreme Court to integrate the law school at one of the State's two flagship universities (Baird & Goble, 1994), as well as the only two Black women appointed as members of the State System Coordinating Board in its fifty-eight year history (Reece, 2000). Until the 1960s, despite the triumph in the Supreme Court, Black women (and men) students, faculty members and administrators in this state's higher education were confined largely to the State's historically Black university (Baird & Goble, 1994). In fact, until the early 1960s, this Historically Black University (HBU) was the only institution enrolling more than one or two Black students during any academic period.

Today nearly 100 Black women faculty and administrators pursue professional careers in the State's twenty-three public colleges and universities, higher education centers and constituent agencies (OSRHE, 2000) . Since the 1970s, the State System Coordinating Board has implemented several statewide social justice initiatives including the recently frozen programs to support minority doctoral and professional study and the ACE-National Identification Program in the early 1980s. The open hostility of the past is

gone, giving way to more subtle expressions of racism and sexism. Nonetheless, while

facing substantial challenges, Black women in higher education administration in this

State are making valuable contributions as leaders, mentors and role models (Hagy,

1986). Still, in 2000, no Black woman, and only one Black man, had attained a college

presidency in any of the twenty-two historically and predominantly white two-year and

four-year public colleges and universities in the State System.

Population

Simply stated, the population for a research study is the group of interest to the

researcher (Gay, 1987). The population typically shares at least one characteristic that

distinguishes it from other groups (Gay, 1987). Research studies generally are conducted

by examining a portion of the defined population, then drawing inferences, or

generalizations, about the population from which that portion was drawn (Best & Kahn,

1989). This portion of the population, referred to as a sample, is selected "according to

certain rules" (Johnson & Christensen, 2000) from the larger population "for observation

and analysis" (Best & Kahn, 1989, p. 11). The population for this study was comprised

of Black women who, when the study began, were employed in or recently retired from

full-time administrative positions in the twenty-three public colleges and universities in

the State where the study was conducted. While some of these women may also have

other roles in higher education, such as part-time student or part-time/adjunct faculty

member, their inclusion in the study population was based on their primary role as a full-

time (line or staff) administrator. Members of the population were identified using

directory information and demographic and descriptive data obtained from the State System Coordinating Board.

Sample

The entire population of nineteen Black women administrators at the level of dean or above was selected as the sample for this study. Actual participation was determined by each woman's availability and accessibility. Interviews were conducted with sixteen women; three prospective participants were unable or unavailable to participate in the study.

Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument for data collection and interpretation and the study is directly affected by the biases, values and judgment of the researcher (Creswell, 1994). A brief description of the researcher is provided here to acknowledge and account for those perspectives (Bogdan & Bikel, 1992).

I have lived in the State where the study was conducted most of my life and attended segregated public schools through high school. I attended one of the State's comprehensive universities for two years prior to receiving my baccalaureate degree from Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. I have completed graduate level courses at several public research universities (including the University of Houston and Temple University) and earned a master of science degree in college teaching from a regional four-year university in Oklahoma.

My employment background includes nearly 30 years of higher education administrative experience in positions ranging from department secretary to vice

president for administration. These experiences were gained in a variety of settings

including a public, urban research university; three highly selective, private universities –

two secular, one religious; and one rural, regional public university – all predominantly

white institutions.

In most of these settings, I have been "one of a few" or the only Black woman in

an administrative or executive leadership position. I have benefitted from role models

and mentoring relationships throughout my career. The longest and most significant of

these relationships was with a white male and spanned nearly twenty years. Since high

school, I have experienced the worlds of education, work and personal life bi-culturally –

maintaining close ties with family, church and other cultural ties within my ethnicity

group, while simultaneously fitting within the cultural values of the predominantly white

institutions where I have studied and worked. Although I have encountered few incidents

of direct, overt racism or sexism, I have experienced subtle, covert actions that may be

assumed to accompany negative racial feelings.

The problem statement and choice of theoretical framework of this study reflect

my understanding of the issues studied and the outcomes were subject to be affected by

my data gathering, analysis and interpretation of the findings. However, a full

complement of procedural steps were taken to achieve descriptive and interpretive

validity (Maxwell, 1992 & 1996), thereby reducing the impact of my biases on the

outcomes of the study.

Data Needs

One of the first steps in analyzing political, social or economic conditions was to get the facts about the situation (Best & Kahn, 1989, p. 81). Demographic and descriptive facts for this study initially were obtained from the State System Coordinating Board (SSCB.) The data needed were gathered through initial and follow-up interviews with Black women holding or recently retired from full-time administrative positions in the public colleges and universities of the State where the study was conducted. The study utilized participants' insights and observations about their educational experiences, family backgrounds, career experiences and aspirations to understand their work environments as they understood them. In addition, data were collected from a wide range of sources utilizing a variety of media regarding the population of Black women in the this State's public higher education system, the roles and contributions of Black women in the State's history, the history of public higher education in this State, the social justice and affirmative action programs in the State's public higher education sector from the 1960s to the present, and other pertinent topics.

Methods

Bogdan and Bikel (1992) recommend starting case study research by collecting, reviewing and exploring data about the places, people and subject of the study. This study began with the collection of factual, demographic and descriptive data such as directory information from the State System Coordinating Board (SSCB) and from individual higher education institutions. In addition, information on State System history,

systemwide social justice and affirmative action initiatives was obtained from the SSCB and other sources as well.

The second phase of the study consisted of individual interviews with members of the study population. In qualitative research, interviews are the recommended means of data gathering when studying individuals who share a trait but do not necessarily constitute an interacting group (Bogdan & Bikel, 1992). This study relied on unstructured, face-to-face interviews characterized by general questions followed by deeper exploration of specific topics and issues raised by the participants (Bogdan & Bikel). Consistent with Mishler's (1986) description of the "original purpose of interviewing as a research method" (p. 7), these interviews were intended "to understand what respondents mean by what they say in response to our queries and thereby to arrive at a description of respondents' worlds of meaning that is adequate to the tasks of systematic and theoretical interpretation" (p. 7). Mishler specifically qualified the unstructured interview as a "flexible strategy for discovery . . . to elicit rich, detailed materials" (p. 27). The length of the initial interviews varied, with most lasting one to two hours. The location of the initial interviews was mutually determined for the convenience of the participants.

The interview schedule used in this study appears in Appendix A. Bogdan and Bikel (1992) suggested abstract, "formal theoretical questions" (p. 156) based on the broader themes of the study should be used in interviews. The abstract questions used in this study were intended to remove real or implied clues indicating to the participants that there are right or wrong responses (Payne, 1993).

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A simple interview schedule was used to guide the interview process. Introductory, closed-end demographic questions about family status, education and work history were used to establish rapport and gain familiarity with the participants. These efforts built on the observation by Best & Kahn (1989) that shared ethnicity between the interviewer and interviewees appears to positively influence the establishment of rapport which in turn influences the quality of the participant's responses. Although the questions on this survey were informed by the other identified studies of Black women in higher education administration, this study did not attempt to use verbatim any of the questions previously asked. Appendix A contains the interview schedule, including the introductory and interview questions. In conducting the interviews, attention was given to assuring that the meaning of the questions, rather than the wording, was fixed across the interviews (Mishler, 1986).

Analysis

Each interview conducted for this study will be tape recorded and transcribed systematically and accurately. Mishler (1986) noted that such transcription is a prerequisite for "valid analysis and interpretation of interview data" (p. 50). Data collected from participant interviews, along with data collected from observations and documents, was coded generally using Tesch's 8-step process (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative text management software was not utilized in the analysis process. This study used the dominant modes of data analysis proposed for use in case study research (Creswell, 1994). These included: (a) finding patterns predicted from the theoretical framework (p. 156); (b) developing explanations about the case, drawing on causal links

and/or plausible, rival explanations (p. 157); (c) tracing changes in a pattern over time (p.157).

Research Criteria

Johnson and Christensen (2000) stated that the validity of a qualitative study may be measured by the extent to which it is "plausible, credible, trustworthy, and, therefore, defensible" (p. 207). Maxwell (1992, 1996) described three types of validity relevant to qualitative research: descriptive (factual accuracy), interpretive (accuracy in conveying the participants' viewpoint), and theoretical (appropriate fit between data and theory-based explanations).

This study used triangulation – cross-checking information across a variety of sources – as a means of achieving descriptive accuracy and avoiding researcher bias. 'Member checks' (Creswell, 1994), participant feedback and low inference descriptors (Johnson & Christensen, 2000) will be used to achieve interpretive validity. Participant feedback, as defined by Johnson and Christensen (2000), uses "actual participants and other members of the participant community for verification and insight" (p. 208). An emeritus faculty member from a public university provided feedback on the analyses and interpretation from the interview data. As a Black woman, as a native of the State in which the study was conducted, and as a veteran participant in the professional community of the state's higher education system, this person was deemed qualified to provide valid feedback. In addition, one of the two Black women to serve on the State System Coordinating Board, also provided feedback on the researcher's data collection, understanding, and analysis at various points as the study progressed.

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Using low inference descriptors involves including the participants' own language verbatim, to best convey the participants' interpretations and personal meanings. Verbatim quotes, along with thick, rich description, were used extensively in this study to assure interpretive validity, thus further avoiding researcher bias.

Finally, theoretical validity is gauged by the extent to which the theoretical framework "fits the data" (Johnson & Christensen, p. 210); that is, how well it describes *how* a phenomenon works and *why* it works as it does. Johnson and Christensen suggest extended fieldwork – staying in the field long enough to collect data, understand relationships and test interpretations – as a means of assuring theoretical validity (p. 211). This study met the extended fieldwork criteria by including the entire population, sixteen of the nineteen identified eligible participants were interviewed and included in the study. Another measure for assuring theoretical validity is peer review (Johnson & Christensen, p. 211). My dissertation advisor, Dr. Adrienne Hyle, providef an outside professional perspective which helped identify and resolve problems related to the theory-based explanation of the data from this study.

Creswell (1994) suggests qualitative studies must also be concerned with internal and external validity issues normally associated with quantitative research. Internal validity, similar to descriptive validity, refers to "the accuracy of the information and whether it matches reality" (p. 158). Various methods of triangulation described above addressed internal validity in this study. According to Creswell (1994), external validity refers to generalizability of the findings from the study (p. 158). Due to its general lack of random selection and its focus on "particularistic" findings (Johnson & Christensen, p.

214), qualitative research does not lend itself easily to widespread generalizability.

However, according to Johnson and Christensen (2000), the term 'naturalistic

generalizability', introduced by Stake (1990), refers to generalizing to other people,

settings, and times to the extent that they are similar to those factors in the original study

and best describes generalization in qualitative research. To facilitate naturalistic

generalizability, Johnson and Christensen suggest the report of a qualitative study should

include ample details regarding the people, settings and times involved. Generalization

also may be supported through "replication logic," which indicates that "the more times a

research finding is shown to be true with different sets of people, the more confidence"

can be placed in the finding and in the conclusion that the finding can be generalized

beyond the original study (Johnson & Christensen, p. 214). Although individual case

studies typically are not generalizable, as the body of literature grows to provide an

adequate sample of cases, generalization may be possible as consistent relationships are

observed (Best & Kahn, 1986). Although this study did not exactly replicate any of the

other identified studies, the findings from this study support generalization of findings

from national findings to the Black women in the State where the study was conducted.

Anonymity requires that "no one, including the researcher" (Gay & Airasian,

2000, p. 287) can identify the specific participants in a study – an unattainable condition

when gathering data through face-to-face personal interviews. Confidentiality, on the

other hand, means the researcher knows but will not disclose the identity of individual

participant responses (Gay & Airasian). Confidentiality and anonymity are deemed to

increase truthfulness of responses (Gay & Airasian). In this study, participant

confidentiality has been ensured through the use of pseudonyms and clustering or omission of specifically identifiable information in participants' responses.

Before beginning the research, to assure adequate protection of human subjects, this proposal was submitted to and aproved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Oklahoma State University-Stillwater. The study began after receiving IRB approval.

Summary

This study examined the career experiences Black women in higher education administration at the level of dean and above, with specific focus on public higher education in a southern state. Data collected through interviews and other means were analyzed and considered through the lens of Braddock's perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989) and Granovetter's social network analysis work (1973, 1983, and 1996) to develop theory-grounded recommendations for improving the ethnic and gender diversity of senior administrators and executive officers of colleges and universities in the State where the study will be conducted.

Reporting

A review of the relevant literature related to the study, including the theoretical framework of the study, is presented in Chapter II. Chapter III offers personal introductions of the participants. Data from the interviews is used to provide personal information such as family and educational background and career experiences. In these mini-biographies, participants are identified by assigned pseudonyms. Chapter IV presents the data according to themes that emerged from the interview process. Analysis

of the data through the lenses of the theoretical frame is presented in Chapter V. Chapter

VI presents discussion and a plan of action.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

*Greatness is very largely a social accident, and almost always socially
supported . . . the failure of one group to have shining representatives is
more apt to be due to lack of opportunity in these fields from which they
are barred by social pressure, than lack of capacity.*
                                        ~Mary McLeod Bethune, undated (Lerner, 1972, p. xxxvi)

The review of literature sets the context for this study, first by exploring some of

the major issues historically affecting women's life and work choices, then by examining

important elements of women's work in the particular career field of higher education

administration and, finally, by relating those issues to the theoretical framework around

which the study was constructed. Within this broader focus, special attention has been

given to the varied meanings and outcomes of these issues in the lives of Black women

and white women in the U. S., particularly those issues related to educational attainment,

labor force participation and career achievement.

The questions explored in this review are: What conditions have characterized

women's lives in the U. S.? What have been the major factors affecting women's choices

in the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of work outside the home? How

have these factors been experienced by women who are also Black or Black people who

are also women? In what ways have these women responded to these issues? How might

Granovetter's (1973) strength of ties theory of social networking and Braddock and

McPartland's (1980) perpetuation theory of racial desegregation help us understand the specific context of Black women's work experiences in higher education settings?

Some Women's Lives

Feminist historian Bettina Aptheker (1982) reminds us that the "materialist" approach assigns woman's condition to "history" rather than to "nature." According to Aptheker, taking this approach "confirms that what was socially constructed in one way can be changed to another" (Aptheker, 1982, p. 4). In other words, the future can be different from the past and the present. To better understand where you are, it is sometimes helpful to know how you arrived there. This section of the literature review provides a review of the conditions which have characterized some women's lives in the United States.

In the Beginning

Women from throughout England and western Europe came to the New World settlements up and down the Atlantic coast seeking economic opportunities and freedom from religious persecution (Evans, 1989). Some came with their families, others came alone. Men and some women too, came to the New World as indentured servants, buying their passage with contracts for set periods of servitude (Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Evans, 1989). The women who came to the New World, by choice and by bondage, and eventually the First American women already here, made invaluable contributions to the success of the colonial adventure.

In contrast to the closely circumscribed lives of white women who were largely excluded from participation in Early American public life, the women of the Iroquois

Indian nation, living in the vicinity of New Amsterdam colony, actively participated in tribal affairs, even serving on councils to elect the tribal chiefs (Evans, 1989). Women of the Indian tribes living near the Virginia Colony were seen as hardworking because they performed the subsistence work such as cultivating crops, fishing, repairing houses, while Indian men hunted game, an activity considered "gentlemen's sport" by the settlers (Jones, 1999, p. 10.) The early settlers' failure to fully appreciate the complexity of Indian culture led them to assume that Indian women too were without economic and political power in their tribal power structures.

Experiences of Early America. In April, 1607, some 100 adventurers, including about 40 women, arrived at Chesapeake Bay to establish what would become the British colony of Virginia. Ahead of them lay the task of taming a new world, behind them in most cases were lives worthy of abandonment. Among those pioneers was John Smith, a prisoner at the time of his arrival, who two years later served as governor of the struggling colony (Savelle, 1975). During his term as governor, Smith articulated and enforced the policy, "he who works not, eats not" (Savelle, 1975, p. 2). Applicable to men and women alike, Smith's policy basically set the foundation for women's lives throughout the colonial period as colonial women not only prepared and served their families' meals but provided much of the food from the gardens, dairies and poultry they tended (Kerber & DeHart Mathews, 1987) and produced most of the daily necessities of living such as clothing, candles, and bedding (Bernard, 1981.)

A prolific promoter of British colonialism and imperialism, Smith further influenced colonial society – and modern society as well – with his widely published

descriptions of the "salvages," or Indians, who lived in the Virginia colony area. In Smith's view, the Indians were "craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous [cautious], all Savage" (Savelle, 1975, p. 6). Nonetheless, Smith predicted they could be subjugated to become a valuable labor force for England.

Melding religion and government, John Winthrop, another 17th century English adventurer, joined with other Puritan gentry to form the Massachusetts Bay Company which received its charter in 1629 (Savelle, p. 9). With his band of about a thousand like-minded people, Winthrop founded Boston, the "City upon a Hill." In 1645, following the establishment of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, then deputy governor Winthrop set forth his ideas pertaining to society and government stating,

> . . . The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so
> chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him; yet in a way of
> liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor
> and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her
> subjection to her authority . . . you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that
> authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your
> good. (Savelle, 1975, p. 12)

Thus, in 1647, Winthrop too laid a foundation which nearly four hundred years later still impacts the lives of women in American society.

Despite their varied and crucial roles in early colonial America by the time of the American Revolution, wives typically deferred to their husbands on most questions and

relied on men to manage family finances (Salmon, 1987, p. 45). As early as 1776, more than a decade before the Constitutional Convention which yielded little in terms of recognizing women, Abigail Adams reminded her husband John that despite "Emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining absolute power over Wives." (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p.1) Within the English common law practices of the British-American colonies, British jurist Sir William Gladstone wrote "legal existence of a woman is suspended during the marriage" (Simon & Danziger, p. 98). After marriage, in most colonies women were virtually powerless, barred from owning property or making legally binding contracts (Salmon, p. 40). A few, primarily wealthy, married women in Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina fared slightly better through the means of "marriage settlements." These formal contracts, often in the form of trusts, derived from British equity law, and provided a married woman limited rights to personal (and occasionally real) property ownership and control. Availability of this protection was limited, affecting only one to two percent of South Carolina marriages between 1785 and 1810, for example (Salmon, p.42).

The Cult of Domesticity. In the decades before the Civil War, the lives of women in the northeastern states began to change along with nature of work and workers. Men were being drawn to emerging opportunities west of New England and, according to Jones (1999), a new class of women workers began to emerge. Often unmarried and dependent on their extended families, many of these women went to work outside their homes for wages – enlarging their roles as consumers while lowering their social positions to that of employee. Some of these women worked in their homes for the

textile industry, spinning raw materials into thread, hence the word "spinster" came to

describe "an unmarried European American woman" (Amott & Matthaei, 1991, p. 99).

In the northeast United States, this production system gave way to textile mills in

the 1820s and young women proved a viable source of labor. By 1830, an influx of

immigrants, and increasing numbers of men, led to lower wages and decreased status of

female workers (Lerner, 1979). Women, many of whom planned to work only until they

married, were found mostly in the least skilled, lowest paid jobs. By 1870, 61 percent of

male wage-earners worked in factories and mines (Landry, 2000, p. 21). In addition, the

development of large corporations such as Standard Oil (before the intervention of

antitrust laws), brought new opportunities for male workers as corporate office clerks and

managers, creating a "new, urban middle class" (Landers, 2000, p. 21). An outcome and

an incentive of this trend was that men earning industrial labor force wages were better

positioned to provide for their families without help of their wives whose labors, in the

agrarian family, had been crucial to the family's sustenance (Evans, 1989).

In the earlier days of America, a family's survival often depended on contributions

from all the women and children. For these families, the ideal of the pampered wife was

an unaffordable luxury, except for the very wealthy. In those days, a husband was

considered a "good provider" (Landers, 2000, p. 21) if he could earn enough income to

support his family's needs. Many of those needs were the materials to be used in home

production of goods, activities generally accomplished or supervised by the wife as most

homes did their own weaving and sewing and raised their own food. With

industrialization, by the late 1800s, commodities such as yard goods, ready-made

clothing, soap and candles became available in stores to be purchased by those who could

afford them – those who worked for wages, not crop-shares or less (Landers, 2000). The

"good provider" then became the husband who could earn enough to buy the goods his

family consumed to live in relative comfort (Bernard, 1981).

Class distinctions emerged as some women, no longer working inside or outside

their homes, began to focus on "the lady" (Lerner, 1979, p. 25) as the paragon of "piety,

purity and domesticity" (Kerber & DeHart Mathews, p. 133) to which all women should

aspire. Printed tracts and popular women's magazines of the day promoted the idea that

"a woman's place is in the home" (Lerner, 1979, p. 26) even as poor women continued to

enter the work force to help meet the basic needs of their families. Much of the domestic

freedom enjoyed by the middle class women in the North was provided by poor women

who performed domestic service outside their own homes. In the South, domestic labor

was most often provided by slaves. Irrespective of these realities, the "cult of true

womanhood," sometimes called "the cult of domesticity," became a pervasive theme,

ascribing women to the private sphere of homemaking and child-rearing, while men were

ascribed to the public sphere of business and politics (Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Simon &

Danziger, 1991). Evans (1989, p. 69) describes *The Sphere and Duties of Woman,* a

lecture series of the day wherein marriage is depicted as:

> the sphere for which women were originally intended, and to which she is
>
> so exactly fitted to adorn and bless, as the wife, the mistress of a home, the
>
> solace, the aid and the counsellor [sic] of the ONE, for whose sake alone
>
> the world is of any consequence to here.

Where self-reliance, creativity and resourcefulness had characterized womanhood and family life in early America, dependence, submissiveness, piety were the valued aspects of domesticity (Landers, 2000). The cult of domesticity period is characterized by three issues: industrialization, division of labor and highly defined gender roles, and the development of a middle class (ABC-CLIO, 2001).

Left idle, with a growing realization that the aspiration-inspiring, Jacksonian Era "Age of the Common Man" rhetoric did not apply to them (Harley, 1979), some middle class women grew frustrated and "bitterly conscious" (Lerner, 1979, p. 27) of their status-deprived position in the larger world. From this frustration, the women's rights movement was born (Lerner, 1979).

A Women's Movement – Rights: The First Wave

The "Convention to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of women" (Kerber & DeHart Mathews, p. 471) was convened by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton and Mott, brought together in part by the common indignation of being barred from the convention floor at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, roused the interest of nearly 200 women to bring into sharp focus issues that had been fomenting for more than 100 years (Friedan, 1963).

The questions of slavery among other things. The "Declaration of Sentiments," which Stanton produced following additional public meetings, largely set the first agenda for women's rights reform. Drawing directly from the earlier Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Sentiments states:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are

created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving

their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Citing "repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman" throughout

history, Stanton pointed out that women were denied "the elective franchise," deprived of

"rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men," compelled "to promise

obedience" in marriage, denied access to "a thorough education," and subordinated in

church. Noting that these practices destroyed women's confidence, lessened their self-

respect and made them "willing to lead a dependent and abject life," Stanton called for

women's "immediate admission to all the rights and privileges" belonging to "citizens of

the United States" (Stanton, Anthony & Gage, 1881, p. 472-473). Notably absent from

the Declaration of Sentiments is specific mention of the plight of the women bound in the

peculiar institution of slavery.

Despite the urgency of the women's rights cause, encouraged by abolitionist

writings of Elizabeth Chandler, William Lloyd Garrison and others, many women

deferred their work on women's rights to join the abolitionist movement to end the

practice of slavery (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Although white women's early

participation in the abolitionist movement may be attributed to an awareness that women

and slaves were held under the domination of white males (Simon & Danziger, 1991),

that sympathetic view from outside the institution of slavery may have been driven as

much by self-interest as revulsion for the plight of Black women as slaves. Several key leaders of the women's rights groups believed that male political and financial support for the movement would be theirs only after the pressing national question of slavery was resolved.

Through the Civil War, women's rights advocates heeded requests of (male) national leaders, and yielded to the importance of other national matters, largely postponing their efforts on behalf of women. By 1869, following the organization of the American Equal Rights Association, women's leaders split the issues of rights related to gender from those of rights related to race (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U. S. Constitution in 1865, 1868 and 1870 freed slaves and gave the rights of citizenship and suffrage to "freedmen" while continuing to withhold citizenship rights and suffrage from all women (McMillen, 1992). In fact, women's suffrage was not attained until 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment passed after being introduced in every session of Congress since 1878 (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

Suffrage. Following the Civil War, and assumed success of the abolitionists' cause, women's rights advocates turned again to the issue of suffrage. Philosophical differences led to the establishment of two distinct women's organizations. The first, The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), was founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony who counted former slave and noted abolitionist Sojourner Truth among their supporters. The second was the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) (Evans, 1989). Led by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, the AWSA included

former slave and noted orator and abolitionist Frederick Douglass among its supporters

(Evans, 1989). For Stanton and Anthony work at the national level to ensure the

franchise for women was paramount (Evans, 1989). Breaking their ties with the

Republican abolitionist cause and its focus on Black male suffrage, Stanton and Anthony

pursued a course of public activism and accepted financial support from "racist

Democrats . . . who advocated white woman suffrage as a weapon against Black political

power" (Evans, 1989, p. 123). Further, the NAWSA leaders supported the use of

educational restrictions, poll taxes, and grandfather clauses – measures used in many

southern states to disenfranchises Blacks and poor whites (Amott & Mattaei, 1991).

On the other hand, Stone and Blackwell advocated for Black male suffrage to be

gained through the Fifteenth Amendment while genteel and philanthropic efforts

appealed for woman's suffrage to be attained at the state level (Evans, 1989). Stone's and

Blackwell's alignment with Republican causes yielded mention of woman's suffrage in

the Party's 1872 platform, but not again until 1916 (Evans, 1989).

Emerging in the midst of the suffragists' campaign but focused more on matters of

home and family, the temperance movement began with local demonstrations by

relatively small groups of women in the Midwest (Evans, 1989). Their success at getting

local saloons to close provided a catalyst for their continued participation in social reform

causes (Evans, 1989). The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), established

in 1874 – five years after the AWSA and NWSA were founded – gave even more women

a national platform from which to address the threats of home and hearth related to male

abuse of alcohol, bring concerns about the private sphere of women and home directly

into the public sphere of men and commerce (Evans, 1989). Under the umbrella of the temperance movement, all women were to be sisters, bonded together by the roles as society's "moral guardians" (Evans, 1989, p. 128). Although the temperance movement was largely middle-class women, its success as a grassroots organization provided the model for the populist movement of the late 19th century.

Working Women

In 1880, women comprised 26 and 35 percent of the wage-earning labor force in the industrialized cities of Philadelphia and Atlanta respectively and 34 percent in the textile manufacturing center of Falls River, Massachusetts (Evans, 1989, p. 130). Many fo these women were immigrants, peasant women accustomed to the home-based productive work that had characterized American women's lives in the 17th and 18th centuries (Evans, 1989, p. 131). Largely unskilled, these women often helped their families by taking in boarders (Evans, 1989), doing home-based piece work for the garment and manufacturing industries (Evans, 1989), entering the labor force as domestic service workers (Evans, 1989) and developing consumer skills to stretch their family's meager resources (Evans, 1989; Cowan, 1979).

Cultural backgrounds and ethnicity affected these women's choices. For example, Evans (1989) reports that Italian families, placing high value on the mother's continuous presence in the home, often sent their teenaged children into factory work rather than have the mother join the labor force. Among other groups, including urban Blacks in the 1880s, who placed higher value on children's education and understood that men would be subject to employment discrimination, working mothers were commonplace. Evans

(1989) also described rural Appalachian families, transplanted to the mill tows of the southeast, in which everyone worked including mothers who "rose early to bake bread and tend gardens and stayed up late to make garments after working their own twelve hour shifts" (p. 133).

Most women working outside their homes worked in domestic service. Industrialization spawned the growth of white-collar clerical and sales job opportunities for women. Originally considered the first rung of the corporate career ladder, clerical work before the Civil War was men's purview (Amott and Matthaei, 1991). As corporate structures grew and record-keeping needs expanded, clerical work moved out of the career path to become women's work. As better-paid manufacturing and sales work opportunities increased, domestic work lost status and became associated with groups such as immigrants and Blacks which generally were considered inferior (Evans, 1989). Characterized by material and symbolic subordination, domestic work involved working long hours, low wages, and living in the employer's home.

Home Work. Until World War I, the largest paid occupation for women was domestic service, and for Black women this was true until World War II (Schneider, 1999). Between 1900 and 1920, technological advancements affected the nature of housekeeping and housekeepers. For some women, young and unmarried, domestic service was a stage in life, to be ended with marriage and the creation of their own families while for others, older, often married, during this time, it became an occupation (Gross, 1991). The increasing availability of factory work meant that some women could leave their jobs as domestics – maids, cooks and childcare workers – for the growing

number of better-paying, though not necessarily easier, jobs in factories or shops (Cowan, 1976). In fact, according to Cowan (1976), from 1910 to 1920, the number of household service workers declined from 1.8 million to 1.4 million while the number of households rose from 20.3 million to 24.4 million.

The specter of technology innovation was felt in the homes of this period as well as the factories. The 1880s brought electrical power, telephone service and expanded retail shopping, first to urban areas, then gradually to rural America (ABC-CLIO Notes, 2001). Electricity enabled the development of home appliances such as electric irons, powdered detergent and washing machines and conveniences such as indoor running water and indoor bathrooms – all of which transformed the structures of housekeeping (Cowan, 1976). Historians and sociologists are ambivalent on the questions of whether increased convenience of household tasks led to the need for fewer workers or the availability of fewer workers encouraged the development of time-saving household devices (Aptheker, 1982; Cowan, 1979) Available evidence supports both possibilities.

Popular literature and magazines of the day appear to have exemplified major forces competing for women's attention. A group of magazines, including such currently recognizable titles as *Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping,* and *Ladies Home Journal,* referred to as the 'Big Six' by Gottlieb (1997) and Endres (1997), used their content to encourage women to "expand beyond traditional roles" and work to improve their communities related to issues such as child welfare and child labor, education, sanitation, and the legal rights of women themselves (Evans, 1989). At the same time, these and other media sources encouraged women to change their attitudes

about the housework that more of them were now doing for themselves. In a manner reminiscent of the 'cult of domesticity' period four decades earlier, Cowan (1976) notes that during this period, literature and magazines also encouraged women to develop a different outlook on their domestic responsibilities. Instead of drudgery to be endured, household work was to be considered an expression of loyalty and caring – work so valuable that it could not reasonably be assigned to a mere servant. And with that importance, came higher standards – easier laundry methods meant higher cleanliness standards, safer and simpler kitchen equipment allowed for better nutrition and fancier meals. Women's options were opening – work and social activism outside the home and domestic pride and achievement inside the home.

By the 1890s, women, particularly those in the growing middle-class, were confronted by the contradictory expectations (and opportunities) of "true womanhood" and social activism for women's causes. Even the design of houses reflected the contradictions as the first modern kitchens were integrated into home designs and houses began to feature special rooms – e.g., sewing, music, dining, sleeping, bathing – for the various activities of virtuous domestic life (Evans, 1989). Kerber and DeHart-Mathews (1987) note that during this period, sometimes referred as "maternal commonwealth" (Evans, 1989, p. 119), the word *motherhood* took on new meaning, incorporating "a more political role" and "ever-more public responsibilities" (Kerber & De-Hart Mathews, 1987, p. 224).

Schoolwork. In 1642, the Massachusetts Bay colony provided for the education of both boys and girls in reading, law, religion and labor (Simon & Danziger, 1991). By

the mid 1700s, girls' educations, often in the dames schools run by individual teachers, were limited to reading and writing while boys were taught reading, writing, and ciphering as well. During the same period, young women from well-to-do families were privileged to attend private boarding schools where topics ranging from foreign languages, astronomy, ethics, algebra and more. In a series of articles written between 1792 and 1798, playwright and essayist Judith Sargent Murray called for increased efforts to educate women for vocations and intellectual achievement (Lewis, 1997).

By the 1820s, female seminaries began providing girls and young women a broader curriculum than the domestic sciences and religion which had characterized girls' educations until then (Rudolf, 1962). In her treatise, "A Plan for Improving Female Education," Emma Hart Willard, founder of the Troy Female Seminary, one of the first female seminaries in 1821, captured both her views on education and the seminal idea of the women's movement:

> But reason and religion teach that we too are primary existences . . . the companions, not the satellites of men, . . . Education should seek to bring its subject to the perfection of their moral, intellectual, and physical nature . . . in order that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy and what they communicate. (Willard School, 2001)

Echoing Dr. Rush's ideas from 50 years earlier, Mrs. Willard's students studied mathematics, science, geography and history – all previously reserved for men. Within a few years, the school's success encouraged the establishment of other female seminaries,

and eventually the earliest women's colleges. By 1835, two years after its founding, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute (later Oberlin College) distributed circulars noting "youths are received as members, irrespective of color" (Oberlin College, 2001). By 1837, women were permitted to study in the "regular college course" (Oberlin College, 2001), but the college also provided a separate "special Ladies Course the completion of which was recognized by a diploma" (Rudolf, 1962, p. 311). By 1852, concerned that many of the burgeoning number of women's colleges more closely resembled high schools than true colleges, Catherine Beecher, helped to organize the American Women's Education Association.

In the 19th century era of contradictory ideologies of womanhood, higher education for women began to flourish. Between 1860 and 1890, four of the eventually seven sister colleges were founded, and many previously all-male colleges and universities opened their doors for women (Evans, 1989). Despite the popular assumption that women's health could be irreparably damaged by too much intellectual activity (Rudolph, 1962) and that their brains were too small for rigorous education, young middle-class women thrived in the new environment of higher education. In 1870, there were 11,000 women enrolled in higher education; by 1880 that number had grown to 40,000 or 32 percent of all college students (Evans, 1989, p. 147) The early years of the 20th century were marked by changes in the workplace and the home, as women continued to move into the 'public sphere', carrying their domestic interests into America's streets as reformers and into America's classrooms as teachers (Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Kerber & DeHart-Mathews, 1989).

Influenced by the persuasive oratory of visionary leaders such as Catherine Beecher, women replaced men as the primary members of the teaching profession. In fact, in 1900, "white women had five times their labor market share of teaching jobs" (Amott & Matthaei, 1991, p. 336) as nine percent of European American women worked as teachers 1900 (Amott & Matthaei, 1991, p. 120). However, teaching was not the only feminized profession as women gained acceptance in fields such as nursing, library science, and social work – all activities that seemed to embody domestic, care-giving attributes though exercised in the public sphere (Evans, 1989). This first generation of college-educated women were among the first with the opportunity to choose to be financially independent, self-supporting and unmarried – the career woman was born in this era (Evans, 1989).

The growing number of educated women soon began to coalesce into clubs and sororities (sisterhoods) which provided outlets where the ambitions of educated, socially conscious women could be pursued under the auspices of "self-culture" (Evans, 1989, p. 140). The Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), founded in 1882, sought to "raise the standards of female education," while the Young Women's Christian Association early on was devoted to serving single women who moved into urban areas seeking work.

Some Other Women's Lives

As subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history. As objects, one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others, one's history named only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject.
~bell hooks (hooks, 1989, p. 42)

In the same country, but a world apart, some other women experienced a different reality. Legal and socially-enforced boundaries established a vision for the realities of these women's existence. Drawing on inner resources and each other for strength and hope, these women sustained their own dreams and aspirations for themselves and their families, each generation passing those ideals to the next.

In the Beginning

From their arrival in the 1600s, Black women in the United States experienced life differently from other women. Taken involuntarily from western African countries, these women arrived not as indentured servants for set periods of time but as chattel – slaves for perpetuity. For these women, a journey that began with no hope, culminated on an auction block. Separated from their families and cultures, these women were often isolated in harsh conditions on farms in the southern colonies with few other Blacks and no one who spoke their native language (McMillen, 1992).

Early Experiences of America. Men and women experienced slavery differently from the very beginning. Instead of confinement in the holds of slave ships, as men were held, women reported were not shackled for their journey to the New World and, according to one course, went "freely about" (White, 1985, p. 101). Spared one horror, this relative freedom meant women en route to slavery were available to a different terror: sexual molestation by slave ship crews (White, 1985). Even so, White (1985) documents several incidents of women inciting, assisting and supporting shipboard revolts and insurrections. Although during early slavery, there were substantially more men than women bondspeople, by the middle of the 18th century, through changes in slave

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trafficking practices and increased birth rates the population of enslaved females was proportionate with the population of enslaved males (White, 1985). While these women's conditions in bondage may have been neither better or worse than the men's, they must be acknowledged as different.

By 1860, more than 50 years after external slave trading ended, there were an estimated 4,000,000 Black people held in slavery in the South. The majority of Southern farmers were too poor to own slaves and "only 6 percent of all southerners even qualified as planters (those with twenty or more slaves)" (McMillen, 1992, p. 7). At the start of the Civil War, there were twice as many women in bondage as there were white women in families owning at least one slave (McMillen, 1992, p. 7).

McMillen (1992, p. 8) observes that "slave women performed triple duty as laborers, wives, and mothers, responsible to both their owners and their own families." Describing the conditions of southern Black women, another historian notes, they "were the most vulnerable of all Americans during the antebellum period: they were blacks in a white nation; women in a society ruled by men; and slaves in a world of the free" (McMillen, 1992, p. 8). Laboring in fields under the watchful eyes of the "overseers" or inside the home under supervision of the women whose husbands owned them, these bondswomen were expected to perform the same full measure of work as male slaves and to take care of their own families as well. The Slave Narrative Collection, transcripts and recordings of more than 2,000 interviews of former slaves, were produced in the 1930s as a project of the Depression-era federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) (Goodson,

1979). Recalling her youth in slavery, Betty Powers, a former slave interviewed in Texas at age 80, said:

> Mammy and Pappy and us twelve chillen lives in one cabin, so mammy
> has to cook for fourteen people, 'sides her field work. She am up way
> befo' daylight fixin' breakfast and supper after dark, with de pine knot
> torch to make de/light [sic]. . . . De field hand works early and late and
> often all night. Pappy makes de shoes and mammy weaves, and you could
> hear de bump, bump of dat loom at night, when she done work in de field
> all day. (Federal Writers' Project, 1941).

The dehumanization of slavery is further exemplified in the concept of "the daily gift," a mark of high celebration in plantation life, wherein young slaves were presented as gifts of property, often to one of their master's children (Jones, 1999, p. 63.) Martin Jackson, a former slave from Victoria County, TX, recalled, "My earliest recollection is the day my old boss presented me to his son, Joe, as his property. I was about five years old and my new master was only two" (Federal Writers' Project, 1941). A similar story was told by former slave Katie Rowe about her grandmother, Nanny:

> Old Mistress was just a little girl, and her older brother bought Nanny and
> giver her to her. . . . He drawed up a paper what say dat Nanny allus
> belong to Miss Betty and all the chillun Nanny ever have belong to her,
> too, and nobody can't take 'em for a debt and things like dat. When Miss
> Betty marry, old Master he can't sell Nanny or any of her chillun neither.
> (Federal Writers' Project, 1941).

The lives of southern farmers' and plantation owners' wives were not all mint

juleps and tea sandwiches. Poorer women, generally were required to work, often

alongside their slaves, to assure the numerous chores were completed (McMillen, 1992).

More prosperous women, without the diversions of farm work, were often lonely, isolated

from the community of other women (McMillen, 1992). Yet nothing adequately explains

the callousness which some women showed to the harsh treatment of other, enslaved,

women:

> The mistress daily read the scriptures, and assembled her children for
>
> family worship. She was accounted, and was really, so far as alms-giving
>
> was concerned, a charitable woman, and tender-hearted to the poor; and
>
> yet this suffering slave, who was the seamstress of the family was
>
> continually in her presence, sitting in her chamber to sew, or engaged in
>
> her other household work, with her lacerated and bleeding back, her
>
> mutilated mouth and heavy iron collar, without so far as appeared, exciting
>
> any feeling of compassion. (Grimke, 1839).

Even as Black men and women suffered the inhumanity and indignities of slavery,

some managed to create economic opportunities by trading produce and other goods

produced by their own hand. Trading among themselves, and occasionally with

neighboring whites, these bondspeople established covert networks of communication

hidden from their master's view (Curtin, 2000). Continuing in various forms after

Emancipation, even in the face of unfair practices by former slave holders, these trade

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networks offered such items as fabric, food and jewelry for purchase by black women, perhaps wage-earning household workers (Curtin, 2000).

The Cult of Domesticity. By the 1890s, most Black women worked as sharecroppers, farm wives or domestic servants and could realistically aspire to little more than an elementary level education, at best. For these women, as well as the scant number of upper-middle class Black married women in the late 1800s, ideologies such as "the good provider" (Bernard, 1981) and, "the cult of true womanhood" (Welter, 1990) and "the marriage plot" (Keely, 1998) worked to shape these women's lives just as they did the lives of other middle-class women, just in very different ways. For these women, it became increasingly clear that their contributions – generally through "paid employment outside the home" (Landry, 2000, p. 17) would be a necessary element in the struggle to gain a measure of equality for themselves inside the home and for their families in the greater society. According to Landers (2000), under the legacy of coverture, traditionally the husband's social standing and class position dictated the married woman's place in their community and greater society. In contrast, for reasons largely related to prevailing patterns of discrimination generally and particularly as those patterns affected Black men, in the late 1890s and early 1900s, Black women's social standing and class position reflected the positions of husband and wife, with the family benefitting from the spouse in the higher position (Lerner, 2000).

Still many Black publications of that period offered their readers articles on the latest fashions and advice such as how to be a submissive wife (Washington, 1988). Then, as often appears to be the case now, more than one hundred years later, these

women's own expectations of success in their personal and employment lives appears to have been consistently higher than the greater society held for them. On the whole, the Black community did not regard femininity and intelligence as conflicting values as the larger society did (Landry, 2000).

The impact of the cult of domesticity was significant to the lives of Black families, though quite different from its impact on the lives of other families. A now-prevailing image of Black families, and Black women, was laid out by Daniel P. Moynihan in his 1965 report on the Negro family where he described a matriarchal, single-parent family structure derived from the practices of slavery (Moynihan, 1965). In 1965, 73 percent of Black families were headed by two parents, a trend that historians have verified existed even during slavery and Emancipation (Gutman, 1976). In fact, according to Landry (2000), the rate at which female-headed, single-parent families increased rose sharply among Blacks *and* whites [emphasis added] in the 1970s, and that growth rate as declined in the decades since, even in the face of changing mores of diverse and "out of wedlock" births (p. 9). Landry (2000) points out that more than half of all Black families in 1996 were headed by couples.

Working Women

Home Work. Domestic service work provided employment opportunities for substantial numbers of women between 1890 and 1920. As the nature of housekeeping was transformed by modern conveniences, so were the demographics of housekeepers. In 1900, in some areas of the South, 90 percent of those working as domestic servants and laundresses were Black (Landry, 2000). In northern cities such as Philadelphia and New

York, in more half of Black working-class families, the wives were part of the labor force, compared with about 30 percent of Irish and German immigrant wives and fewer than 10 percent of Italian immigrant wives. Unlike their immigrant counterparts, most of the Black women found work only as domestics and washerwomen (Landry, 2000). By 1920, Aptheker (1982) estimates that private household work was the occupation of half of all Black working women, rising to 60 percent in the 1930s as the Depression pushed the poor into even greater poverty.

Some of these women likened the working conditions and servile status of this work to the conditions and status of slavery, although the settings were typically inside middle-class homes, not plantation fields and the supervisors were women, often well-educated fro their time (Palmer, 1997), not coarse male overseers. Myriad accounts of wide-ranging onerous or frivolous duties such as weekly window washing (Aptheker, 1982) denial of dignity and lack of respect, inequitable wages (Palmer, 1997) and sexual abuse are mirrored in this narrative (Anonymous, 1912):

> More than two thirds of the negroes of the town where I live are menial
>
> servants of one kind or another . . . The condition . . . of poor colored
>
> people is just as bad as, if not worse than it was during the days of slavery.
>
> . . . We are literally slaves. . . . I frequently work from fourteen to sixteen
>
> hours a day. . . . [In addition to caring for three small children] . . . It is not
>
> strange to see "Mammy" watering the yard . . . sweeping the sidewalk,
>
> mopping the porch and halls, dusting around the house, helping the cook,
>
> or darning the stockings. . . . I see my own children only when they

happen see me out on the streets when I am out with the children, or when

my children come to the "yard to see me, which isn't often, because my

white folks don't like to see their servants' children hanging around their

premises. . . . I'm on duty all the time – from sunrise to sunrise, every day

in the week. Im the slave, body and soul, fo this family. And what do I

get for this work . . . The pitiful sum of ten dollars a month!

School Work. The Quakers of Pennsylvania established the earliest schools for

Black children around 1774 (Lerner, 1972). The first recorded Black women teachers

were Catherine Ferguson and Maria Becraft. Ferguson, a former slave, opened "Katy

Ferguson's Schools for the Poor" in New York, with 20 indigent white students and 28

indigent Black students (Lerner, 1972). In Baltimore, in 1820, Becraft who was fifteen

years old, opened the first boarding school for Black girls (Lerner, 1972). In that same

year, there were 10 private schools for Black children in Philadelphia. The minutes of the

Board of Managers of the Institute for Colored Youth, sponsored by the Society of

Friends, document the establishment of "a School for girls" (Lerner, 1972, p. 87) under

the leadership of Sarah M. Douglass, a member of a prominent family of free Blacks in

Philadelphia and had herself been educated by private tutors. The Board of Managers

agreed "to provide desks and Seats, Stove and Coal for the said room" (Lerner, p. 87) and

to pay $200 for the tuition of 25 students and to provide "suitable Books and stationery"

(Lerner, 1972, p. 87). Under this arrangement, Douglass was to teach the students "in

such Branches of an English Education as she is qualified to teach." Similar schools

founded by free Blacks and former slaves, along with those established and supported by

white missionaries and abolitionists, provided the foundation for Black educational opportunities.

Life in bondage left little opportunity for education. Long hard-working days, stretched into long hardworking nights, leaving little energy for school, no matter how important education may have seemed. And, clearly it was important to some – so important that in the mid-1800s, the so-called "Black Codes" were enacted, making it illegal to own slaves who could read or write and illegal to teach them:

> Education was thought to give the slave too high an opinion of himself and access to such pernicious ideas as those expressed in our Declaration of Independence, namely, that all men were created equal and have certain inalienable rights. In short, education was dangerous. (Webb, Metha, and Jordan, 2000, p. 193).

In 1854, a Norfolk, VA mother and daughter who were convicted of "keeping a Sunday School for slave children" served one month in the local jail (Lerner, 1972, p. 75). Former slave Susie King Taylor described a convent-school attending "white playmate" who was sent permanently to the convent within a few months of starting to give Taylor "some lessons" (Lerner, 1972, p. 28).

By Emancipation, an estimated 30,000 former slaves were able to read and write (Crummell, 1886). By 1869, there were nearly 7,000 teachers – Black and white, Northern and Southern – teaching freedmen in the South; nearly half of these teachers were women (Lerner, 1972, p. 94). Although most of the teachers had little more schooling than the students, this period marked the establishment of the first higher

education institutions for Blacks. Among the first institutions established for Blacks after

emancipation, Fisk School was founded in January, 1866 – six months after the end of the

Civil War and two years after the Emancipation Proclamation. Its American Missionary

Association founders, sharing a vision of "the highest standards, not of Negro education,

but of American education at its best, incorporated Fisk University in 1867 (Fisk, 2001).

School attendance for Black students – children and adults alike – generally was

subordinate to their work. Recalling her own early schooling, Fannie Jackson Coppin,

who was purchased out of slavery as a child by a relative, a graduate from Oberlin

College in 1865 and considered among the most distinguished Black teachers of the 19th

century, observed "I was allowed to go to school when I was not at work. But I could not

go on wash day, nor ironing day nor cleaning day, and this interfered with my progress

(Lerner, 1972). At that time, Oberlin College offered the same course of study as

Harvard and was the only college in the United States open to Black students (Lerner,

1972). As a teacher, Coppin demonstrated remarkable foresight and insight in her

approach to education, stating as elements of her philosophy:

> Remember all the time you are dealing with a human being whose needs
>
> are like your own. . . . To take a child's lunch from him [as punishment] is
>
> a great mistake, there is no use in attempting to teach a hungry child. . . .
>
> As soon as possible, the child should be taught to write a letter. The words
>
> mother, father, sister, brother and teacher should be spelled and written for
>
> him so that the little letter beginning Dear mother can begin to be made the
>
> subject of instruction. (Lerner, 1972, p. 91-92).

The founding of Palmer Memorial Institute in 1901 marked a significant milestone in Black women's educational accomplishments and the governance of Black-oriented schools. Charlotte Hawkins Brown established Palmer Memorial Institute after the Sedalia, North Carolina school in which she had been teaching for one year was closed by its sponsor, the American Missionary Association (AMA.) Ms. Brown's feat was remarkable because at the time she was only twenty years old and, more significantly, because Palmer Memorial Institute became the first Black school whose trustee board was comprised solely of Black people (NC. Archives and History Society, 2001). One of more than 2,000 Black schools in North Carolina at the turn of the century, Palmer Memorial Institute was the only Black school at that time which offered college preparatory instruction (NC Archives and History Society, 2001).

Career Work. Although some historians point to the emergence of the dual career, two-income family as a modern, even contemporary phenomenon (Rapaport, 1971), Landers (2000) makes a strong case that the dual career/dual income family model has been the mainstay of the Black middle class for years. The legacy of slavery and its impact on family formation and relationships complicates efforts to understand the traditions of marriage among Black people (Landry, 2000). In the mid 1960s, Moynihan (1965) offered a picture of Black families as matriarchal due largely to weak, absent Black men. According to Landry (2000) that view, though long the basis for public policy and still widely held in the general public, has since been refuted, most notably by Gutman's (1976) work which documents a different story.

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Although unusual by today's measures among all races, long marriages have not

always been unusual among Black people. Freedmen's Bureau records from 1866 of

registered marriages among former slaves in North Carolina indicate that nearly 10

percent had been married more than 30 years and nearly 50 percent had been marreid at

least 20 years (Landry, 2000). The same records indicate that "two parents headed three-

fourths of slave families" (Landry, 2000, p. 35).

The Women's Movement – Equal Opportunities: The Second Wave

As the first wave of the women's movement was related to the abolitionists' cause

of the mid-nineteenth century, so was the second wave related to the Civil Rights

Movement 100 years later. Both World War I and World War II provided opportunities

for women to enter the labor force in unprecedented numbers, in non-traditional work.

Black women have long been socialized for lives of three-fold commitment – to family,

work and community (Terborg-Penn, 1995). For Black women, domesticity has long

been cast as a complement to success in public arenas, not a contradiction (Terborg-Penn,

1995).

Beginning in the 1970s, the second wave of the women's movement assumed that

all women were concerned with the same issues – Black and white sisters fighting for

equality in a world where men dominated, without consideration for differences related to

race. As Black women saw the picture and found their voices, the ambivalence became

clear again – community or self: fight with the men in their community against the

Oppressor group as a whole or splinter from the men and fight with the Oppressor's

women against the Oppressor.

Higher Education

In 1783, Lucinda Foote, age 12 years, was "fully qualified, except in regard to sex, to be received as a pupil in the freshmen class at Yale University" (Rudolf, 1962, p. 307). A few years later, Dr. Benjamin Rush, noted Philadelphia physician and statesman, observed that, unlike European women whose closely proscribed lives might not benefit from the ability to read, write or cipher, American women needed to be educated in order to fulfill their roles as their husband's helpmates in seizing the opportunities of the new Republic. Furthermore, Rush pointed out, in the absence of a permanent servant class, every mother needed an education in order to raise her sons for the duties of "responsible citizenship" and the possibility of leadership in government affairs. This section of the study explores the patterns of educational opportunities for women in the 200 years since Dr. Rush's work in shifting the prevailing public view.

Women came to higher education in the U. S. more than 150 years ago, as students, teachers and leaders. Although men such as Matthew Vassar at Vassar College in New York and Henry Fowler Durant at Wellesley were instrumental in the founding of many women's colleges in the late 1800s, women such as Sophia Smith who endowed Smith College in Massachusetts were key players (Rudolph, 1962).

Bowdoin college and Ohio University produced the first Black college Graduates in 1828 (Rudolph, 1962). Cheyney College, founded in 1837, Ashmun Institute (later Lincoln University of Pennsylvania) chartered in 1854, and Wilberforce College, founded in 1856, vie for recognition as the oldest institutions of higher education for Black Americans (NCES, 1996; Cheyney University, 2001; Lincoln University 2001;

Wilberforce University, 2001). Initially each of the three schools enrolled only men. In 1862, Oberlin College in Ohio graduated the first Black woman to earn a bachelors's degree in the United States (Electronic Oberlin Group; Payne, 2001). Typical of the students of that era was Ruth Anna Fisher who in 1906 at age 19, following in her father's footsteps as an Oberlin graduate (he graduated in 1877), earned a B. A. degree in Latin and Greek, and immediately accepted a teaching position at Tuskegee Institute.

Teaching drew women to the field of education. Some women considered teaching an extension of their responsibilities as mothers, an extension of the private, home sphere into the public, service sphere (Evans, 1989). Thus, teaching became acceptable as a woman's profession. Catherine Beecher, an activist on behalf of domesticity and a strong proponent for women's education and subsequently for their vocation as teachers, held that "Our Creator designed woman to be the chief educator of our race and the prime minister of our family state" (Amott and Matthaei, 1991, p. 120). During the Civil War, women replaced men as teachers and by 1888, despite 30-5-percent lower wages than men, "63 percent of teachers [nationwide] were women" (Lerner, 1979, p. 24).

For some other women, education represented the opportunity to change the future for their whole race and teaching for them became "a commitment to the liberation of the poor and oppressed" (Amott and Matthaei, 1991, p. 298). From a foundation of teaching, careers in higher education work came naturally to women, though not always easily. By 1904, Mary McLeod Bethune at Daytona Educational and Industrialization Training School for Negro Girls which later became Bethune-Cookman College in Florida

(Bethune-Cookman, 2001), and Charlotte Hawkins Brown at Alice Freeman Palmer

Memorial Institute in North Carolina became the first Black women to establish and lead

colleges (North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2001). Academic leadership

was still considered the purview of men, however. Wellesley College was founded in

1875 with a strong commitment to "women presidents and a totally female professoriate"

(Palmieri, 1991). But the proportion of faculty who were men began to rise after Ellen

Pendleton declared during her tenure as President from 1891 to 1936, that Wellesley

sought the "ripest scholars and best teachers" her budget permitted (Bernard, 1964, p. 43).

By the mid-1960s, two-fifths of Wellesley College faculty were men (Bernard, 1964). At

the same time, Jim Crow laws and practices firmly entrenched in the south pushed 19

southern and border states to establish and support separate higher educational facilities

for Black college students.

In the 1970s, women and Blacks would seek redress for the inequality of

opportunities afford them in the past. In the midst of the women's equality movement,

Martha Peterson (1974) wrote:

Women on campus – whether students, the staff, or faculty members –

seek open access to the opportunities to which their abilities, their interest,

and their willingness to work entitle them. . . . The woman who has

established herself professionally in the academic world seeks elimination

of any barriers to promotion, pay, or other rewards of the academic world.

(p. 6-7).

More than a decade later, Sandler (1986) described the continuing chilly climate for women on college campuses, a climate that "undermined self-esteem and damaged professional morale" (p. 3). Citing invidious "micro-inequities" – recurring instances of being "singled out, or overlooked, ignored or otherwise discounted" based on race, or gender or age, Sandler's report (1986) examined the many barriers, often but not always subtle, that curtailed women's opportunities for full participation and advancement in higher education settings. Shavlik and Touchton (1986) list those special issues challenging women in administrative positions: leadership, trust and rapport, isolation, visibility, lifestyle, advocacy role and access.

The Social Justice Landscape

In any discussion, and particularly in discussions of controversial matters, clear understanding of terms is important. This section explores the "hot button" issues of racial segregation, desegregation and integration, particularly as they apply in educational settings, to establish a foundation for consideration of Braddock and McPartland's work with "the contact-hypothesis" and "perpetuation theory."

The first Morrill Act, also called the National Land-Grant College Act, was passed by the U. S. Congress in 1862 after the South seceded from the Union (Rudolph, 1962). Under the Act, each existing State received an allotment of public land for higher education (Rudolph, 1962; Monroe, 1976). Proceeds from selling the land were to be used "to establish colleges to train young men and women in agricultural and mechanical arts" (Monroe, p. 6). Monroe (1976) asserts the Act supported several "basic educational principles" of American higher education, including: (1) education at low

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cost for the "common people" (p. 6); (2) a federal role in supporting higher education; and (3) a "non-sectarian, nonclassical education" curriculum emphasizing vocational and applied sciences in industry and agriculture (p. 6).

In 1890, the second Morrill Act provided an annual federal appropriation for land-grant colleges and "stipulated that no appropriations would go to states that denied admission to the colleges on the basis of race unless they also set up separate but equal facilities (Brown & Hendrickson, 1997). Seventeen states were so moved" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 254). According to the Hoffman, Snyder and Sonnenberg (1996), eventually there were 19 Black land-grant institutions whose missions focused on educating the descendants of former slaves in agriculture and the mechanical and industrial arts and providing "quality higher education to Americans of all races" (p. 2). As these measures demonstrate, racial segregation in higher education was clearly a legally-supported condition.

Racial segregation, for purposes of this study, refers to the strict, legally enforced separation of Black people and white people as practiced in the United States. The record is unclear on the exact beginnings of racial segregation in this country (Williamson, J. 1968). Lawrence (1980) noted that "whites in the antebellum South had no aversion to commingling with Blacks during slavery" (p. 50). He attributes this indifference to the assumption of superior standing that was sustained and reinforced by the institution of slavery. Following the abolition of slavery, a set of laws, often referred to as "Jim Crow Laws," were enacted, particularly in the South, to mandate and enforce racial separation in schools, public conveyances, and public facilities (Goble, 1994). These laws served as

"public symbols and constant reminders" (Woodward, 1974, p. 7) that, based solely by their race, Black people were held to inferior, demeaned status and limited economic, political and social mobility (Lawrence, 1980.) Wells and Crain (1994, p. 533) characterized racial segregation as a cycle that leaves "blacks and whites worlds apart."

From our definition of segregation, it follows that "desegregation" would mean "to abolish racial segregation" (Abate, 1997, p. 199), to remove enforced separation. In public education (and most areas of public life) before 1954, those barriers could be traced to the Supreme Court's decision to approve the doctrine of "separate, but equal" in its ruling in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Dennis, 1967). In 1954, the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board* replaced *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) as the statement of this nation's official view on segregation. As Patterson (2001, p. 67) points out, the Supreme Court opinion in *Plessy* held that any inferiority derived from separating the races was caused "not by reason of anything found in the [contested Louisiana law] but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction on it." In *Brown*, Justice Warren, writing for the Court, relied on both judicial interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and social science research, to uphold a Kansas court opinion that "racial segregation [in schools] leads to feelings of inferiority and damages the motivation to learn" (Patterson, 2001, p. 67). Referring to *Plessy*, Justice Warren wrote, "any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected" (Patterson, 2001, p. 67).

Most Black Americans were pleased when the *Brown* decision was announced. Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, a young girl when the decision was announced, expected it to provide "an equal chance, a taste of the sweetness of the American pie" to Black children

throughout the South (Lightfoot, 1980). Writer Ralph Ellison, corresponding with a

friend, is said to have written: "The court has found in our favor and recognized our

human psychological complexity and citizenship . . . What a wonderful world of

possibilities for the children." Implied in these statements are the hopes of "integration,"

of Black people expecting to "combine [as parts] into a whole; to come into equal

participation in society" (Abate, 1997, p. 412). The idea of integration went beyond

mere removal of barriers and sought "to bring together people of different colors and

ethnic backgrounds so that they associate not only on an equal basis but also make a real

effort to respect diversity" (Patterson, 2001, p. 205).

As these passages indicate, feelings are one thing, the law is another – particularly

in the case of volatile issues. *Brown v. Board* changed the law, it did not change

people's feelings. Eight years after the momentous decision in *Brown*, politician

Hodding Carter (1964) observed that only 233,509 of the 3,210,724 "Negro public -

school enrollees" (Carter, p. 138) in "the 17 Southern and border states and the District of

Columbia" (Carter, p. 139) attended school with white students. And, 97 percent of those

Black students attending "biracial schools" (Carter, p. 139) were in the District of

Columbia and the 6 border states. In three southern states – Alabama, Mississippi and

Louisiana – there were no integrated public schools.

Since *Brown v. Board*, the meanings of the words "segregation" and

desegregation" have evolved toward greater complexity, along with the expectations they

connote (Ravitch, 1980). As Ravitch (1980) describes it, "segregation" has come to refer

both to "discrimination against minorities" (p. 31) and to "racial concentrations of

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minorities in neighborhoods or in schools" (p. 31) while "desegregation" has come to

mean "racial balance." These transitions occurred in the confusing aftermath of *Brown* as

it became increasingly clear that simple removal of the barriers might not be enough, that

the interplay of legal, *de jure*, and common practice, *de facto*, issues related to

"superiority," "inferiority," "discrimination" and "prejudice" prevented an easy transition

to full equality. Statesman Hubert Humphrey wrote in 1964:

> The mere fact of attendance in a racially mixed school does modestly little to
>
> rectify a situation generations in the making. From desegregation to integration –
>
> from mere presence to full acceptance and equal participation in the total life of
>
> the school – is a long and vital step. (p. 3)

In this passage, Humphrey (1964) located the best hope for equality of opportunity

in improved educational opportunities for Blacks and other minorities. As he put it: "the

key to solving the whole range of national problems arising from racial prejudice lies in

equality of education" (Humphrey, p. 1). As Humphrey and many other political leaders

of the time saw it, the nation's schools would become vehicles for helping to prepare

previously isolated Black students for the mainstream of society. With so much at stake,

it is not surprising that research on school desegregation became a major industry (and

still flourishes in myriad forms today.)

Before *Brown v. Board*, successful legal arguments in favor of school

desegregation were constructed largely on the idea that assuring Black students equitable

access to prestigious colleges and universities could remove social barriers to better

employment and economic opportunities (Wells & Crain, 1994). These structural

arguments suggested that desegregation would yield systemic, long-term changes.

Beginning with *Brown*, in the 1950s, social science entered the legal arena, arguing that

multi-racial educational settings would improve academic achievement, educational

attainment and self-esteem among Black students and race relations among all students

(Wells & Crain, 1994). The 1966 Coleman Report on educational equality added socio-

economic class as an element to this argument, asserting that disadvantaged Black

students would be better motivated to achieve in classrooms with middle-income white

students whose high achievement motivation was taken for granted (Silberman, 1970;

Kiviat, 2000). Some historians contend that the social science arguments blurred the

issue of whether better schools or racially desegregated schools was the most effective

remedy for the problems of segregated education (Scott, 1998). Nonetheless, these social

science assertions regarding the benefits of desegregation suggested short-term changes

that were well-suited to traditional educational research agendas.

Early research on school desegregation focused primarily on the areas of cognitive

outcomes such as improved test scores or behavioral outcomes such as changed patterns

of decision-making (Braddock, 1980). One element related to the behavioral outcomes

was the effect of school desegregation on a decision-making pattern observed and

reported by Pettigrew (1965). Pettigrew (1965) observed that segregation's legacy of

hostility contributed to the reluctance of some Black people to avail themselves of the

putative opportunities of newly desegregated school settings. Demonstrating a

phenomenon that Pettigrew termed "avoidance learning" (p. 106) in the "classical

Pavlovian paradigm" (p. 107), most Black people desired to avoid situations in which the

indignities of racial hostility might arise and were reluctant to challenge that learning, in spite of possibly changed circumstances. In this way, Pettigrew saw a tendency among Black people that contributed to the already slow pace of school desegregation efforts and, in turn, hampered their own preparation for and participation in the social mainstream. According to Pettigrew, "avoidance learning, then is self-perpetuating and can only be broken by intervention" (p. 107).

Reporting on data collected in the early 1970s – not quite twenty years after the *Brown* decision – and using a model based on the contact-hypothesis, Braddock (1980) found that after high school grades and college costs, high school racial composition was the biggest factor impacting Black students' decisions to attend desegregated four-year colleges. According to Braddock, the contact-hypothesis suggests that "exposure to interracial contact under certain specified conditions produces generally positive changes in intergroup attitudes and interaction patterns" (p. 179). Certain conditions must accompany the group contact, including (a) equal status, (b) common, shared goals, (c) cooperative interaction, and (d) presence of environmental support (Braddock, 1980, p. 179). The contact-hypothesis, then, offers a key to counterbalance the effect of avoidance learning. Braddock's quantitative research, which was conducted in Florida – one of the States that previously maintained racially separate public school and higher education systems, showed that a small sample of Black students who attended highly desegregated high schools (more than 75 percent white) chose to attend desegregated predominately white four-year colleges at more than twice the rate of Black students who attended slightly desegregated high schools (less than 25 percent white.) Thus, Braddock's work

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showed that college attendance decisions are affected by early "desegregation practice – the experience of having attended a desegregated high school" (Braddock & McPartland, 1982, p. 265), and thus supported the contact-hypothesis – early interracial experiences may be self-perpetuating.

Other studies also indicated a positive relationship between Black students' desegregation practice and the choice to attend desegregated college. Braddock and McPartland (1982) used data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Graduating Class of 1972 and related follow-up surveys from 1973, 1974 and 1976, drawing a sample of more than 3,000 Black students who had attended northern and southern, segregated and desegregated elementary and secondary schools. In their initial analyses, Braddock and McPartland (1982) found that slightly more than 15 percent of northern Blacks had experienced desegregated elementary or secondary schools compared with only 3 percent of southern Blacks. At the same time, they noted that nearly 44 percent of southern Black students and, surprisingly, nearly 47 percent of northern Black students had no desegregation experiences in elementary or secondary schools. By 1976, four years after high school graduation, Braddock and McPartland (1982) found that, among those who attended college, northern Black graduates had enrolled in desegregated (more than 50 percent white enrollment) colleges or universities at twice the rate of southern Black graduates. These regional differences were even greater when four-year college or university attendance was considered. Among Black students attending four-year institutions, northern students were ten times more likely to attend desegregated rather than segregated institutions. However, most HBU four-year institutions are

located in the South and there "more Black students attend majority Black colleges than majority white colleges" (Braddock & McPartland, 1982, p. 270).

In the same 1982 study, Braddock and McPartland carry the analysis further to determine the effect of desegregation practice on college attainment. Examining the data again by geographical location, and by social class background and academic qualifications, they found that for Northern and Southern Black students alike, social class and academic qualifications were major factors in years of college attainment. In the end, looking at types of institutions (two-year and four-year), geographical location and early desegregation practice, Braddock and McPartland (1982) concluded that (1) in the North, where there are only a few HBUs or other segregated four-year institutions and many desegregated two-year institutions, if a Black student goes to college at all, more likely than not it will be a desegregated institution; (2) by improving the likelihood that a Northern Black student will attend college at all, early desegregation practice appears to have an indirect effect on the choice for desegregated college environment; (3) in the South, where the majority of majority Black colleges and universities are located, the choice of a desegregated college environment is not as automatic among Black students; and, (4) early desegregation practice appeared to have significant impact for selection of desegregated college environments at the four-year college level. Further, there appeared to be an "additive incremental effect" with each additional year of desegregation practice in elementary or secondary schools increasing the likelihood of attendance at desegregated colleges and universities. Again, early desegregation practice appears self-perpetuating in its impact on later decisions regarding voluntary participation in

desegregated settings. The importance of all this becomes even more clear as other behavioral outcomes such as social mobility and success in employment are shown to be related to racial experiences as well as college attainments.

Theoretical Framework

A combination of two theories and two acts of mental acrobatics form the theoretical frame for this study. The two theories are Braddock's perpetuation theory and Granovetter's social network analysis theory, specifically related to the "strength of ties." Braddock (1980) and Braddock & McPartland (1982) offered perpetuation theory as a means of explaining how Black people may play a role in the continuation of racial segregation. Social networking analysis was used by Granovetter (1973) to understand varying ways in which information is shared among close friends and acquaintances. This understanding, in turn, was considered potentially useful in explaining some of the benefits which appeared to be derived from just placing Black and white children together in school, benefits that seemed to occur irrespective of the quality of the educational experience (Crain, 1971; Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1982). The two theories are discussed first, then each of the acrobatic acts.

Perpetuation Theory

Perpetuation theory holds that "when individuals have not had sustained experiences in desegregated settings earlier in life," segregation tends to repeat itself (Wells & Crain, 1994, p. 531). The foundation for perpetuation theory ws laid by Pettigrew (1965) who identified "social structural barriers," white resistance (p. 103) and Negro insistence (p. 106) as factors influencing racial desegregation in the south. He

described Negro insistence as "the failure by Negro Southerners to insist on and exploit racial change effectively (p. 106). Drawing on Pettigrew (1965), Braddock (1980) examined the possible role of Black people in the continuation of racial segregation practices and posits that in the absence of actual experiences in desegregated situations, young minority students may overestimate the level of hostility in these settings or may underestimate their coping skills (Pettigrew, 1965; Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1981). The theory goes on to suggest that exposure to desegregated situations, what Braddock (1980) referred to as desegregation practice, may change this tendency to maintain "physical segregation" even into adulthood (Wells & Crain, 1994).

Wells and Crain (1994) advanced the findings of Crain's earlier study (1970) on the impact of public school desegregation and occupational achievement among Black people. In that earlier study, Crain (1970) found that Black people who attended integrated public schools were benefitted with "better jobs and higher incomes" (Crain, 1970, p. 593). Crain explained this benefit as the result not of the education itself, but rather as result of the opportunity to establish social contacts with white people, contacts which eventually led to increased links to information about better, potentially more rewarding employment opportunities. These improved work opportunities were defined as those in the professional, managerial and clerical occupation groups which at the time of the study were nontraditional occupations for Blacks, most of whom were employed in the craftsmen, operatives, service and general labor occupational groups.

Crain's findings (1970) were primarily applicable to Black men. Although Black women from desegregated schools were "much more likely to enter the professions,"

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(Crain, 1970, p. 596) they were "not more likely to have nontraditional jobs" (p. 596). In fact, among Black women included in the study, most of the professional women were schoolteachers – an occupation Crain acknowledged as traditional. More surprising, however, was Crain's finding that none of the women from segregated public schools in the North or South were employed in professional occupations.

Wells and Crain (1994) confirmed the value of the "social network advantage" for Black students in desegregated educational settings. As higher education institutions struggle with the issue of affirmative action in admissions as well as hiring policies, the long-term, positive impact of multi-racial education settings on the greater society must be a vital consideration. This in no way relieves communities and students from their responsibilities to provide and acquire the best possible educational foundation. Nor does it mean that having opened their classrooms, colleges and universities have no further responsibilities to assure the learning environment is optimal for students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. It does mean that institutions and agencies that are truly committed to the role of education in strengthening society may find themselves developing pre-college programs for students and professional development programs for faculty and administrators, with special focus on including Black people and other minorities, that assure they will be both academically and socially prepared for full participation and achievement in any setting. Such commitment is particularly important in States and communities where residential and business settings are still characterized by *de facto* segregation.

Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis offers a structural means of analyzing the diffusion of information or ideas among people (Wells & Crain, 1994). Structural analysis seeks to understand social systems by examining the structures of relations between people and how those structures affect behavior (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988.) This deductive approach draws on the concept of *networks* as related points (which may represent people as individuals or groups) and the *ties* or connections between them to represent social structures (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988). Wellman (1988) suggests that within the structural analysis paradigm, "behavior is interpreted in terms of structural constraints on activity rather than in terms of forces within units that impel behavior in a voluntaristic, sometimes teleological, push toward a desired goal."

Granovetter introduced "the strength of ties" as a key factor in understanding the impact of less formal networks on information diffusion. According to Granovetter (1973), interpersonal ties between individuals may be characterized as "strong" or "weak" or "absent" based on four interrelated factors: reciprocity, time, intimacy and emotional intensity. These factors might be understood as whether both individuals recognized the connection (reciprocity), the amount of time the individuals spent together (time), the closeness of the connection –whether it more resembled friendship or acquaintanceship (intimacy), and the importance or value each individual placed on the connection (emotional intensity.) In Granovetter's view (1973), the relationship between the factors is linear – individually mutually agreeing (tacity or explicitly) to spend more time together, developing closer connections which become increasingly important to both

individuals would represent strong ties. Limited connections – little time spent, acquaintanceship of scant importance – would represent weak ties. Individuals who did not know each other at all would be presumed to demonstrate absent ties.

Considering this idea in relation to individuals and groups, Granovetter (1973) suggests that the level of connection between two individuals who are part of a larger group will predict the extent to which they have common ties with other members of the group. That is, the more closely the two individuals are connected, the more likely they will have some level of connection with the same members of the larger group. Granovetter (1973) predicted the extent of these overlapping friendship circles as least when the individual connection was absent, most when the individual connection was strong, and intermediate with the individual connection was weak (p. 1363.) Further, Granovetter (1973) also suggests the stronger the tie between two individuals, the more similar they are and that when one individual has strong ties to two people, the relationship between those two people is likely to be positive – otherwise, the first individual would be subjected to what Granovetter termed "psychological strain" (p. 1362.) Relationships characterized by "weak" ties would not demand such consistency. In this model, "strong ties" would reflect the close connections of kinship and true friendships, while "weak ties" would reflect the more distant connections of acquaintanceships.

By common definition, a bridge connects two places, typically places that would be otherwise inaccessible or, at least less conveniently accessible. In the parlance of social network and diffusion of information theory, "a bridge is the *only* path between

two points," [emphasis Granovetter's (1973, p. 1364)] – in this case, two otherwise

disconnected individuals or groups. These existence of these bridges – which allow the

flow of information among individuals and groups – can be predicted by the strength of

interpersonal ties. In Granovetter's view (1973) overlapping friendship circles would

provide information flow from one group to another through shared strong ties between

the individuals in the groups. In the absence of overlapping friendship circles, the weak

ties of various members of a group provide the only opportunities for information to

move between the groups. In this way, strong ties are unlikely to serve as bridges and,

although not all weak ties are bridges, "all bridges are weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973,

p. 1364.) These weak ties, by allowing for the greatest measure of difference between the

individuals or groups connected by them, would also allow for the widest range of

information dissemination and conversely, might bring individuals into contact with the

information that otherwise would be quite distant from them.

Milgram's small world studies (1967), which established the underpinnings for

the commonly accepted concept of "six degrees of separation," appear to offer a measure

of support for Granovetter's weak ties theory. Cross-racial connections in the Milgram

study were more successful in bridging the gap between sender and recipient when the

initial connection was made between racially different acquaintances than between

racially different friends (Granovetter, 1973.) Although recent examination of Milgram's

small-world research has challenged his conclusions, those challenges focus on

overlapping friendship circles (Kleinfeld, 2000.) Even if Kleinfeld is correct and we live

not in the small world depicted by Milgram, but "in a lumpy world, rather like a badly

cooked bowl of oatmeal" (Kleinfeld, 2000), the bridges created by weak ties would appear to offer a viable means of connecting the lumps.

Although Granovetter eschewed the use of mathematical models to convey the strength of ties theory, such models figure prominently in more recent iterations of the same ideas repackaged (Watts, 1999; Santa Fe Institute, 1999.) Simply put, it's not only who you know, but who and what they know and what they tell you.

Crain (1970), Granovetter (1974), and Braddock and McPartland (1987) have studied the use of social networks in the employment process. In the study described earlier, Crain (1970) offered evidence that Black people who had access to and used "informal contacts into the white job market" were more likely to have better-paying jobs. Among Black respondents from northern cities, one-third indicated their present jobs were located through referrals from friends and family, while only one-sixth indicated their present jobs were located by "visiting prospects" (Crain, 1970, p. 601.) Crain (1970) speculated that concern about possible discrimination might contribute to the lower usage of the prospect visiting and concluded that Black respondents were generally more likely to seek job referrals through "formal means," such as newspaper advertisements and employment services.

Consistent with Crain's (1970) findings, Braddock and McPartland (1989, p. 287) found that the employers favored "unsolicited walk-in applications," "informal referrals from current employees," and "referrals from public employment agencies." Braddock and McPartland (1987) also found that employers were less favorable to newspaper advertisement as a recruitment tool for higher level jobs. Another employment process

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race-related issue identified in the Braddock and McPartland (1987) study is the employer's use of previous employment references. They found that Black people were disadvantaged in the selection process when they used references who were unknown to the employer or reported past employment in locations unfamiliar to the employer. This occurred least often when the Black people had attended desegregated schools and, therefore, was attributed to the integrated networking made possible by desegregated settings.

Crain (1970) suggested that job opportunities for Black people would be limited "until Negroes have sufficient contact with whites to learn about job opportunities and obtain referrals from white employees" (p.594), a situation that presumably would improve as more Blacks were in contact with whites in public school settings. He also noted that "one of the most significant forms of unfair employment practice is the hiring of new employees from referrals made by the present staff," largely because "if the staff is all white, the persons who apply will be friends, relatives and neighbors who are also white" (p. 593).

More recently, Fernandez, Castilla and Moore (2000), in a study that merges sociology and economics, examined the process by which employers recruit and hire new workers. Where previous studies focused primarily on the value of contacts about job opportunities, the Fernandez, Castilla and Moore (2000) study introduces the more specific element of actual referrals for jobs. Pointing out that the practice of referral hiring "has come to be accepted as a legitimate recruitment tool in the modern human resources/personnel management literature," Fernandez, Castilla and Moore (2000)

identified several factors that encourage such practices. Among these factors were expansion of the applicant pool, the tendency of employees to refer people like themselves, the tendency of employees to only refer qualified applicants in order to protect their own reputations within the company, the helpful information provided to the applicant by the referrer, and the potential for greater workplace connection between the newly hired referred employee. In a more general context, Hansen (1999) found that weak ties among subunits of an organization were most helpful in the search for information from other subunits, but were inefficient in the transmission of complex knowledge.

Taken together, the research on the strength of ties within social networks suggests differing benefits are derived from both strong ties and weak ties. Simply put, it would appear that success in acquiring valuable information may indeed be a matter of not only what you know but who you know and the complexity of the information they provide to you.

Two Acts of Mental Acrobatics

The first act of mental acrobatics was performed by Wells and Crain (1994) when they brought together the perpetuation theory work of Braddock (1980) and Braddock and McPartland (1981) and others with the social network theory work of Granovetter (1973) and others to analyze the long-term effects of school desegregation. From a thorough analysis of more than 21 separate studies, Wells and Crain drew three major conclusions regarding the relationship between networks and career and life opportunities: Black people who attend desegregated schools are (1) more likely to have desegregated social

and professional networks throughout their lives; (2) more likely to be employed in desegregated settings; and, (3) more likely to work in private sector professional and white-collar jobs than Black people who attended segregated schools and who appear more likely to hold blue-color and government jobs.

The second act of mental acrobatics was performed in this study when the previous work which dealt primarily with racial issues was brought to bear on the combination of racial and gender issues involved in examining matters related to Black women. Together, these two acrobatic acts guided the questions examined in the analysis of the data collected for this study.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS

I had the honor of the whole African race upon my shoulders, I felt that,
should I fail, it would be ascribed to the fact that I was colored.
~*Francis Jackson Coppin, 1913* (Lerner, 1972, p. 89)

The purpose of this study was to examine factors impacting the career success of

Black women administrators in the public higher education system of a southwestern

State using the theoretical frames of Granovetter's theory of social networking ties (1973;

1983) and Braddock and McPartland's theory of perpetuation (1980). Participant

selection targeted Black women who held the position of dean or higher in a southern

state's 25 state-funded two-year and four-year colleges and universities.

Procedures

This research was conducted using an explanatory case study method of inquiry.

Merriam (1998) describes case study design as "an intensive, holistic description and

analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit" (p. 34). Further, Merriam

(1998) notes that the case study design is well-suited to "uncover the interaction of

significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon" (p. 29). Case study research "probes

deeply and analyzes interactions between factors that explain present status or that

influence change or growth," according to Best and Kahn (1989, p. 92). These

characteristics were well-suited for this study which examined *the setting* of Black

women administrators in one state's public higher education system, *probing* for the *interaction* between career experiences, the strength of ties within social networks, and the "contact hypothesis" as it affects racial desegregation. In accordance with data gathering methods cited by Best and Kahn (1992), this study used "interviews with subjects" as well as "recorded data" from other sources such as the coordinating board in the State in which this study was conducted, published materials from the colleges and universities in the State System, and other sources.

Case Study Setting

The literature includes a relatively small number of research studies focused specifically on Black women pursuing full-time careers as administrators in higher education, particularly as distinguished from those pursuing full-time careers as faculty members. None of the identified studies appear to have been conducted in the southern State chosen for this study, or even the southwest region of the United States (Harvey, 1999; Benjamin, 1997; Mimms, 1996; Ramey, 1995; Lindsay, 1994; Gill & Showell, 1991; Moses, 1989). One of the 19 States which formerly maintained racially segregated higher education systems and a respondent in at least five major civil rights or desegregation lawsuits, the State in which this study was conducted has been described as "unique among systems of higher education" in America regarding its stand on social justice matters.

The state system, which consists of 12 two-year colleges and 13 four-year universities, including two flagship research institutions and one Historically Black University, along with 2 higher education centers and 10 constituent agencies such as

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medical schools, law schools, and research centers (OSRHE, 2001). A nine-member

statewide coordinating board prescribes academic standards, assigns institutional

functions, approves course offerings, recommends Legislative budget allocations for

higher education, and recommends proposed fees within limits set by the Legislature

(OSRHE, 2001). Each institution is overseen by a governing board. Although each of

the 25 institution features a standard administrative structure of president, vice presidents,

and deans, only two of the two-year colleges, three of the four-year universities and two

of the constituent agencies could provide participants for this study. The remaining

institutions, 81 percent of the state system, either had no Black women administrators at

the requisite level of dean or above or had no Black women (and in some cases, no Black

men) in administrative positions at any level (Payne, 2001). Seven institutions indicated

no Black men or women were employed by the institution as full-time faculty or

administrators (Payne, 2001). In Fall 2000, Black student enrollments at State System

institutions ranged from 0.05% to 10.2% among the two-year colleges and 0.4% to 16.9%

among the four-year universities.

Participants

Participants in the study included two vice presidents, three associate vice

presidents, five deans, two division chairpersons (a term considered synonymous with

dean on their respective community college campuses), three associate/assistant deans

and a former coordinating board member. At the time of the study, no Black woman had

attained the position of president at a two-year college or four-year college or university

within the state system. Although most participants were located by contacting the

human resources department of the state system institutions, several participants were identified through contacts with executive administrators who were professional acquaintances of mine. In total, 19 potential participants were located and contacted directly or indirectly; three declined to participate in the study. The indirect contact occurred when the Human Resources office at one of the institutions made preliminary contact with potential participants before providing information to allow me to contact them directly. One of the potential participants declined at that point, so I never contacted her directly. During the initial contact, I introduced myself, described the study, enlisted the participant's cooperation and, when cooperation was given, scheduled the personal interview. A letter (Appendix B: Introductory Letter) was delivered to each participant at the beginning of the interview.

With four exceptions, participants were interviewed on their respective campuses, generally in their offices or reserved conference rooms. Two interviews were conducted at a centrally located campus which was deemed more convenient by the participants in both instances and two interviews with retired participants were conducted in their homes. At the start of each interview, participants were given the introductory letter and allowed time to read it and ask any questions about the study. After a brief description of the study and assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, each participant was asked to read and sign the Subject Consent Form affirming her understanding of the interview process and safe handling of the collected data. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant as interviews were conducted.

Following these formalities, each interview began with informal conversation. Since I traveled an average of 90 miles to each interview, these conversations often began with inquiries about my travel adventures, then ranged to shared interests such as reading and needlework and mutual acquaintances. Prior to the interviews, I was personally acquainted with only five of the participants, so the informal start to the interviews was helpful in establishing rapport.

Each participant was asked the same main questions (Appendix C: Interview Schedule). Where appropriate, follow-up questions were asked in order to have participants clarify or expand their answers to the main questions. An audio recording was made of each interview and each recording was transcribed following the interview. The transcripts were prepared by two assistants and me. Each transcript was reviewed and compared with the audio recording at least twice. In some instances, audio recording device malfunction caused small portions of the interview not to be recorded. However, none of these omissions caused substantive losses of data from any interview.

The Participants – The Big Picture

I'll find a way or make one.

~Unknown (Clark Atlanta University, 2001)

The metaphor of trailblazers and torchbearers, borrowed from sociology and history, provides an apt introduction to the participants in this study. Through this metaphor, we understand "trailblazers" as those who go first, the brave, sometimes brazen, leaders who carve the first paths through uncharted territories, while "torchbearers" are those who follow next, the explorers bringing light by which to

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discover and understand the newly opened terrain. Extending the metaphor, a third wave

of newcomers would be pioneers, those whose energies can be used to enhance and

develop the new terrain, no longer distracted by the often life-threatening dangers

inherent in the earliest waves of settlement.

In the manner of this metaphor, the women in this study represent three frames of

reference from 20th century America – the *Trailblazers* whose formative years were the

racially segregated 1930s and 1940s as Black Americans prepared for an integrated

America, the *Torchbearers* who came of age in the 1950s and 1960s during the

tumultuous struggle for civil rights and desegregation, and finally, the *Pioneers* who grew

up in the 1970s and later when, with the legal barriers removed, full participation of

Black people in American society was believed to be an attainable expectation.

The Trailblazers

Dr. Eunice Silver. It takes a few minutes after you meet Dr. Silver, one of the two

vice presidents in the study, to realize that she is actually a petite woman – her perfect

diction, her carriage and bearing combine to give her a larger presence. Her office, tidy

but obviously a working space, is not overly large. Books and mementos adorn her

bookshelves. This is a personable, professional work space; formal but not ostentatious.

A native of the Southwest, Dr. Silver began her career as a reading teacher.

Teaching was actually her third career choice – after actress and lawyer – but was the first

choice to receive her father's blessing. As Dr. Silver put it, "he was from the old school,"

"he had planned my life for me." Having "chosen" teaching, her next choice was what to

teach. Dr. Silver's first interest was mathematics, but soon she discovered her true joy in

English. In her words, "Everything I had come to enjoy and that I knew, centered in that field. I enjoyed literature. I enjoyed speaking. I enjoyed debating. I enjoyed writing."

Dr. Silver's undergraduate alma mater was established in 1881 by a group of freed slaves and originally located in a small town in the Southwest (Mangun, 1991). By the mid-1950s when Eunice Silver arrived there, the four-year, private liberal arts college ~~Bishop~~ was well-regarded among colleges that Blacks could attend in the Southwest. In the early 1960s, the college was relocated to a metropolitan location in the same state and, besieged with fiscal problems and declining enrollments as desegregation offered a wider range of choices to promising Black students, the college ceased operations in the late 1980s. Recalling her undergraduate experience, Dr. Silver said, "I went to [the college] in 1955 . . . they [her parents] didn't want me to work until I finished my education. . . so I stayed in school and, as a result, I finished college in two years and nine months."

Upon graduating, Dr. Silver was recruited by a fellow alumnus of her alma mater for her first teaching job – in the racially segregated school system of a small town in a neighboring State. Again, her father's guiding influence was evident in her decision-making as "he interviewed the principal at my interview" – and accepted [that town] – after eliminating offers from a northern state ("too cold") and a metropolitan location in the southwest ("too big). While teaching in that small town, Dr. Silver met and married her husband. Together they moved to a small, private, church-affiliated and well-regarded Black college back in Dr. Silver's home state. While at the church-affiliated college "teaching students to become teachers," Dr. Silver earned her master's degree in education from a large, State-supported, doctorate-granting university. Commuting 300

miles roundtrip for weekend classes meant leaving on "Saturday morning before daybreak with a colleague" and taking "two classes and coming back late at night because we would do our studying there." In the final summer of her master's program, Dr. Silver and moved to the institution from which she earned her Master's degree, working on campus while she completed her education as a reading specialist.

Dr. Silver recalled the encouragement of an influential teacher from her childhood who urged her to continue her graduate studies by telling her, "you don't want to be average and you don't want to be mediocre" and reminding her that the terminal degree is "your calling card for higher education." Eventually, after moving back to the state in which this study was conducted and succeeding in her first administrative assignment, Dr. Silver received a Ford Foundation scholarship to work on her doctorate and returned for a second time to her graduate alma mater, where this time she earned her Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in Education.

Returning to the state in which this study was conducted, Dr. Silver first taught on the main campus of an Historically Black University (HBCU), then gradually moved into a succession of administrative posts, some of which included working with federally-funded programs where her grant development skills brought "a different level of Federal funding to the University." Her entry into administrative work began when "somebody observed my work ethics and asked me to be in charge" of a new endeavor. Eventually her successes led to her being asked to accept a one-year appointment as acting vice president. Relating the conventional wisdom on her campus – "it depends on how well one acts as to whether one gets the job" – Dr. Silver observed, "I was determined to do

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the acting quite well, remembering I wanted to be an actress." During her "acting" appointment, the institution underwent North Central (NCA) accreditation, National League of Nursing (NLN) accreditation, American Dietetic Association accreditation and NCATE (National Council on Accreditation of Teacher Education) accreditation. "With the help of a lot of people," Dr. Silver brought the institution through these accreditations and was named to the vice president position full-time. She has held the position now for 14 years.

For most of her professional life, Dr. Silver has pursued a second, concurrent career as the wife of a successful college administrator and faculty member. During their thirty-nine years of marriage before his death a few years ago, they relocated several times as he pursued faculty and administrative positions not only at a two different historically Black church-affiliated four-year colleges in Dr. Silver's home state and at a government-supported, doctorate-degree granting university in West Africa. During these years, Dr. Silver also taught and held administrative responsibilities at two Historically Black Universities in her home state. An alumnus of a private, historically Black four-year college, Dr. Silver's husband returned there as an administrator and played a major role in the institution's first full accreditation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in the early 1970s, 100 years after its founding. Established originally in the State capital by circuit-riding preachers in the African Methodist Episcopal (A. M. E.) Church, the College initially taught blacksmithing, carpentry, tanning and other skills to newly freed slaves. Moved to the northeast part of the state, in 1881, the first campus building was financed by a "Ten Cents a Brick" campaign conducted in A. M. E.

churches nationwide as "desperately poor people built the first solid monument to their dreams" (Paul Quinn College, 2001). The four-year college was moved to a metropolitan location in 1990, into the facilities occupied by another historically Black, private college which closed in 1984. Now with 750 students enrolled, it is the oldest liberal arts college for African Americans in that State. After two years of service in West Africa, Dr. Silver's husband returned to serve as two years as President of his undergraduate alma mater (Paul Quinn College, 2001.) Her husband's decision to leave administration – "he never liked administration – ever" – brought them to the state in which this study was conducted for what they originally decided would be one-year. But, as Dr. Silver describes it, "we came here and we stayed here."

Dr. Silver's combined academic and domestic focus began early in her life. Her domestic skills were learned as a young child from her mother. Describing her first "big meal" which she cooked when she was only at nine years old, Dr. Silver recalls "by the time it got to the table, it was all right because I threw that stuff out until I got it right" – demonstrating a focus on precision that has clearly served her well throughout her life. Dr. Silver said that as a child she promised her mother "that I would go to school." Her mother, who died when Dr. Silver was a young girl, was a college graduate who "played for the church" but she

> never worked as a teacher or anything, because my dad had this idea that
>
> he should take care of his family . . . But he always thought that I should
>
> be educated and be able to take care of myself, because he wasn't sure

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about other fathers and what they were teaching, so they made sure that I would have an education.

Following her mother's death, Dr. Silver was raised largely by her grandmother and her mother's sister, both of whom encouraged her pursuit of education and learning. Although her grandmother did not finish high school herself, Dr. Silver recalled that

Every kind of special program that came along through that community she went through . . . and there I was, right there with her. They had a class one time in German and my grandmother and I were sitting up there with the rest of the folks.

Dr. Silver readily acknowledged, "My grandmother was my greatest influence," and noted that prayer was important part of her grandmother's efforts on her behalf:

She would say her prayer at night, "Lord, just let me live to see my child finish high school." And I finished high school. And then, "Lord, just let me live to see my child finish college." She prayed me through everything, including a successful marriage of 39 years before my husband died.

Elaborating on her belief in the importance of networking, Dr. Silver mentioned the work being done by

Links, Inc. building schools in South Africa with IFESH, Reverend Leon Sullivan and Dr. Wright. We're collaborating also with other organizations to help build those schools. . . . There are about 1,000 that

he's trying to build and we're getting other organizations involved with

that.

The International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (pronounced I-Fish), now

headed by Dr. C. T. Wright, was established by the late Rev. Leon Sullivan in the 1980s.

Schools for Africa, one of the programs administered by IFESH helps build schools on

the African continent. IFESH, collaborating with other service organizations and

programs including Links, Inc., has provided technology and building supplies for nearly

200 schools in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Sierra Leone and Liberia (IFESH,

2001). Dr. Silver served as a national officer for Links, Inc. in the late 1990s (Links, Inc.,

1998).

Dr. Effie Gold. Among the first things one notices upon entering Dr. Gold's

office is that it is full: furniture, books, paper, computer equipment -- all vie for your

visual attention. It quickly becomes clear that it is also neat, and actively, energetically

full. This appears to be the workplace of a hands-on administrator, a place where students

might be welcomed when time allowed. This is a homey office – well-used, comfortable,

the slightly cluttered space of a working scholar who enjoys the process and the product.

Dr. Gold confirms this with her first impression; immediately it becomes clear that she is

friendly, genuinely considerate, interesting and smart.

Dr. Effie Gold has worked in higher education for almost 40 years and most of

that time has been spent on HBCU campuses. She began her career as an Assistant

Registrar at an HBCU campus on the mid-Atlantic coast. Already married at that time,

her family soon relocated to the southeast where they remained for nearly 20 years.

During that period, she worked primarily at another HBCU, combining teaching and administrative responsibilities, eventually becoming a department chairperson within the College of Education. Taking a leave from that institution, Dr. Gold spent 18 months at Dr. Silver's husband's undergraduate alma mater heading its education program. When her family moved to Louisiana, Dr. Gold "decided to take off and work in public schools to see what I had been missing and one year was enough." Returning to higher education, she accepted an administrative position in the education program at a prestigious local HBCU known nationally for its rigorous science programs.

Two years later, "because my husband was from here and his mother was ill, we came to live in [the State where this study was conducted]." Recalling her thinking at that time, Dr. Gold explained, "I really felt that as an administrator . . . I was through with it . . . I decided to teach my 12 hours and go home," she was easing into retirement. Within 18 months, however, Dr. Gold was appointed head of the education program at an HBCU. Her title became dean and she has held that position for nine years. Her comfort with the responsibilities inherent in her work is apparent: "I always wanted to be the boss. And I wouldn't play if I couldn't be the boss. . . . I find it fascinating dealing with deadlines and people. . . . I like a challenge."

Discussing her family and educational background, quickly it becomes clear that Dr. Gold enjoyed and excelled in school. Her father was in the Navy, but it was her mother who influenced her double undergraduate major in business education and Spanish:

My mother was a teacher . . . so she always put that teaching component

on there. [She said] 'If you're going to major in business, major in

business education.' So I said, OK, I'll go business education. . . . Then I

liked Spanish, so I had some Spanish.

After earning two master's degrees from the HBCU at which she was employed at the

time – the first in elementary education, the second in educational administration and

supervision – Dr. Gold "finished the courses for a master's in elementary school

administration" but did not formally complete the degree. To obtain her terminal degree,

Dr. Gold sought admission to a program at [one of the nation's oldest colleges], but was

told they were "not accepting women in the program at that time." Later, when she

received a letter encouraging her interest in the program, by then enrolled at a nationally

prominent, State-supported comprehensive university in the southeast, she "just politely

attached the letter that they sent . . . that said they weren't admitting . . . to that letter and

sent it back to them." She earned the Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) in administration and

supervision and the following year she completed the Certificate of Advanced Graduate

Studies (CAGS), both from the same nationally prominent, State-supported

comprehensive university in the southeast.

Dr. Gold was married for 39 years to a fellow academician; during his career, Dr.

Gold's husband served as dean of Arts and Sciences at HBCUs in both Virginia and

Louisiana. On moving to his home state, he too stepped back into the classroom full-

time. Describing her husband and their relationship, Dr. Gold said, "he was the wind

beneath my wings and now my wings have just flopped because he's no longer there."

The intensity of her loss was apparent as she talked about him: "I'm having a difficult time . . . it would have been 40 years in June . . . this is the longest we have ever been separated for any reason." Her daughter and granddaughter have recently returned to the state, and her daughter has accepted employment at the HBCU where Dr. Gold works. Their company and support clearly are very important to her.

Dr. Jennifer Pink. An associate vice president, Dr. Pink heads an urban satellite campus of a public HBCU in the State in which the study was conducted. The two-year old building which houses her campus was simple, almost spartan, on the exterior. Inside, the campus portion of the facility conveyed the pleasant multi-functionality of a community center or an urban "institution of learning." Pictures of Black people and objects of African art were displayed on the walls, the public areas were tidy and one sensed that the building had never seen the disarray typical of student facilities on traditional college campuses. Later, in conversation with Dr. Pink, it became clear that the building's atmosphere was intentional, as she described it, "when walking into a building, it should speak to you . . . it should say something about its mission . . . in our handbook it says this school trains people for service." For Dr. Pink, learning is important, serious and enjoyable business; this building reflects that point of view. Dr. Pink's personal office is formal and visually impressive – plaques, framed certificates, and memorabilia are tastefully displayed. This is an office with two open doors, easily accessible by anyone in the facility – it could easily be a showcase as everything is in its proper place.

Dr. Pink, a native of the State where she now resides, attended segregated public schools. Her father owned a market in the thriving Black district of her home town. At the time she graduated from high school, "there was nothing in her native State that African Americans could attend, in school, other than her alma mater as higher education." Describing the campus atmosphere during her undergraduate studies at the HBCU she chose to attend, Dr. Pink recalled,

> You couldn't waste your time. If an instructor saw you wasting your time, and knew that you were not doing well in a course, they'd walk up to you and speak to you and tell you, 'You know you need to be in the dormitory studying.' And we moved. And it wasn't that we were . . . cowering or anything, but we respected them that much.

Along with the rigors of studying, Dr. Pink "was the premiere star" of her college drama program for four years. Her drama coach was "like a father to me [Dr. Pink] . . . a person that . . . had such great feelings about his students, you never wanted to let him down." and "did a lot of additional activities . . . involving student government, sororities and communities."

After graduating from college as an English teacher in the early 1950s, Dr. Pink accepted a teaching position in the segregated school system of a small town in her home state. "The youngest teacher on the staff," Dr. Pink "became head of the department of English" in her second semester of teaching. As Dr. Pink described the situation there, "We had no reading books, no literature books in English . . . I presented my case – to select the books and the district would buy them, and they did." Drawing on her

experiences as a college thespian, Dr. Pink's students performed one-act plays and "went around the State winning oratorical contests." Then four years later, in the early-1950s, Dr. Pink was the only teacher from the segregated system offered employment in the newly desegregated system. Dr. Pink felt "it was wrong because there were other teachers, [who] had been there longer than I had that were equally, if not better, at teaching than I was." Not willing to accept the position she was offered, Dr. Pink "left and went another state."

Thus began Dr. Pink's 24-year career as a public school teacher and administrator in the western United States. Beginning as a classroom teacher, she became a school reform specialist, "conducted a desegregation program, and moved into a vice principalship and then principalship." During this time, she earned her Master of Education degree in school administrative management from an independent, comprehensive university in the West. While she was an elementary school teacher, Dr. Pink "wrote a play." Featuring thirteen vignettes of great Black Americans, the well-received play led to a telephone call from the President of the United States and to her recognition with the George Washington Medal of Honor of the National Social Studies Association. Her first higher education experience came while she was a school principal when she taught multicultural education courses to teachers. Many of the plaques in her office are related to recognition of her public school career.

After retirement, she decided to "come back to my [Dr. Pink's] home state" and began a new career as a school reform consultant, traveling "to seven or eight states, working, attempting to save schools and school districts . . . because of my [Dr. Pink's]

background and my success in turning schools around." During one these trips, a chance encounter brought her back to her home state when "someone from [one of the State's flagship universities] sat beside me and we talked all the way. . . He said 'How would you like to come to [her home state], complete your doctorate and help us in school reform?'" After weighing the invitation, Dr. Pink returned to her home state and began doctoral studies in Administration and Curriculum Development, completing the degree in the late 1990s. After completing her degree, she "worked at [the previously mentioned flagship university] for about two and a half years." Accepting the invitation to return to her alma mater was an easy decision,

> I knew that I would make a great deal less money than I've every made
>
> before in the profession. . . But at this stage in my life, money is not
>
> important. It's important that I use my time in helping mankind in some
>
> way.

Dr. Pink raised her three daughters as "a single mother." Combining the responsibilities of career and parenthood was a challenge that Dr. Pink met readily. As she put it:

> The only rule I had in my household for them when they were growing up
>
> was that they had to be good citizens . . . I wanted to raise my kids in such
>
> a way that if I as the last person in my family and [there was] nobody to
>
> take care of them if something happened to me, that one of my neighbors,
>
> my church members or friends would be willing to take my children and
>
> finish the job.

Now that her daughters are adults, she described their weekly conversations as valued sources for encouragement:

> One daughter that is vice president of a company . . . and we share
>
> leadership information; another one is a communications expert and we
>
> talk about reading and writing and things of that nature . . . one is a
>
> medical doctor, a surgeon . . . even though she's the youngest, she seems
>
> to have more wisdom than all of us.

Dr. Sharon Taupe. Dr. Taupe's office is in a building which once served as a campus residence hall. The facility has been tastefully remodeled and now houses an interesting combination of student services and academic administrative services. On the day of our interview, Dr. Taupe was also hosting off-campus guests. After meeting them briefly, I learned later they were consultants who were working with her on a year-long pilot program. The program uses an Afro-centric conceptualization of the extended family to encourage academic performance and persistence and, according to Dr. Taupe, has been well received by the student and institutional community. Dr. Taupe too has a tastefully appointed office that visually reflects her interests – African art, books, and an array of awards adorn her walls and bookshelves. Because the consultants are ensconced in her office, our interview is conducted in a conference room on another floor of the building.

Dr. Taupe took an interesting route to higher education administration. One of nine children, and the only girl in her family, living in a small town in a Southern State with an even smaller Black population, Dr. Taupe attended public school where most

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years she was one of three Black children in the school. After graduating from high school, she earned a Bachelor of Education degree, then later a Master of Education degree, from the public four-year university in her hometown. Her doctorate, earned while she was a part-time faculty member at the university where she is now employed, was awarded by a flagship university in her home state.

Dr. Taupe taught in the public schools for several years, then "had to quit work" because "you couldn't be working and be pregnant." This event led to her first teaching position in higher education when she substituted at an HBCU and was hired full-time at the start of the next academic year. In the late 1970s, when she returned to that institution from a three-year move out-of-state and, after completing her doctorate, Dr. Taupe's first administrative position was supervisor of several federally-funded programs while she also taught English. Describing her move into full-time administrative work, she said, "From there I became Director of Admissions, then Director of Admissions and Recruitment, and then Associate Vice President for Student Affairs, and then Dean of the Honors Program."

A hallmark of Dr. Taupe's administrative work has been the focus on customer service and team work emphasized through the areas she has supervised directly and encouraged through the HBCU at which she has worked full-time for more than 20 years. After reading *A Passion for Excellence* (Peters and Austin, 1989), Dr. Taupe recounts that she "took that book and everywhere it said 'customer', I [Dr. Taupe] put 'student/staff'. Then I read the book from that perspective and it works." Drawing on basic principles of team work – "we have to be fair to ourselves and . . . fair to the community that we serve"

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– Dr. Taupe's program of customer/student service has been used throughout the institution, training staff "to be effective and fair and responsible and accountable."

Dr. Taupe's husband of more than 30 years is a faculty member, teaching elementary education and special education courses at the institution where she is employed. Not infrequently they find themselves working with the same students, just in different capacities. Describing one of those times, she said, "They'll [students] say, 'Well, you know, your husband told us in class all about you all . . . is it true what he said?' I say, 'Well, I don't know what he said but it probably is, but go talk to him.' " In the mid-1970s, Dr. Taupe and her husband relocated to his alma mater, for three years – part of that time overlapped with Dr. Silver's and her husband's time at that institution.

Ms. May Beige. Ms. Beige still lives in the house where she and her seven brothers and sisters grew up. The well-kept and recently remodeled home is on a main thoroughfare of the town, practically a landmark for the prominent citizens whose lives began there. Her family boasts education leaders across the country: a now-retired elementary school principal and district administrator in their native state; and retired teachers in the Southwest and the Far West as well. Educated in the local, racially-segregated public schools, for her undergraduate studies in music education, Ms. Beige attended a public HBCU in her home state. She earned her Master of Education in music education from a well-known, private research university in the Far West. Later, she obtained a school counselor's certificate from a four-year regional university in her home state. A school teacher and award-winning band director for more than 15 years in the segregated high school of her hometown, Ms. Beige became a high school counselor

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when the school district established a single high school attended by students of both races.

Her work in higher education began when Ms. Beige responded to a call from the Governor who "asked if I [Ms. Beige] would be interested in coming and being a part of the State Coordinating Board for higher education." Although she was not well-acquainted with the Governor, they shared political party affiliation and she was "a friend to the Governor's family here in [her hometown]." Recalling her response to the Governor's telephone call, Ms. Beige said: "I told him that I would have to think about it." Then the popular, veteran school teacher, whose teaching experiences spanned the segregated and desegregated local school systems, and first Black woman on her hometown City Council, consulted with her family and public-minded friends for their advice and counsel. Expressing confidence in her decisions so far regarding public service, she recalled that her older brother and two sisters effectively said, "You've been making good decisions . . . [we think] it'll be all right." Recognizing "it would be an honor to be part of the State Coordinating Board . . . that's the top board in the State," another highly respected community leader joined her family in encouraging her to accept the invitation. Initially it appeared that Ms. Beige would be able to hold both her local elected office on the City Council and the State Coordinating Board appointment concurrently. However, together with the City Attorney, Ms. Beige determined it "would be too much pressure on anybody" (including herself) to serve in both capacities. Within a few months, Ms. Beige "resigned from the City Council" and "accepted the position

with the State Coordinating Board," becoming only the second Black woman to serve in that capacity in the 40 year history of that state's higher education system.

Accepting the governor's invitation was only the first step in the process of becoming a member of the constitutional nine-member Board that controls all of the colleges and universities, constituent agencies, higher education centers and programs that make up the state system of higher education. The governor's appointees to the State Coordinating Board (SCB) must be approved by the State Senate (and deemed acceptable by the Senator in the district from which the prospective member is chosen.) Ms. Beige's active role in the State Democrat party was an asset in this confirmation process. The local State Senator "gladly accepted" her and her nomination was seconded by a Senator, from across the State, with whom she had become acquainted as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention a few years earlier.

At the time Ms. Beige joined the Board, the chief executive officer of the state system was a man considered by some to be one of the most powerful men in the State and the visionary behind the success of the state higher education system. During his nearly 20 years in that position, Ms. Beige observed "he finally got the political part out of the State Coordinating Board." Describing her relationship with this legendary leader, Ms. Beige said:

> I think he [the Chancellor] was there a year while I was there. . . . Very
>
> inspiring. . . . He made me feel like, that I was on top of the world when he
>
> got through giving me the scenario about the works of the State
>
> Coordinating Board.

During her nine-year tenure on the Board, Ms. Beige participated three times in the selection of state system leadership. After the retirement of only the second chief executive in the system's history, the Board chose a new system leader from within the ranks of the Board's executive staff. Following his resignation five years later, another senior staff member was elevated to the position of Interim/Acting Chancellor for nearly two years. The person appointed by the Board in 1987 is, says Ms. Beige, "still there . . . he came under my administration."

During Ms. Beige's term on the Board, the Regents developed a taxonomy for classifying state system institutions based on their missions and programs. The leading typology of colleges and universities was first published in 1973 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Since it was founded by Andrew Carnegie with an endowment of $31,000,000 (Rudolf, 1962, p. 431) and chartered by an Act of Congress in 1906, the non-profit Carnegie Foundation has sought "to do all things necessary to encourage, uphold and dignify the profession of teaching" (Carnegie, 2001). Among its endeavors have been an initiative to "provide every college and university professor with a pension plan" (Rudolf, 1962, p. 432), creation of the Carnegie Unit to standardize high school course credits, and the development of the Carnegie Classifcation of Institutions of Higher Education. Although the original Carnegie-financed pension plan collapsed due to actuarial errors (Rudolf, 1962), its underlying principle evolved into the non-profit Teachers Insurance Annuity Association of America (TIAA) which, together with the College Retirement Equities Fund (CREF), now is the largest pension system in the United States. The Carnegie Classification system was created by the

Foundation "to group institutions by their academic missions and to serve as a research tool for scholars of higher education" (Basinger, 2000) and quickly became the de facto industry standard.

The SCB classifications were similar to but not directly aligned with the national standard institutional typology system used by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Basinger, 2000; Carnegie, 2000). As Ms. Beige describes them, "Three main groups" were created: "[the two flagship universities] in comprehensive universities; the eight or ten regionals were in a group; and then the junior colleges." And similar to the controversies that often accompany changes in the Carnegie Classifications (Basinger, 2000), the SCB classifications created some tensions among the leaders of the State's institutions, many of whom related the classification system with control issues such as program approval and funding. Ms. Beige recalled that during this process, in order to assure that his institution would not be too closely associated with certain other, in his view apparently lesser, institutions, the president of one four-year institution successfully negotiated his institution's assignment to a different governing board.

Among the SCB duties is recommendation of the State budget allocation for higher education to the Legislature. Ms. Beige remembers listening carefully to the details of the financial reports in the SCB meetings as they discussed funding issues and amounts for each institution:

> And one day . . . the wire in me, I guess, came loose . . . and I asked,
>
> 'What is the problem . . . you indicate how much all the other institutions

are getting [in detail] . . . but when it comes to [the HBCU], it's just a

lump sum.'

After that it seemed the situation changed -- reporting of the HBCU's funding became

consistent with that of other institutions. Another particular interest of Ms. Beige's was

the public image of the SCB. To that end, she worked to establish a universal parking

decal which could be honored by all state system institutions, facilitating the SCB

members' visits to the schools for routine visits and special occasions. Ms. Beige was

also instrumental in the selection of the academic regalia worn by the SCB members for

their participation in academic ceremonies such as Convocations and Commencements.

During Ms. Beige's tenure, the SCB established the State System Consortium

Institution (SSCI) to bring public higher education to a previously unserved metropolitan

area. At its inception, SSCI employed two administrators who were overseen directly by

the State Coordinating Board. Newspaper accounts at the time credit Ms. Beige with

urging the SCB "to consider hiring a woman for one for the posts because the state's

higher education system has no women in such high-ranking jobs" (Tulsa World, 1982).

In fact, the first director and the first assistant director were women. Perhaps due to

modesty, Ms. Beige failed to mention her significant role in this milestone. Or, perhaps it

was simply overshadowed by her subsequent and equally important contributions to the

SCB.

Reflecting on her Board service, Ms. Beige, who is known for her straightforward

manner, observed:

I never felt that . . . I was not accepted in the group. . . . I told them when I

first came on the Board . . . that they had denied me the opportunity in [her

home state] . . . and I personally thanked them for the opportunity of

sending me away. Because I had the opportunity to go to the well-known,

private research university in the Far West and they paid me for it.

Recalling one of the side effects of maintaining racially separate education systems, Ms.

Beige explained:

When I went [in the late 1940s-early 1950s] . . . they [the State] paid nine

cents a mile because it's 1600 and 35 miles from *this house* [emphasis

hers] to [the town in which she obtained her graduate degree] . . . and they

doubled that.

In addition, the State made up the difference in the enrollment fees. Ms. Beige recalls:

"And whatever number of units I took, [one of the state flagship universities'] enrollment

fee was four dollars [per hour] and at [the western institution] it was 20 dollars. So they

would give me the difference, $16 for every hour I took." Interestingly, according to Ms.

Beige, the state system apparently cannot locate any records of this period.

Dr. Sheryl Orange. Officially retired two years ago from her position at an

HBCU, Dr. Orange is an extremely busy woman. Her schedule is filled with family

commitments, community volunteer efforts, church-related activities, and her part-time

employment – two days each week with her former employer. The home that she and her

husband built upon their return to his hometown is in an established, middle-class,

predominately Black neighborhood. A construction marvel, their house was created by

connecting two neighboring structures. Large and comfortably appointed, it is often the gathering place for her family which now includes more than a dozen grandchildren. We conducted her interview in her home.

Dr. Orange spent her early years in the southwest State where she was born, moving to a neighboring State with her mother and sister after her parents divorced when she was a young girl. She attended segregated public school in a small town in the north central part of the State where she participated in the band and choir, competing against other Black schools on the State level. "We grew up segregated. You didn't go to the movies, you didn't go to the restaurants, you didn't go the drug stores. You didn't go anywhere." At age 12, Dr. Orange began working to supplement the limited income her mother earned as a maid. College was not on her horizon until the band director helped her obtain a scholarship to an HBCU. Work on campus and the generosity of fellow students and faculty helped her manage financially.

After getting married in her senior year of college, Dr. Orange and her husband, who had already graduated, set out to begin their careers in education. That was in the mid-1950s, and "integration was going on so there were no jobs in [the State where this study was conducted]. They were firing all the Black teachers, closing schools." The young couple lived and worked on a college campus while she completed her degree and he taught in a segregated school system about 30 miles away. The next year they moved to her home town where Dr. Orange she taught in the still segregated high school. "Then they closed the school down in [Dr. Orange's home town] and they closed [her husband's school]." The next year the couple moved across the state to another segregated school

system and the following year "he [Dr. Orange's husband] got the job up in [his hometown] so we kind of settled after that." While teaching in several area school districts, Dr. Orange completed her Master of Education degree in elementary education and counseling and obtained certifications in counseling and elementary education and "almost got certified in mathematics" at a four-year public university.

In the early 1970s, just as Dr. Orange completed her first year as a public school counselor after several years in the public school classroom, her husband "took a coaching position at [an HBCU] as head football coach." Dr. Orange recalls, "As part of the package, [her husband] told them they had to give his wife a job." So, the 'package' finalized, Dr. Orange, her husband and their four daughters relocated. Along with demonstrating the strong partnership of their marriage, that request marked the start of Dr. Orange's more than 30 years in higher education.

At the HBCU, which was also their alma mater, Dr. Orange was assigned to teach English and serve as a counselor in a federal Title III program. After developing an interest in student retention issues, she began working with the Career Placement Office, eventually becoming its Director. Under her leadership, the office changed its name to Career Development Center, expanded its efforts to work with students at all levels, not just seniors, and began to provide a full range of services including testing, placement and career development. In short, the office 'became more a total student-oriented service." Leveraging the success of this program, Dr. Orange "starting writing proposals to get, not only career counselors but counselors who could work [in other areas.]" At that time the institution did not have a separate student services component and Dr. Orange and her

staff of two counselors in the Career Development Center "were being overpowered with student problems." As she remembers: "I had [students with] career problems, I had personal problems, I had academic problems, I had financial problems . . . I just had a lot." With grant support, Dr. Orange was able to ease the workload and continue to develop the program, "working with the total campus, with administration and with the students." Dr. Orange's vision became the human resources unit, and "the next thing I [Dr. Orange] knew . . . I became dean of human resources." In that capacity, she had responsibility for "the placement, the testing, the counseling, the career development, and then I [Dr. Orange] had freshmen studies, and then the next thing I knew, I had . . . the [federally-funded] programs." During this time, she "went to a lot of meetings and really traveled a lot"; it was a huge time commitment.

By then, both Dr. Orange and her husband had earned Doctor of Education degrees from one of the State's flagship universities. As she recalls:

All my older daughters had graduated and gone . . . that left just my

husband and [youngest daughter] there together. Here my daughter's

becoming a teenager and I'm out on the road all the time. . . . I felt like I

was losing something . . . losing control.

No more home-based babysitters or hometown students willing to help with childcare, combined with a growing concern for her daughter's adolescent needs, prompted Dr. Orange to step down from her time-consuming administrative duties to "become a full-time faculty member." In her words, "I decided that someone would have to do the breaking away."

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In her last year of administrative work, one of her assignments was participation on "a committee that met in [the state capital] . . . with the SCB [staff] and the chairman of the Board . . . and selected faculty" to prepare a plan for the establishment of a new campus for her institution. Explaining the committee's work, Dr. Orange said:

We initiated the courses that would be offered . . . decided where it was

going to be . . . the classes to be held . . . what it was going to be called.

. . . The intention was to build a program in Tulsa that would meet the

needs of the students.

Dr. Orange called the committee's work "visionary . . . because they came up with matching programs so that a student could get a degree and still help every institution."

Within a year of re-joining the faculty ranks, although she was enjoying the work of "developing the psychology program," Dr. Orange and her husband discussed returning to his hometown where they would build a home and give their daughter "the chance to do the kind of growing up that she needed, to develop." As fulfilling as her career might be, Dr. Orange remembers, "I just said, 'Mama has to be Mama now. I guess I better take over my responsibilities.' " This time Dr. Orange made the first move, securing a public school counseling in her husband's hometown. According to Dr. Orange, the superintendent who hired her said, "I know you're not coming . . . because [her husband] is not going to come with you." To that Dr. Orange replied:

I don't have any control over [her husband]. I only have control over

myself. If you hire me, I will come home because I want to get my

daughter . . . on track so she can finish high school . . . she needs now to

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develop herself. And if I don't . . . make this sacrifice . . . I'll regret it the

rest of my life.

Her husband, encouraged by expressions of support from leaders in his hometown

community and a substantial salary increase, accepted the position of high school football

coach that Fall and the family returned to his hometown.

Recalling the transition, Dr. Orange said, "I went from higher education to junior

high." Five years later, Dr. Orange became an assistant principal at the junior high level,

remaining there three years then moving to the high school level. At the high school, she

said, "I started working almost 12 months a year again, although they only paid you for

10 months." After becoming "tired of doing that," Dr. Orange began contemplating

retirement. And "that's when [her alma mater] called and asked if I would apply for a

position [there]." She responded positively, was offered the position, and accepted it,

resuming her higher education career after a hiatus of nearly 12 years. This time she was

an Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs at a satellite of the main campus.

Although this position involved long days and a 100-mile daily commute, Dr. Orange

assessed the situation positively: "By that time, my daughter was in college so that was

ok."

Her return to higher education placed her square in the middle of one of the

State's most volatile educational environments – the program that she and others had

developed during her final year in administration. In the interim, the Campus Center had

been established, then aligned with a consortium of three other public institutions offering

upper division work in a metropolitan area previously unserved by public higher

education at the baccalaureate level or above. Having also spent some time there during

her final year of college teaching, Dr. Orange recalled the early days of operation:

> There was a unity and a great spirit of comradeship when we first opened
>
> it [the consortium] . . . everybody was just eager to help the student. . . .
>
> and they didn't care about the University. It didn't matter if a student went
>
> to [one institution and said], 'I want to be a psychology major. [The
>
> response was] 'Oh, you go to [another institution] and get that.' Or they
>
> came to us [and said], 'I want to be a biology major.' 'You go to [another
>
> institution.] . . . It was no competition, it was cooperation. What can we
>
> do to help the student?

The consortium's first round of administrators, who had been directly overseen by

the State Regents, had been replaced by a second, more assertive group of administrators

who reported to a local governing board (Tulsa Tribune, 1986). In Dr. Orange's

assessment:

> When the administration changed, then the whole spirit changed. It
>
> became competitive . . . everybody was competing against [her alma
>
> mater] to get the most credit hours.

Some of the problem could have been attributed to the political environment, in Dr.

Oranges's opinion:

> They were political, they went to the legislature, and they got all the things
>
> changed by legislation. And there's not much you could do about it but

just watch . . . it just kind of caved in. . . . And it's sad, because the

students are completely left out of the circle.

Dr. Orange and her husband are justifiably proud of the successes they have

enjoyed in their careers and personal lives, but none more so than their children. Each of

their four daughters holds at least one graduate degree and the achievements of another

generation are already accumulating. Commencement season in the 2000-2001 academic

year marks a major milestone for Dr. Orange's family. As living testimonials to the hard

work and sacrifice that have characterized her and her husband's careers, they will

celebrate the graduations of their youngest daughter and her husband who are both

earning Doctor of Education degrees along with the graduation of their oldest

granddaughter who is earning a Juris Doctorate, and another of their grandchildren who is

graduating from high school.

Dr. Ava Green. A native of western Pennsylvania, Dr. Green came to the state in

which the study was conducted with her husband who is a native of that State:

You're always an outsider when you come to [to her husband's home

State] . . . I was exposed to things that a lot of people my age were not

exposed to here . . . I was different. I talk different. I did different stuff

and I like different things.

And, as the first Black woman to lead a public higher education entity in the State's

history, Dr. Green's career achievements have been at a different level from those of

other Black women in higher education administration in the State where this study was

conducted. Retired for eight months at the time of our interview, Dr. Green now devotes

herself to her family, her community service commitments and her newfound avocations of genealogy and home decorating. Our interview was conducted in the commons area of a building at what is now the campus of the institution Dr. Green once headed.

After earning a Bachelor of Science degree in Nursing in the late 1950s, Dr. Green "practiced nursing until 1970" when she decided to return to college. Married with two children, she decided to attend the local private, doctorate-degree granting university. At that time, there was no public higher education opportunity in the city where she lived. Combining her interests in sociology and counseling, she obtained what she termed "the now defunct" Master of Education degree as a community college specialist. Propelled by her husband's encouragement and a fortuitous friendship with a departmental secretary which led to the mid-year award of a graduate assistantship, Dr. Green began the doctoral program in higher education and worked part-time on the campus where she studied. In the second year of her program, Dr. Green's former mentor, an assistant dean on the campus, left his position. So, having worked as a graduate assistant in that office, Dr. Green

> went to the Dean and said, 'I know I can fulfill the position and that you
>
> would like to have it filled.' . . . And I got the job. So I became the
>
> Assistant Dean while I was still a doctoral student.

After she earned her Doctor of Philosophy degree in Higher Education, Dr. Green "started looking" for other employment. The institution from which she graduated

> only kept certain graduates because it's too much inbreeding. . . . And we
>
> already knew who the chosen one was. . . . They would keep you there but

they would keep your salary low. . . . You wouldn't get the increase you

would ordinarily get once you got your degree.

In the late 1970s then, Dr. Green was selected to direct the brand-new urban center of a

public (HBCU). After only one year, during which she enjoyed "the development of new

things," Dr. Green left that position to work at the medical school of a State system

flagship university as its first physician placement officer. Her mentor in that position

became aware of a newly developing opportunity "and he made sure I was in all the right

places at the right time and pushed me toward that point." Dr. Green was appointed

Director of a State System Consortium Institution (SSCI) in July, 1982, just weeks before

if officially opened (Foltz, 1982).

The State System Consortium Institution was created by the State Coordinating

Board (SCB) in 1982 to bring upper division public higher education to an underserved

metropolitan area. Already served at the lower division level by the high successful local

two-year college which was established in the late 1960s, the city in which the SSCI was

located reportedly was alone among the 50 largest metropolitan areas nationally in not

having ready access to public higher education. Authorized by the State Legislature, the

higher education center operated as a consortium, bring together four public universities –

two flagship universities, one four-year, regional university, and an HBCU. Each

institution was assigned authority to offer specific programs through the consortium.

Under this arrangement, students chose the institution they would attend based on the

discipline they wished to study. The State System was still under court order from

Adams v. Richardson (351 F.Supp 636) to remedy past discriminatory practices under

segregation and this organizational feature had the intentional side effect of furthering the state system's effort to desegregate the participating HBCU.

The administrative staff for the higher education center initially consisted of a director and an assistant director. Administrative services for the Center, including accounting, data processing, and bookstore, were provided by a participating institution under paid contract. Student services were provided by the respective institutions. Each institution taught its own courses, relying on a mix of regular and adjunct faculty members. With the closest of the four main campuses located 61 miles from the SSCI site, the participating institutions faced a major challenge just getting faculty transported to their classes (Institute for Educational Leadership, 1985). In its first semester of operation the higher education center enrolled 1,862 students (Duck, 1983). Barely three years later, when Dr. Green resigned, enrollment had climbed to more than 2,300 students. (Tulsa Tribune, 1985).

Reflecting on this momentous time in her life, Dr. Green recalls:

The [SSCI] was the most exciting . . . the best thing I ever did . . . I still get emotional about the [SSCI] . . . I gave it everything I had for three years. . . . Whether anybody ever noticed it, whether I'm ever recognized . . . it doesn't make any difference to me whatsoever because there are people who have received an education that would not have received it before . . . I did my job, it got started and it's still going.

In the second year of its existence, the State Regents determined that the SSCI needed a 'President' to oversee its operation and development. Dr. Green applied for and was

interviewed for this position but was not chosen. Although there was some evidence that

the selection committee "was ready to build a University" and was willing to seriously

consider only male applicants, Dr. Green did not contest the process or the final selection.

> I never, ever brought it up . . . because I believed so much in the [SSCI]

> . . . I understood the concept . . . and I believed it was going to serve a

> purpose for the people in this community and the surrounding area.

As Dr. Green saw it, "my own personal gain was not really that important [compared

with] the number of people [who] would benefit from this place." At the time, there was

continuing local controversy regarding the structure, governance and, even continuation,

of the SSCI. Dr. Green understood "there were too many negative things [being said]

about the [SSCI] and too many people who wanted something bad to happen." After "a

year or so" working with "the gentleman" selected as the new President, Dr. Green left

the Center and worked briefly with a city government agency. Following a six-month

hiatus, she returned to higher education as an assistant dean at a State System university

medical school. She held that position for nearly 15 years until her recent retirement.

As one of the few women, and even fewer Black women, who has reached the

interview stage of the presidential search process at a public college or university in the

state in which this study was conducted, Dr. Green recalls "My husband and I were both

interviewed, together for eight or ten hours on campus." One of the people she met on

campus that day, who was not involved in the search process, confided to her, "'You're

good. . . . [But] we don't think they are ever going to hire a woman.'" And, Dr. Green

notes, they did not hire a woman – not in that or subsequent selection presidential search

processes on that campus. Following the public meeting where the new president was announced, Dr. Green heard similar comments from two people who were involved in the selection process. As she recalls, one told her, "You'll never ever know how close it was" and another said, "You'll never know how sorry I am and you'll never know what happened." Relating this story, without bitterness, Dr. Green said, 'It's one of those things . . . we are in [the State where this study was conducted]."

Dr. Green did know that her husband performed well in the interview process. Always her most ardent supporter, Mr. Green, who had "retired and gone back to work" for a local corporation, told the committee "he was willing to commute." Referring to such annual traditions as Christmas Open House and "all those things that a president's spouse is supposed to do," he assured them, "You don't have to worry; it will be done." Dr. Green readily acknowledges the importance and extent of her husband's support:

> I gave my husband something one time that said, 'Because of you, I am.'
>
> . . . [He] has always pushed me from the time we were first married. . . .
>
> He's just been very, very supportive.

Still an activist for social justice causes, in the 1970s Dr. Green's husband was instrumental in the efforts to re-open a Black neighborhood school which was closed as part of the school desegregation plan. The school is now a nationally commended magnet school. "My husband and I are funny kind of people . . . we don't like people to make a big deal out of anything," Dr. Green said, explaining how they came to decline participation in the nomination process for one of the most prestigious community service awards presented in their home town. Together the Greens have raised two children and

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now boast two grandchildren. Their son who is an attorney lives with his wife and children in Texas; their daughter is a doctoral student and teacher in Colorado.

The oldest of four girls, Dr. Green was "always been very independent." At age 10 she was called upon to take care of her father and sisters, the youngest of whom was only one year old at the time, when her mother's illness began. She recalls a story her mother told her:

> I told her, 'Mom, you don't have to worry. I counted the dishes and I
>
> don't have to wash dishes for a week.' . . . One day she came out and
>
> found that we had beans and weenies and I made the kids eat out of the
>
> pot.

Staying in her hometown for college enabled her to continue assisting with her mother's care, although "it was tough" balancing the challenges of her academic work and the challenges of home. Dr. Green recounted an episode from her first year of college:

> My mom had heart surgery which was unusual then and I stayed at the
>
> hospital all night and slept on a bench in the waiting room, then went back
>
> to school the next day.

Despite the culinary moments, Dr. Green reports:

> All three of my sisters turned out fine. They grew up and are educated and
>
> are doing very, very well. . . .I actually took care of them all the way to the
>
> time I eloped the night of [college] graduation and came here [to the state
>
> in which the study was conducted]

Dr. Green's adventures in education began when she was "expelled from kindergarten in the public school after five days." (Although the details are omitted here, even Dr. Green agrees this was not an inappropriate response to a little girl's particular way of expressing her displeasure when "they wouldn't put my leggings on and they wouldn't fasten my coat.") After the expulsion, Dr. Green "was sent" to the Catholic school near her family's home. "There were probably 8 or 10 blacks in that school . . . it was a poor neighborhood . . . very ethnically oriented . . . little pockets of different ethnicities where we lived." Always a good academic student, Dr. Green won a scholarship to a prestigious Catholic college-preparatory high school, becoming one of fewer than ten Black students there. Most of the students in this school were expected to go to college. Dr. Green had set her sights on a local nursing school which was affiliated with the hospital where her mother was often treated for her heart problems. A priest at her high school learned of her plans and intervened, telling her "You can't go there because they practice birth control." He then offered her an opportunity to attend a local, private Catholic women's college, now re-named, which was run by the same religious order as her high school. Dr. Green recalled, "It was the second most expensive" of the five colleges and universities in [the area of her home town], "so that's where I went."

Dr. Green recognizes that the rewards of her career in higher education are personal:

> It's not whether or not you become the president of a university or whether somebody tells you 'I don't want you because you're a woman.' It's somebody that you touched somewhere.

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For Dr. Green there are lots of somebodies, students and their families who have chosen

in countless ways to express their gratitude for her assistance and support. Two in

particular stand out:

> Someone wrote and said, 'I came to [University], I wanted to go into
>
> Nursing and you talked me out of it.' And she's a practicing physician in
>
> Colorado because I told her she was too smart to be a nurse.

More recently, Dr. Green recalled receiving a note from the parents of a student whom

she had counseled and assisted informally over a period of several years. The parents'

note said, "Our son had a successful year in medical school and if it hadn't been for you,

he wouldn't have been there."

The Torchbearers

Dr. Donna Amber. The first thing one notes upon entering Dr. Amber's office is

what can only be called a 'contraption' prominently displayed on the conference table.

Without knowing its owner's professional background, the first assumption is that the

odd arrangement of wires and light bulbs might be a torture device or, on second quick

thought, perhaps the product of a class project on inventions. As the interview niceties

begin, the issue of the contraption recedes and, looking around, one gets a better feel for

the office and its inhabitant. This is the office of someone with a wide range of interests

– the contraption, a collection of small toy figures, the books (lots of books), the

paperwork, and the same Ernie Barnes poster as displayed in the office of Ms. Victoria

Blue. Everything offers evidence of a person who is interesting, intellectually playful,

and well-read.

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After completing her undergraduate training as a registered nurse, Dr. Amber "went to [a private university in the midwestern city where she lived] and got a Master's degree in Nursing with a focus on maternal newborn nursing." This credential prepared her for her career goal which was to be a nurse clinician – someone who could "go into the [medical] practice setting and provide a high level of care to patients" as well as "serve in the education, management or leadership role for staff." But despite the advanced degree, the "wonderful information about taking care of mothers and babies," and the reported shortages of trained nurses for management roles, Dr. Amber "could not get a job except a staff nurse position working nights."

Eventually Dr. Amber accepted "an opportunity to teach in an associate degree nursing program at a public community college in a nearby community. She stayed there as a faculty member for five years. Before accepting this position, Dr. Amber "had also considered and rejected the idea of teaching at [the institution where she earned her master's degree], she recalls: "Nobody formally offered a job, but one of my instructors asked me if I would be interested . . . to start with, I really wasn't interested in teaching. . . and not in teaching in that particular institution." Although her own graduate program "was, overall, a wonderful experience," examining the environment more closely, Dr. Amber had concluded it would be best to move on. She accepted a teaching position with a community college in a nearby town. At the end of her first year of teaching, Dr. Amber "was absolutely disoriented when the summer came and I [Dr. Amber] didn't have a job . . . I always worked as a nurse and you work 12 months . . . That was how I stumbled into higher education."

At the community college where Dr. Amber began teaching, "the faculty was an integrated faulty" and "the student body was predominately Black." There she found an atmosphere that valued her work and a colleague with whom she remains close friends more than 25 years later. Describing that atmosphere, she said:

> People did act like they valued whatever I brought to that environment . . .
>
> In certain places when people don't respond to us the way we want them
>
> to, we think it's because they don't value us. But more than likely, or
>
> more often, it's because they don't act like they value us in terms of how
>
> we evaluate them.

Her colleague was an older, more experienced faculty member, "an excellent, very meticulous person" with whom Dr. Amber "team-taught in some courses." Dr. Amber recalls:

> [Her colleague] was the one who would give me feedback about whatever
>
> it was I was doing, or not doing. She was the one from whom, or again
>
> whom, I could weight the things I was thinking about doing . . . we could
>
> dream up some wonderful ways of getting students involve in information
>
> . . . we did some very creative, innovative kinds of things there.

In her next position was as Director of the associate degree nursing program at a public HBCU in the same midwestern state. Although the institution was predominately Black, "The faculty and students in the nursing program were predominately white. . . . The environment was totally different." Dr. Amber said, "I did not feel that they valued whatever I brought to that environment. Some of it was . . . difference in style and

difference in understanding." Describing the situation further, Dr. Amber said, somewhat

wryly, "I had had a wonderful experience in [the community college] and I had all the

answers . . . and they didn't do what I told them." Having relocated across the state and

as a single parent with a daughter who loved their new setting, Dr. Amber was

determined to "figure out how to stay [there] and be happy," recognizing that "you have

to bloom where you are planted." That thinking led her to continue working and begin

taking classes in the Doctor of Education program at the state flagship university about 30

miles from where she lived and worked.

About the doctoral program, Dr. Amber said: "That worked out really well . . . I

was involved with information I needed to be involved with." Through her doctoral

studies, Dr. Amber came to understand that she could move away from the "very

structured" model of leadership she had borrowed from the program director in her last

position and adopt a style more consistent with her own personality:

> I'm more of a participatory collegial kind of person . . . and as soon as I
>
> sort of loosened up . . . and removed some barriers . . . it didn't change the
>
> people, but it changed the interaction . . . it may not have changed the
>
> individuals, but it changed the group.

In the same year that she was awarded her doctorate, the HBCU at which she was

teaching "declared financial exigency and reduced my [Dr. Amber's] salary by about

$6,000. . . . When I should have been getting a big raise, I was getting a pay cut."

Believing that "God's trying to tell you something" and "that when a door closes a

window opens," Dr. Amber reconsidered previous efforts to recruit her to the faculty of

the state flagship institution and accepted a position there, "knowing it wasn't a place where I needed to remain forever." She explained her earlier disinterest: "I wasn't really interested in being in that environment. My commitment is to work in, with people like me. I like people like me. I want to be in an environment where I think I really make a difference."

The benefit of the supportive environment in her first teaching experience became even more apparent when Dr. Amber began teaching at the flagship institution. A fellow faculty member who taught the same course as Dr. Amber came to her and said, "Donna, I don't think you ought to teach this content this way. I think the way you ought to do it is this." Describing her reaction, Dr. Amber said:

If that had happened 10 years earlier, I [Dr. Amber] would have been

crushed. Because she didn't discuss that with me, she just said to me,

'This is the way you should do it.' And I said, well, I guess that's a good

way for you, but it doesn't work for me.

Observing that "most of us teach the way we were taught," she saw that this colleague, whose comment was offered after students complained to her about Dr. Amber's class, was "very comfortable with lecturing." On the other hand, Dr. Amber's philosophy was more to "lay it out there . . . to operate on the assumption that [the students] are all literate . . . so we're just going to apply this information that you were supposed to study." As Dr. Amber further described it:

It's in their [students'] book. They need to read it. We need to talk about

it. We need to get students involved with information. . . . [Because] if

telling were teaching, we'd all be so smart we couldn't handle it.

Noting that her focus in teaching is on "problem solving," Dr. Amber quoted a

passage from Kahlil Gibran: "We can only help somebody discover what is half asleep in

the dawning of their knowledge." Assessing the impact of this exchange, Dr. Amber

said, "If that had been my first environment, it would have been one that I would have left

not feeling good about what I did."

Although she only taught at the flagship institution for one year, "it was a

wonderful experience . . . I [Dr. Amber] have never been treated so well in my life." She

reported receiving "the opportunity to plan a national conference and then to do a

presentation at that conference," as well as research material for her developing research

agenda. She also realized that as "the only Black person on the nursing faculty" at that

time, she could make a difference even in that environment:

A Black student who was in my [Dr. Amber's] clinical group and was

shocked when she showed up for clinical and I was the teacher. Because

she had not had a Black teacher at [that institution] in that nursing

program.

En route to a national conference, Dr. Amber met Dr. Silver "just accidentally"

when they were seated "side-by-side on the airplane." Coincidentally, Dr. Amber's

daughter was "graduating from high school and trying to find a place to go to school." By

Dr. Amber's preference, her daughter specifically "needed a small, Black school" because

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she had been among only 15 or 20 Black students in her high school graduating class of more than 500 students, "she needed a different experience." Dr. Silver's institution was one of three HBCUs being considered by Dr. Amber's daughter. Then a position opened at Dr. Silver's institution, Dr. Amber was invited to apply. After 15 years as a single parent, "just the two of us," Dr. Amber recalls: "I had some real hesitation about coming . . . I felt that . . . we need[ed] a different experience." Although her initial plans had been to move closer to her family home on the Mid-Atlantic coast, Dr. Amber accepted the position at a public HBCU in the state where this study was conducted and has served in her current position as dean for 13 years.

As she describes her career, Dr. Amber says:

My commitment [has been] to HBCUs, this is the kind of place where I

want to be and the reward has to do with knowing that I made a different

for people who, without me, may not have had the opportunity.

Now, professionally and personally Dr. Amber's attention has begun to be drawn to new opportunities: "I am ready for change." Although she and her faculty are preparing for "an accreditation self-study report and an on-site visit from National Board [of an academic program] in August of this year, then from the [national accreditation commission of an academic program], she said, "I have some other things I'd like to do." Growing more philosophical with her increased years of experience, she observed, "In a position like this, if you do it and do it well, you get to keep doing it over and over and over." Among the professional activities that sustain her interest is her work as "coach for the campus All-Star College Bowl team." Pointing to the contraption that first

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garnered attention at the start of the interview, its purpose now crystal clear, she explains enthusiastically, "That's why these buzzers are on this table. . . . they come to practice three or four times a week." Noting that this is a departure from her health care background in which "everything is so important," she sees the academic bowl coaching as "broader and richer, things that don't have so much importance . . . in terms of people measuring the outcome and having the outcome being something that could be tragic."

After starting, stopping out, getting married, and returning to college, Dr. Amber's daughter earned an undergraduate degree at the (HBCU) where her mother works and is now married with two young children. Shortly after her first child was born, the daughter, her husband and their new baby boy visited Dr. Amber's mother in Georgia: "My mother rolled out the red carpet for them and they just had a wonderful time." In fact, they enjoyed themselves so much that while visiting, her son-in-law, a native of the state where this study was conducted, applied for jobs there. By October, he was offered and accepted work in Dr. Amber's home state on the Mid-Atlantic coast. By the first of the next year, the young family and Dr. Amber's grandson had moved: "They left me behind, they deserted me." But Dr. Amber, who remarried after moving to moving to the state where the study was conducted, talks with them regularly, "at least six or eight times a week," and sees them quite often.

Dr. Christy Sage. When I contacted Dr. Sage, with whom I have been personally acquainted since before high school, regarding participation in my study, we arranged a preliminary meeting at her office rather than the more formal contact used with other participants to discuss the details of the study and criteria for participation. Shortly

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before I arrived in her office for our meeting, Dr. Sage had come upon a set of photographs taken several months earlier. The photographs included group and individual pictures of several of her predecessors and former colleagues. She shared them with me as we began our pre-interview conversation, where we focused first on our shared interest in gathering and preserving mementos of earlier times, then on the research in which she agreed to participate.

A few weeks later, as we began the formal interview for the study, we revisited the matter of the photos, and Dr. Sage talked about the ways that her predecessors and past supervisors had contributed to her professional development. Among those in the pictures was the person who initially hired her "as a librarian." Describing this former supervisor, she said, "He was more hands-on . . . involved in different programs. . . . . He always taught the entire time that he was here. . . . He was very supportive, a mentor . . . while I was working on my doctorate." At one time, Dr. Sage and Dr. Ava Green (who was in one of the photographs and also participated in this study) had "offices in the same suite," but worked for different public higher education institutions. Another past supervisor in the photographs was described by Dr. Sage as:

> A really good example of leadership . . . He was a problem-solver . . . He would look at a problem from every angle, every direction, and come up with a solution. . . . He was a big picture person [who] looked at how [the institution] related in the community and where we were going, our goals and objectives. . . . It was really beneficial working with him.

she recognizes, "Your expectations are different . . . and you have to take that into consideration."

At the same time, because Dr. Sage's satellite campus is also affiliated with another educational entity, she cautioned "there's always been another [aspect] that you've had to respond to." As she described it, "If you're talking about [equipment], then you're talking to one set of people . . . and if you're talking about programmatic things . . . you're talking to another set of people . . . and the problems you've had kind of depended on who you've been respond to . . who the managing institution was." This reference to the managing institution refers to the series of transitions undergone by the State System Consortium Institution (SSCI) – a consortium of four public universities – which since its creation in 1982 has undergone several leadership and organizational changes. In 1999, oversight of the consortium was assigned to a public flagship university until 2001, when the consortium would be dissolved and participants established themselves individually in the greater metropolitan area.

Current plans for the reorganized facility include designation of a portion of the three building campus as a separate campus for Dr. Sage's institution (Tulsa World, 2001). As she contemplates her future in "this place of change," Dr. Sage says, "I try to go with the flow . . . I will observe whatever kinds of changes take place. We [her institution] plan to be here." Regarding her professional plans, she is somewhat more guarded:

I do think in terms of retirement . . . But I think retirement for me will be something that I switch doing . . . going back into the library is an option.

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I love the library. I love helping people find things. I'm on the board now

of Court Appointed Special Advocates (CASA) and I would love to have

time to be an advocate.

Dr. Sage and her younger sibling attended grade school and high school in a

segregated public schools; their mother and father were employed as teachers. Both her

parents are graduates of the HBCU where Dr. Sage is now employed. Now retired, her

parents play an active role in the lives of Dr. Sage's two children. Assessing the all-

around benefit of her parents' involvement, Dr. Sage observed,

That has been a blessing. I wonder about professional women, particularly

if you live in an area where you don't have family . . . some people . . .

have a family that can't or just don't choose to be as involved . . . which is

their choice. But could be difficult.

Dr. Sage went on to say that she was "glad that for professional women, it is viable . . .

that you can certainly live a very full life without having children."

Dr. Sage earned her Bachelor of Science degree in Political Science from a

historically Black, private university in the Midwest. Founded in 1887 and affiliated with

the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Sage's undergraduate alma mater is one of

the oldest Black administered institutions of higher education in the nation. Dr. Sage

described the Historically Black University (HBCU) "as exactly the right place for me to

be at that time." After completing her degree, she said, "[I] had no plans to go to library

school . . . I was in a particular place and someone said a particular thing, and I said,

'That would be good.' " So she accepted a fellowship at one of the largest, most

comprehensive public universities in the Northeast where she earned the Master of

Science degree in Library Science. Recalling that experience, Dr. Sage said, "[The

graduate school] was really wonderful . . . I really enjoyed the program." About her first

career choice, Dr. Sage noted, "My goal was to be come a librarian . . . more specifically

a librarian in a public library. Still to this day, if someone ever wanted to punish me, it

would be to take books away from me." She began her doctoral studies at a State System

flagship university in her home state after starting to work in higher education. About her

doctoral studies, Dr. Sage commented, "I had a great time. I enjoyed it . . . [her advisor]

and I were in tune with each other." Reflecting on her educational experiences overall,

Dr. Sage enthusiastically stated, "I like school. So each phase I enjoyed."

As her mentor did, Dr. Sage combines her administrative assignment with

teaching in education and psychology, often interdisciplinary courses, "educational

seminars, some in library science." In her view, "It [teaching] keeps you in the mix . . .

and you get to meet students and they get to see you in a different way."

As a seasoned administrator who has attended and built her career primarily in

HBCU settings, Dr. Sage expressed concern about "how society views it [the HBCU

setting] and its need." She pointed out that

> as an administrator I consistently am in meetings and I'm the only person
>
> of color in the room. . . . I'm not uncomfortable, personally . . . but I think
>
> that we as a nation really have not lived up to our responsibilities in that
>
> regard.

She also noted that

> Our problems [sic] in higher education . . . specific to women
>
> administrators, particularly minority women administrators, is kind of a
>
> big picture thing. And I think, a lot of people feel that 'Oh, we've solved
>
> all that now.' But then you look at the hard facts, the numbers. And I
>
> don't know. . . . Another point of view [often expressed] is 'Let's move
>
> on.' How can we move on? If you're doing a mathematical problem, you
>
> can't move on until you've gone through that step and we [society] haven't
>
> gone through those steps. . . . The work that has to be done hasn't been
>
> done.

She goes on to wonder,

> How do we teach all these great and wonderful things . . . and when we're
>
> not doing them? I don't know if they're even cognizant of, 'Oh, gee, are
>
> we really doing this?'

Ms. Victoria Blue. The toy collection was the very first thing I noticed upon

entering Ms. Blue's office in the Health and Physical Education complex of public twp-

year college. Miniature toys were displayed on nearly every flat surface. I learned later

that Ms. Blue's collection includes a full set of almost all the McDonald's Happy Meals

collectibles – many of the items on display are quite valuable and her collection is

extensive enough that she occasionally rotates those on display. The next think I noticed

was the framed poster by artist Ernie Barnes which depicts a proud Black woman in

academic regalia, diploma in hand, striding purposefully down the street and into the

future. This was the first interview of the study. It was conducted in Ms. Blue's office amidst the toys and the sounds of the women's basketball team practicing down the hallway. As we begin the interview, I am aware that these are comfortable, welcoming surroundings – it is easy to imagine students coming here for advice and counsel.

Although she grew up only 20 miles away, when the president of the nearby public two-year college invited her to interview for a part-time position in the physical education program, Ms. Blue says, "I had to stop at a service station to ask how to get there." The directions she received were thorough and she got the job which started about three days after she was hired, as the first Black faculty member in college history, to teach swimming, dancing and other health and physical education classes. Recalling her earliest assignments, Ms. Blue said,

Thanks to my older brothers, I was qualified as an instructor in water

safety and lifeguarding and that's what they [the college] needed. . . . I

taught ballroom dance and I taught square dance [which] taught me to

listen since square dance is 90 percent listening to the calls.

By the Spring semester, Ms. Blue was hired as the first full-time physical education instructor in the college's history. About her first promotion, she recalls, "Of course, I was only making 350 dollars, that was before taxes . . . I was on cloud nine."

At that time, "enrollment at the college was about 650 students' (about the size of the high school from which Ms. Blue had graduated) and, according to Ms. Blue, the president of the college

[was] very close with the faculty members. He was interested in what I

wanted to do , as far was working on my masters. . . . He made me an offer

– if I wanted to go back to school, they would pay for it.

So, despite having said about her undergraduate experience, "If I ever get this four years

[completed] . . . I will never go back to school again," Ms. Blue completed the Master of

Science degree in Junior College Teaching, a relatively new program at a nearby public

university. While she was attending night classes herself, Ms. Blue's teaching load

included at least one class typically scheduled from 9:30 p.m. to 11:10 p.m. A former

colleague, who was at that time dean of women, helped Ms. Blue "set up my [Ms. Blue's]

personal health class on an individual instruction basis . . . [which] made things a lot

easier." The same colleague, whom Ms. Blue considered a mentor, assisted Ms. Blue in

adapting these materials for a project related to one of her graduate courses.

A gradual increase in administrative work was accompanied by a reduction in Ms.

Blue's teaching, as she explains

They sent me to the [satellite] campus [as Director] for the Fitness Center

there . . . and my swimming ended . . . when I came back to the [main]

campus as Dean of Women, I also teach and I'm still doing [the] Fitness

Centers.

As Ms. Blue noted, the strenuous work of teaching swimming for 20 years had its own

benefits, "Those twenty years I never worried about a weight problem . . . I stopped

teaching it, now I'm going to Weight Watchers." It has often surprised people to learn

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that the swimming teaching is a minority and a female. Debunking the myth that "Blacks can't swim," Ms. Blue points out

> that's not true . . . [but] when they build low income housing, what do they
>
> put out there with that cement? Basketball goals. They don't pour
>
> swimming pools. So [sometimes] . . . we are a product of our
>
> environment.

With 29 years of experience in one institution, Ms. Blue has seen major changes in the institution as well as the student body. As a person who is, in her words, "student-oriented," Ms. Blue notes, "I see the difference in our students . . . Black students don't get involved . . . their priorities are not what they should be." As a consequence, the campus organization for Black students, started during Ms. Blue's first year of teaching, is no longer an active organization, despite the availability of willing sponsors and supporters. Ms. Blue said, "Nobody will even show up for the meetings. . . . On the other hand, when they have problems, they'll come to me." In Ms. Blue's view, some of those problems appear related to lack of sensitivity on the part of faculty and staff: "Sensitivity is awareness . . . I don't think [many] ever thought about sensitivity or about treatment." Still, Ms. Blue recognizes that she too is not universally well-liked by students, in her words, "Because I'm going to be more demanding. Because I want them to excel." She notes that

> after they leave . . . sometimes they make a special trip to come back,
>
> sometimes they call . . . and they [say], 'Well, we understand why. . . . We
>
> didn't know it was [going to] be like this.

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Their comments indicate their understanding of the value of Ms. Blue's higher expectations.

A graduate of the racially segregated schools in her hometown in the northeast part of the state in which this study was conducted, Ms. Blue said, "I think that I had the best [education], because we had teachers who actually were concerned about us and our future." After graduation, she attended an HBCU in her home state for one semester, then transferred to the public university near her home due largely to "economics." Although her parents were not college graduates, Ms. Blue and her two older brothers were encouraged to value education, especially by her mother: "My mom [said emphatically], 'All three of my kids will graduate from college.' " Although she married in her third year of college and moved with her husband to an adjacent state, Ms. Blue, returned home to graduate from college. By that time, she had a daughter and her "husband had dropped out of college to work to support the family."

Being "the first" can be challenging. When she was hired, the President of the college let her know

> that he wanted me [Ms. Blue] to help with the Black students because the
>
> number of Black students had increased . . . and he thought there was a
>
> possibility that we may experience some type of violence.

Not only was she the first Black faculty member, Ms. Blue was the youngest among the five women faculty members at the College. Recalling those days, she said: "When I was pregnant with my son, they had nothing in the handbook about maternity leave because [the president] said, 'Well, I've never had to deal with this before.'" At age 22 in

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her first career position, seemingly simple matters such as proper dress also were matters of concern, as Ms. Blue recalled:

> That was the first year that women could actually wear pants to work . . .
>
> I'd wear my little mini-dresses . . . and I kept thinking, 'I hope these are
>
> professional.' . . . All the other women [seemed] real matronly.

Encouraged by the college president to live in the small town where college was located, Ms. Blue was alert to but undeterred by life with her daughter and eventually her son, in that very rural community while her husband finished his degree on a varsity basketball scholarship at the public university, nearly 50 miles away. Thoughtfully describing her early, unrealized concerns as she relocated, Ms. Blue said:

> I thought if anyone ever calls me 'the N-word' I don't know how I'll
>
> handle that . . . Now I could ignore it totally. But then, those were things
>
> you didn't ignore.

Among other things, adapting to small town life meant adjusting to being one of the few Black families in the community, Ms. Blue said, describing an early incident in a local store:

> People would come up and ask, 'Are you the new colored teacher at the
>
> college?' I had to assess the whole situation [to realize], they were just
>
> being kind and cordial . . . that [was] the only way they knew.

It also meant becoming accustomed to driving long distances. Now, she said, "I've traveled so much, I don't think anything about driving an hour and 15 minutes to go shopping. . . . You don't have anything [in the town] that you're accustomed to."

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On the other hand, Ms. Blue readily acknowledges that, although she chose to have her children attend public schools in a somewhat larger community nearby, she and her family have benefitted from this small town, rural environment: "A lot of the experiences that they [her children] had, as far as the experiences I could provide for them, never would it have happened anywhere else except [here]." Noting that at age 15 her son attended "basketball camp at the [a state-supported, comprehensive university in the Southeast, well-known for its athletics programs]" through connections with one of Ms. Blue's former students and her daughter traveled to Mexico three times through school clubs and the family's involvement in [a youth service organization], Ms. Blue said:

> You don't get to travel to Mexico when you're Black and you come from a
> single parent home . . . [but] we traveled, we did things. . . . [I] let them
> know that you don't limit yourself, just because you grew up in a town
> where there's no traffic light that doesn't mean that you have to live
> [there] forever.

It would appear that those lessons were well-learned; Ms. Blue's daughter now lives in the western United States and her son, who earned his baccalaureate degree at his mother's alma mater, is in his second year as an assistant basketball coach.

Ms. Blue recognizes that growing up with two older, athletic brothers greatly influenced her outlook and her approach to her career, noting that she learned early: "What does society teach us? It's OK [for girls] to cry. Guys don't cry. It's OK for a man to display anger in public, but not a woman."

Ms. Delores Forest.   The most notable distinction of this interview was the urban

environment of the campus: parking meters, multi-story buildings, no grassy lawns and

few students visible. This is the setting of an urban community college campus, from the

outside. However, inside, past the sleek-office-building style elevator lobby, upstairs the

faculty and administrative offices resemble those on most campuses – dry erase message

boards with pencils on strings, comics and newspaper articles on doors and interior office

windows, and an abundance of visible paper. The waiting area adjacent to Ms. Forest's

office was tidy, with copies of the campus newspaper prominently available for visitors.

A stream of visitors checked with the secretaries about a variety of questions and left

smiling, appearing to have received satisfactory responses. Ms. Forest's office was filled

with books, papers, memorabilia, computers and a large desk, almost completely covered

with more books and papers. Together, the two spaces had an aura of comfortable

efficiency.

Delores Forest began teaching at the elementary level in the local school system in

the late 1960s, the early years of desegregation. She recalls: "Because I hadn't

completed my three-year probation [period], I had to resign when I got pregnant . . . those

that were not married were terminated." When she re-applied after the baby was born,

Ms. Forest said "they wanted to start me at zero-level, as a new teacher." She noted

"they've since changed that rule." However, during her resignation period, Ms. Forest

responded to a newspaper classified advertisement for adjunct faculty at the local two-

year college and was hired for the summer term. Although she returned to the public

schools in the fall term, she continued her adjunct work at the two-year college. At the

end of the year, she was forced to choose between the two when the two-year college "asked me [Ms. Forest] to come on full-time." She recalls the difficulty of the decision: "I loved teaching and I loved my elementary kids . . . but I grew to love these [college students] as well." And for 15 years, Ms. Forest "worked as a faculty member." Then she was asked to serve as a "faculty assistant" which she described as "the best of both worlds . . . I could teach and be free to do some administrative work with my former supervisor." After seven years as a faculty assistant, Ms. Forest was chosen as division chairperson, serving in a capacity similar to that of an academic dean on most four-year college campuses.

As division chairperson, Ms. Forest has been responsible for four academic departments, approximately 16 faculty members and an assortment of staff and student employees, management oversight of three labs, and the campus newspaper. She also has been called upon to serve the college in other ways, including "the chance to work on key college committees" such as the Assessment and Institutional Effectiveness Committee and the Retention Committee, both of which she co-chaired for several years. In addition, Ms. Forest "started the campus Customer Service Committee" and she has worked with the United Way Campaign. At the time of our interview, she had recently "agreed to serve as advisor to the Afro-American Student Alliance group" in the coming academic year, an opportunity that she described as "a challenge for me and I'm excited about that." She also noted that she "received the first Award of Excellence for the campus." Only the second Black person to be selected as a division chairperson in college history, Ms. Forest was the only Black female division chairperson at the college until the late 1990s. Since

that time, two more Black women have become division chairpersons, one of them participated in this study while the other declined the invitation to participate.

Ms. Forest is quick to point out that her joy is "the people, [they] really are the best parts of my job." She demonstrates this through her open door policy for the division office and her successful efforts to encourage faculty to "feel comfortable coming in and visiting about new ideas." In addition, Ms. Forest extends her enjoyment of people by continuing to teach on an overload basis. Describing her teaching role, she said: "I love it so . . . I teach a class [weekly] and I love that . . . I do it almost every semester." Along with the assigned subject matter in her courses, Ms. Forest emphasizes student development, particularly the importance of taking responsibility for one's learning. She described a frequent interaction in her courses:

I say to my students, 'Every faculty [member] has a pet peeve [and] I want

you to know [that] mine is sometimes I become more interested in

students' learning than students are. So if I go into your private domain

and become more interested in your learning than you are, just kindly tell

me. And I'll try to assume that learning is no the major reason why you're

taking this class.'

Ms. Forest was born in the South and moved to the State in which this study was conducted as a young girl, attending a racially segregated junior high school and high school in an urban setting. She earned her Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education degree from a public HBCU and her Master of Science in Education from a different public university. In addition, Ms. Forest has completed graduate hours above the

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Master's at a local private university and a public flagship university. Explaining the

benefit of attending the HBCU as an undergraduate student, she said:

> I wouldn't trade anything for my undergraduate degree . . . I received the
>
> richest heritage that I could receive . . . I was not ever given an option of
>
> doing less than my best . . . Even now, when I sign my name to
>
> something, I have a flashback of, 'Is this representative of you?' I have to
>
> make sure that it is the type of work that I want everyone to see and know
>
> that I wrote.

Although they are now divorced, Ms. Forest credited her former husband, a now-

retired public school administrator, with helping her gain an important perspective related

to her work and career: "I can separate things at work . . . I can separate issues from

people . . . [and] when I leave work, I leave work." She explained that while her former

husband was a school principal "he began to turn it off," leaving school business outside

their home. In her words:

> If there was a major blow-up, [teachers and others] would call and say,
>
> 'Well, I know he's already told you about this' and I [would say], 'No,
>
> because when he comes home, he's home.'

Ms. Forest further credited interests outside work with helping to foster this perspective:

> I have other avenues that have helped me . . . I love to cook . . . and I
>
> worked with my children when they were young . . . then I have my
>
> sorority . . . and my church. And when I come here [her campus], I totally
>
> lose myself in my work.

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Expressing particular pride in her sons, who are now twenty-nine and twenty-four years old, Ms. Forest noted, "They are good guys and I've been blessed in so many ways."

Dr. Dollie Lilac. Although we only met briefly many years before the interviews for this study, when we were both working in financial aid at different public universities, it seemed as if I already knew Dr. Dollie Lilac. Her career progress was somewhat familiar to me from the coverage it received in the local Black community newspaper and mutual, and distant acquaintances often mentioned her in relation to community action efforts in which they were involved. In short, we "knew each other by name" but not much more. We met in her office which was adorned with art posters and artifacts, many related to her travels in Africa. The space was simultaneously personable and business-like; two secretaries were located in the adjoining outer office. The arrangement of Dr. Lilac's furniture indicated that her preference might be to conduct most business in comfortable seating away from her desk and that is where the interview was conducted..

There she was, in the early 1970s. She had attended a public flagship university in her home state, majored in social science education, completed her student teaching (which at that time occurred in the final semester of enrollment), and, in her words, she "quickly realized I didn't want to be around high school students . . . I didn't want to be a teacher . . . I was boxed into a corner, what was I going to do?" Faced with this dilemma, Dr. Dollie Lilac graduated with her Bachelor of Science degree in social science education and promptly accepted a family member's invitation to move across the country to pursue graduate studies in African American history at a well-known private research university. And, because part of the graduate program was training African

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American teachers at the community college level, she completed an internship at a nearby two-year school and discovered that she had "found [her] niche." Describing her graduate education as "probably; one of the best experiences, growth experiences in my life," Dr. Lilac explained,

> it just opened my eyes to do much . . . in understanding this country, in terms of the deliberate efforts to conceal [history] . . . I had a chance to get involved in Pan African activities . . . I just really grew and I was really on my own for the first time.

Eventually Dr. Lilac accepted an adjunct faculty position at that community college, but in order to pay the bills she applied and was chosen for a position in the Admissions office. And that is how Dr. Dollie Lilac, now a division chairperson for behavioral sciences at a public urban community college, began her career as an administrator in higher education.

Dr. Lilac's mother's illness in the early 1980s brought her back to the Midwest as Director of Admissions at a private university in a nearby state, as she says: "I wanted to be closer to home." After her mother's death, moved back to her home state where initially she worked as a financial aid counselor "which was the job from H—." From there, Dr. Lilac moved to a smaller, 4-year public university where she was "an advisement counselor," actually "starting the advisement program there." About that time, Dr. Lilac says she

> started realizing that usually . . . there was some white male over me who might not have a doctorate but . . . some of them were pretty dead . . . and I

felt . . . I can . . . do this. I thought [what] was standing in my way was a

doctorate, so I enrolled in [a local private university's] educational

administration program and my emphasis was higher education.

Later when that university created the Office of Multicultural Affairs about a year before

Dr. Lilac completed her doctorate, she was chosen as its first director. After serving in

that capacity for about four years, she became Director of Orientation, a position she held

for less than two years before moving to the local higher education consortium as director

of Institutional Research. After three years there, in her words, "all the politics . . . it was

getting real crazy." So she left higher education to work in a local social service agency.

Of this four-month excursion, Dr. Lilac said, "It was good in the sense that it really made

me appreciate higher ed [sic] and understand myself better in terms of where I'm

comfortable . . . where my talents lie." After a year of independent consulting with the

local health department, about two years ago, Dr. Lilac accepted her current position.

Now Dr. Lilac describes herself as "right in between students, faculty and

administration, not much power." Still, she says, "I really love working in higher

education . . . [it] is such a stimulating environment . . . I love the fact of always working

with people. . . . I don't have as many as I used to have, but I love the interactions with

students." In fact, Dr. Lilac may add adjunct teaching to her schedule, "just so I can get a

chance to meet with students again." In addition to the comfortable environment, Dr.

Lilac enjoys "the flexibility of the schedule" which allows her to "come in on Saturday

and catch up" when necessary. She says, "You're still an educator . . . you're making

some things happen for people who are seeking an education."

Both Dr. Lilac's mother and father were college graduates. Before starting their family, her mother "had been a teacher." Her father, "an Army officer" and "college graduate through the military," was "kind of a traditional male, he wanted her to stay home and be with us." Dr. Lilac recalls that "education was always very important in our house . . . and I always like school . . . in our household there was no option – you were going to college." She recalled that her parents "were just very supportive in terms of education; helping with homework and giving us opportunities to experience things." Before her family moved to the Southwest when she was a young girl, Dr. Lilac attended school in an urban setting in the Southeast where "there was a very good educational system." Although she was accustomed to spending summers in the rural Southwest with her grandparents, moving and attending school in her new home state was a different situation. A self-described "loner" who enjoyed studying, Dr. Lilac remembers that the transition was difficult for her: "I didn't fit in here when I came. I talked funny . . . and I had been in an environment where you talked to all students." In her new rural school, which she describes as "slightly integrated, about 90 percent Black and 10 percent white,"that was not the case, and Dr. Lilac was teased by fellow Black students who said, "'Oh, she talks to white people.'"

Her parents' move to Tulsa a short time later meant that Dr. Lilac attended and graduated from Tulsa schools just as racial segregation was ending. Dr. Lilac recalled that her high school was among the first desegregated schools in the City. Describing herself at that time, Dr. Lilac says,

I was very studious, because again I didn't have a social life. I was an

angry teenager. That's when all the civil rights things . . . and all the

marches on television . . . I was seeing all that . . . and my parents didn't

let me get involved in much, they were protective.

Two significant incidents from high school stand out for her. The first, Dr. Lilac recalled,

was related to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

I was the only Black [student] in a government class and one of the

students yelled, 'I'm glad the commie is dead' and I just went off. . . .

Then I wrote my senior theme on 'White America, you lost the best friend

you ever had.' I got an 'A' on it, but it was militant.

The second incident was directly related to the first. In Dr. Lilac's own words:

I was going through that stage where I really was dealing with racism . . . I

was determined I was going to beat every white kid at [her high school]

and I did except for one. . . . I was salutatorian. They did not acknowledge

this at graduation. Now the [white valedictorian] got jilted too, because

they didn't recognize him. But they recognized all the student council

members, the class king and queen, and the class officers. There was no

mention of salutatorian or the valedictorian. My parents were very upset.

With her parents' encouragement and support, Dr. Lilac realized her dream of

attending a highly prestigious of the Historically Black Colleges and University in the

Southeast. A private university located on the Mid-Atlantic coast, the campus boasts a

picturesque waterfront and historic buildings and landmarks (Hampton University, 2001).

Founded in 1868 by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong as a Normal and Agricultural

Institute, the institution was designed to educate the newly-emancipated African

Americans. Now is in the midst of a highly successful $250 million capital campaign –

the largest ever conducted by a HBCU – this university recently was ranked 24th among

southern regional universities by U. S. News & World Report (Hampton University,

2001). Still, although her ties to that area were strong – she was born in a nearby coastal

city – her first year was marked by such homesickness that, she recalled, "they [her

parents] brought me back to my home state my sophomore year." Reflecting on those

college years, Dr. Lilac, said:

> I have had a lot of varied experiences . . . there I had a Black institution . . .
>
> [like] you could see [in] Spike Lee's 'School Days' . . . and then [to] have
>
> been in a white environment.

Always active in local community affairs, Dr. Lilac's attention is now refocused

more on family, as she said: "I'm not nearly as involved in the community." She is

married now and has a twelve-year-old daughter who commands her time and attention.

Although she described herself as "late in going into the maternal," Dr. Lilac noted "the

marriage thing, that's becoming more a focus for me."

The Pioneers

Ms. Glenda Rose. In part, the tone of the interview was set even before I began

the trip, when my parents decided to accompany me for this visit to my father's alma

mater. Although the campus is less than 100 miles from their home, my dad speculated

they had not visited there for at least 25 years. His excitement at the prospect of finding

past landmarks was contagious and provided fuel for several great stories from his college days. Although they declined an opportunity for a formal campus tour, my parents strolled the campus, perused the student center and bookstore and visited a nearby town while Ms. Rose and I conducted our interview.

Her office is located, not surprisingly, in the Administration Building which, again not surprisingly, had a pristine, business-like atmosphere. The outer office was spacious and formal. Even office visitors and students seemed more poised, in keeping with the setting. Above the entrance to Ms. Rose's personal office was a banner marking the celebration of her twenty-first year of employment with the institution. Her office was large, tastefully appointed with precisely arranged African artifacts and carvings, all very orderly. The office and Ms. Rose's clear and precise manner of speaking gave a sense of refined, formality to the interview itself.

Ms. Rose chose her undergraduate college on the basis of proximity and immediate employment opportunity. She said, she "sought an entry level position . . . so I could work on a bachelor's degree at the same time." Married right after high school graduation, Ms. Rose by then had one child and "realized I [Ms. Rose] needed to get back to school but I needed to keep working." She accepted an entry level position as a receptionist in the university president's office and, she recalled, "enrolled in about three hours per semester until I chipped away at that degree and finally got it done." She estimated it took her "approximately eight to ten years" to finish her bachelor's degree but throughout that time, she said, "I was trying to explore as much information and observe as much as I could . . . in order to become an administrator in higher education."

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Her supervisor, the university president, gave her "a lot of encouragement." Through

promotion after promotion within the president's office, Ms. Rose "was able to work

[her] way up to the position of President's Chief of Staff."

Ms. Rose noted that "because he [the university president] knew the track that I

was trying to follow [into administration]," her services were often "loaned" to university

vice presidents who needed assistance with projects. She credits this practice with

allowing her to "gain a lot of different experience." Remaining on the president's staff, in

his office, also allowed Ms. Rose, in her words,

> to observe him right from his side for over 19 years which was invaluable
>
> to me. I learned all about the operations of the university, how higher
>
> education works . . . things a lot of people in higher education may or may
>
> not ever know.

After her nineteenth year at the university, Ms. Rose was assigned to assist the newly

appointed Vice President for Fiscal and Administrative Affairs, as she described it, "to

take on a portion of their [sic] duties until they [sic] became oriented to the university."

Although she retained her duties as the president's chief of staff, she said, "that is the

point where I separated from his office; he moved me out of his office." Two years later,

the new vice president "separated from the university" and Ms. Rose, who by then had

also earned her Master of Business Administration degree from a public four-year

university, was asked by the president to serve as Acting Vice President. With his

assurance that she "would have the necessary consultants" and support, she accepted that

invitation. In her position for eight months at the time of our interview, Ms. Rose

observed, "we are leveling off and feeling much more comfortable and learning new things everyday."

A native of a nearby small but historical town, Ms. Rose has attained the highest level of administrative position held by any Black women in the State System. On the way to that achievement, she explained, she has "learned a lot of valuable lessons." Among those lessons are "there's always more than one way to do something"and "you should work at your goal at your own pace." Additionally, she has learned the lessons of persistence, as she said, "if someone tells you 'no' . . . that means you just need to go back to the drawing board and figure out another way to do it." From the beginning, she said, "I wanted to be an attorney or president of *something*. [emphasis hers]." She set her sights on higher education after careful reflection:

> I want to do a good job at whatever it is I want to do . . . so if it were my
> responsibility [as an attorney] to get that [guilty] person off, that would be
> what I would be trying to do, although my conscience would not be
> clear. . . . Weighing that against all the things involved in being a
> president, I couldn't get enough negatives [about] being president of
> something to even balance the scale.

She went on to observe that, "Everything pretty much that you do [as president of something] is beneficial for individuals. I really preferred doing things that were beneficial for all involved."

Although she has now remarried, as "a single mother for about nine years," Ms. Rose learned to be independent and to value "the importance of family." She said, "I

know the importance of separating work from your family." At the time of our interview, her daughter, a varsity athlete at a public flagship university, was scheduled to graduate in May, 2001. Proud of her daughter's decision to forego another season of varsity athletics and put education first, Ms. Rose described the career wisdom she has shared with her:

> I [Ms. Rose] can't tell my daughter enough, 'When you're trying to decide
>
> what you're going to do as a career, be sure you're going to enjoy it
>
> because this is something you're going to have to do day after day after
>
> day, year after year.'

Several years ago when she was a receptionist in the university president's office, Glenda Rose recalled that she was thrilled when the president enlisted her to produce a report: "I worked diligently . . . stayed up all night, was up bright and early because I was proud of what I had done." She presented her work to him, he glanced it over, returned it to her, and said, "Take it back . . . I think you can do better." Because he had not been specific, Ms. Rose said she felt she "had to go back through it to see where I could spruce it up" and, after giving it her best shot again, she presented it to the president again the next day. Again, she recalled, "he looked it over briefly and said, 'Well, I don't think you're there yet. I think you can do better' " and returned it to her. This time, she said, "My feelings weren't just hurt, I was confused. . . . But I went through it with a fine-toothed comb to present to him the next day." After making sure "he had a block of time on his schedule," Ms. Rose said she took in the report and told him, "I would like to sit with you this time so you can tell me specifically what I need to work on. . . . I have done the best that I can." At that, she said, the president responded, "Well, then that's fine. I

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just wanted to be sure that this was the best that you could do." Ms. Rose used that story to introduce the president at a gathering of university personnel, one of her first official duties after being appointed Acting Vice President for Fiscal and Administrative Affairs. In telling the story, she said, "My point was . . . to make sure you're doing the best that you can." That point will likely serve her well as she pursues her "aspiration to be the president of a university."

Ms. Maxine Royal. After several days (and evenings) of "telephone tag" at our offices, then our homes, Maxine Royal and I finally made our telephone contact to discuss her participation in this study. We quickly went through the details of the study, with what I sensed was at least a little hesitation, she agreed to participate, and we set the date, time and place. Then we chatted briefly. Then we talked; we talked about our work, we talked about our institutions, we talked about our families. In the end, never having met in person, we talked freely for more than an hour. Our conversation was, by far, the longest of the initial contacts.

A few weeks later, when I arrived on her campus for our interview, we picked up our conversation and began our visit by touring some of the impressive student facilities on her campus. In the course of our tour, I was introduced to several students and some of her staff and colleagues. Although, at the time of our interview, Ms. Royal had been in her current position as Interim Dean for only a few months, she had worked on this campus for nearly eight years and was quite friendly with students and staff alike. Her office was tidy – books and personal artifacts were displayed, and the office atmosphere was business comfortable, no-nonsense, not at all cluttered, just as Ms. Royal was.

Maxine Royal was "born and raised" in the town where she now works. Her

mother, who is German, and her father met in Germany while he was in the military and,

she recalled, "for a brief period when I was very, very young we moved back to Germany

and came back." She attended the local public school system from second grade through

high school, earning excellent grades and participating in a variety of student activities.

In fact, Ms. Royal credits her early academic record with many of her earliest

opportunities:

> Starting from high school, it had to have been the grades, because based on
>
> the grades and leadership activities I [Ms. Royal] received the PLUS
>
> scholarship. And since I had the PLUS scholarship and since I was in the
>
> right place at the right time, I became a student worker in the President's
>
> Office. . . . I think [it was] grades and good luck.

The Presidential Leadership University Scholar (PLUS) scholarship was among

the most prestigious awards at her hometown public university and offered its recipients

the opportunity to become acquainted with the president and most of the other top

officials at the university. Describing the impact of that opportunity, Ms. Royal recalled,

"I always wanted then to work in higher education, always thought about it, always liked

it . . . the whole atmosphere at the university." But when she graduated, "there were no

positions available" so she accepted work as a computer programmer for an international

corporation with a major installation in a nearby town. For two years, Ms. Royal

"checked in often [to] see what was available" at the university and finally learned of a

new position, Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action, Diversity Issues and

University Policy Development. Following the suggestion of the university president

who said to her, "You might want to apply for that position; I think you'd do well if you

got that position," Ms. Royal applied and was selected as the first person to hold the

position. A few years later, when even "the President . . . couldn't remember the exact

title I had either," her somewhat cumbersome job title was changed to Assistant to the

President for Equity Issues.

During her eight years in this position, Ms. Royal's "focus always ended up being

affirmative action." Ms. Royal "was basically in charge of compliance with federal and

state equal opportunity laws and regulations . . . discrimination complaints, sexual

harassment, ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) . . . EEOC (Equal Employment

Opportunity Commission) complaints." In addition, she worked closely with the campus

Multicultural and Disabled Serviced Director to implement several programs aimed at

"enhancing race relations." Ms. Royal also administered the Family Medical Leave Act

(FMLA), a program usually associated with Human Resources. Explaining this anomaly,

Ms. Royal said, "I really have always wanted to get into Human Resources, so I thought,

if I could get more human resources functions under me, that's what I would do."

Because, as she observed, "in small colleges you do a lot," Ms. Royal's range of

administrative experiences is broader and deeper than her counterparts at most larger

institutions: For example, as she pointed out, "at some Universities they [affirmative

action officers] don't handle EEOC complaints . . . the legal counsel does that." Another

example is her experience in the accreditation process, chairing the Criterion Five Task

Force on Institutional Integrity for the recent visit by North Central Association of

Schools. Describing this opportunity, Ms. Royal said, "that was a wonderful experience to be in charge of a committee with deans and vice presidents . . . to get everybody to work together." Her youth relative to the other members of the committee was not detrimental to the successful completion of the assigned work. However, Ms. Royal did observe, "Actually, I would prefer to be older because part of what you get, as far as I'm concerned, with being older and having that experience, is respect."

Actively engaged in her professional interests, Ms. Royal served as a member of the Governor's Task Force on ADA and as a member, and eventually as president, of the Executive Board of the state professional organization for affirmative action. In addition, Ms. Royal served on the local Human Rights and Relations Commission, a position she"really wanted" but accepted only after convincing the university president, "if there's any conflict with [the University], I either won't hear the case or I'd [sic] actually resign." She participated in her local community leadership program and served on the Board of that organization for two years, resigning only when she moved to her current position because, in her words, "it was all becoming a bit much."

As the single parent of three young children, Ms. Royal is accustomed to maintaining a balance between her work and her family. Before she came to higher education, while working in private industry, although her position paid well, the daily 60-mile commute was a challenge. Often, her colleagues were interested in extending the work day but, with a child in daycare, it was seldom possible for her to do so. Still, she refrained from acting on the advice of friends whom she said told her, "it's really important to just get your foot in the door" and encouraged her to accept a secretarial

position at the university, or anything else that might become available. But, even

carefully evaluating that option, Ms. Royal said she thought,

> I have a bachelor's degree and my intention was not to come back to be a
>
> secretary, just to get my foot in the door . . . that was not acceptable to me
>
> to do that.

Now, Ms. Royal recognizes the prescience in her conviction:

> I think sometimes you're pigeon-holed in the positions you're in. . . . Had
>
> I come in as a secretary . . . I think [moving up] would have been much
>
> more difficult.

Completing the Master of Public Administration degree at a public flagship

university has meant commuting again, this time nearly 200 miles roundtrip, sometimes

more than once per week. Although she does not feel that her job performance or career

advancement have suffered, Ms. Royal expressed concern that it may be "a situation that

gets taken into account sometimes." She said that she is "blessed to have my mother who

babysits for me," supporting her commitment: "I [Ms. Royal] will only do so much in my

job, I'm not going to let my children suffer that much." Her master's work was scheduled

for completion in Spring, 2001 and Ms. Royal acknowledged, "I will not miss the time

crunch doing this and the kids and all that." However, she said,

> I love going to school. I love class, I love debating, I love talking about
>
> issues and voicing my opinion and all that fun stuff . . . I think I want to
>
> get my Ph.D. . . . [when] my kids are older, way older.

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Helen Skye. After touring two large, multi-level parking facilities and meeting

two very personable and patient parking attendants at the urban Health Sciences

Complex, it became clear I was simply in the wrong place. A telephone call got me

redirected to Ms. Skye's office building which was actually on the outer edge of the

complex. After working through that building's parking security system, I entered the

building expecting the standard interview procedure – exchange of hello niceties,

completion of the required interview protocol, responses to the questions, and exchange

of hope-to-see-you-again niceties. I didn't consider the pleasant possibility that I might

also get a rich introduction to public health medical education and policy.

Our interview (and my lessons) took place in a combination conference room/

classroom near Ms. Skye's office. Her assistant, through whom I had made the initial

arrangements for the interview and from whom I had received the clarifying driving

directions, greeted me and exchanged pleasantries, including a few questions about the

study and suggestions of other possible participants on the teaching staff of the medical

school. The room which was equipped with whiteboards and easels and featured colorful

posters and printed materials which I learned later were related to Ms. Skye's work in the

multidisciplinary medical education program.

Helen Skye is an administrator at the medical school of a public flagship

university. As her formal title implies, her work encompasses several areas of medical

education: multidisciplinary education, faculty development and community service

health education. When Ms. Skye began her work in multidisciplinary medical education

11 years, it was a new field. Now, the field has developed enough to spawn a national

organization for the people who "work across areas of medicine or between medicine and other health professions or other disciplines." As an example of the work done in this field, Ms. Skye described how the various medical disciplines of "geriatrics, pediatrics, and disabilities" along with "the allied health professions [such as] physical therapy, occupational therapy and dentistry" must cooperate for the successful treatment of a person with a development disability. Although she is not a physician, Ms. Skye annually has received some $3 million in grants and contract funds for an education and outreach program that trains people from all those fields to work together. As director of faculty development for all the schools within the medical school, Ms. Skye annually has delivered more than 40 workshop sessions for faculty. As she explained it, "the whole place [the medical school and related facilities] is made up of people, we don't make things, we actually invest all our talents in other people, along with students" through the faculty development program. Her community service education work has focused on a statewide initiative to improve public health outcomes in a state that "is in the bottom five states in terms fo the health status of its population." Representing a paradigm shift from the traditional "top down" method of public health planning, this initiative, through the State Health Department, "has aims to establish a partnership approach to bring together professionals and community members to determine the community and state resources needed to address a given health problem." In all three components of her work, Ms. Skye said she "works mostly with adult learners, faculty types . . . community teaching . . . getting people around a table, helping them identify and solve problems."

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Ms. Skye grew up as an only child in the urban Northeast, where her mother still lives. Many of her summers were spent on her grandparents' farm in the South. Her father died when she was very young and she described her relationship with her mother as "very close," noting "it been the two of us . . . when my grandmother was alive, it was the three of us." Although her mother "likes [the state in which Ms. Skye now resides]" Ms. Skye said, "she doesn't like being away from her house" so "she comes out visit when I [Ms. Skye] can talk her into it." Describing her mother's support and encouragement, Ms. Skye said,

> She tries to help me think through things, but she's never said, 'Oh, please don't do that . . . [or] don't go there.' She's never done anything to hold me back and has always promoted my interests.

As an undergraduate student at a well-known, private research university in the Northeast, Ms. Skye majored in biology and psychology and minored in English. As a student assistant, she worked in the lab that bred the two lines of rats sold by the university; among her jobs was testing the rates for performance consistency. About that work, Ms. Skye said, "I did a lot of work in genetics in psychology and biology." In fact, she recalled,

> When I was working in the lab, I actually started loving it a little too much. . . . I could stay up there all night long. My mother and grandmother [were concerned that] I could become one of those weird science guys with wild hair and [a] little white coat with stuff all in my pocket because I loved it, it was fun.

So, she said,

> When I decided about graduate school, instead of going into clinical
>
> psychology, I went into public administration . . . I thought I probably
>
> need[ed] to something more public, more out in the world.

She stayed on at the university and pursued her master's degree in public administration

and "planned [her] whole background around hospital administration and administration

of some research programs."

Toward the end of her studies, she recalls that the dean of her program said to her,

"I have nominated you for something and if you get it, you must do it." That something

turned out to be "a presidential management internship," a program for which "they select

about 250 out of about 1,000 applicants to go into mid-level management positions in the

federal agencies. And so, Ms. Skye gave up her hospital administration aspirations and

became "a really junior level person" on the staff an executive in the U. S. Department

of Health and Human Services, eventually becoming the first Executive Director of a

national women's health initiative. One of the largest prevention studies of its kind, this

on-going federal research project was established to examine the major causes of death,

disability and frailty in postmenopausal women. (U. S. Department of Health & Human

Services, 1999).

During her work with the federal government, one of Ms. Skye's supervisors took

on the role of mentor and they established a working relationship which has continued for

more than ten years. Describing that relationship, Ms. Skye said, "With his

encouragement, she made the transition to academia, working first at a prestigious,

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public, land-grant university in the Mid-Atlantic region and now at a public flagship

university in the Southwest. During her first job in higher education, Ms. Skye began her

doctoral studies in public health administration. After the cross-country move, she

stopped out of the program and

> just got into graduate school again because other people are saying to me
>
> [Ms. Skye], 'You need to have the credential.' I actually don't care about
>
> the credential . . . because I think it' show you use your knowledge, more
>
> so than the letters you have after your name.

A self-described bibliophile, Ms. Skye observed,

> There's something about being in school, especially with adult learners.
>
> . . . I actually love knowledge. I love learning. I think that the brain is one
>
> of the most incredible things God ever gave us.

> Ms. Eva Teal. When Ms. Teal told her family that she was moving to the

Southwest, their responses, as she recalled them were not exactly enthusiastic, asking her

to explain where exactly her new home state was located and "Why do you want to go

there?" Even now, several years later, among her friends and family in the East and in

her Midwestern home state, still "there is no real concept" of where she lives now. But

Ms. Adams said, in spite of her new home state's many drawbacks, "I love it here . . . it's

the one place where my soul feels it belongs."

Trained at the undergraduate level as a physical anthropologist at a prestigious

women's liberal arts college in New England, Ms. Teal made her way to the Southwest

and earned a master's degree in anthropology from a public flagship university in her new

home state. Her first postgraduate work in anthropology required relocating to a surrounding state. When her contract work as an anthropologist there ended, she recalled: "Suddenly I [Ms. Teal] needed a new career . . . and I just kept missing [the Southwest]." After a period of "just wandering, deciding what to do with my life," Ms. Teal said she "came back to [her adopted home state] and just started applying for jobs." During this time, she had decided to become an architect, and "even went trying to study architecture for a while." Without a degree in architecture, she landed a job doing project coordination work for an architectural firm and soon recognized "it really wasn't working out." The period of introspection that followed that realization led her to understand that her talents and strengths were well-suited to work in educational administration. And, in her words:

> I just started applying for jobs in higher education . . . started reading the
>
> Chronicle of Higher Ed [sic] . . . just applying anywhere, but really wanted
>
> to stay [in her adopted home state] . . . . I knew I wanted to be a dean.

Then, as she recalled, "suddenly there was a position for an assistant dean [in her adopted home state]. As soon as I saw that job, I said, 'Oh, that's my job.' " And for the past three years, Ms. Teal has held the position of Assistant Dean in an academic unit of a public flagship university.

When she began this position, Ms. Teal "started out as a staff person, doing a lot of administrative things [such as] managing fellowship programs . . . doing all the work required for it." Under a new dean, in the past year, her responsibilities have moved "more into leadership areas . . . working with enrollment management and developing

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ways to increase the number of students at the university." In this new vein, she has been "involved in the budget process [of her college] and managing the financial resources and trying to develop programs rather than just monitor them." Although she readily pointed out that "this career is short," Ms. Teal clearly articulated her understanding of the administrative challenge when she said,

> There's something about the administrative side. I like puzzles and
>
> problem solving . . . it's a three-dimensional, real live puzzle that you're
>
> trying to work out. How do you get these resources coordinated in the
>
> most effective place? How do you get these people to work together?

> Ms. Teal credits her training in anthropology for providing her exceptional

insights into the work environment. As she described it, anthropology involved "watching what happens when people do certain things and beginning to read the whole situation." Through that lens, she has observed, for example, "faculty members who think, 'Oh, I can be a dean,' " but who are "not politically astute . . . they don't know how to watch a situation" and who have usually just made some other statement that "if [they] were in [the deans's] position, [they] would have lost [their] job." Ms. Teal further explained another lesson from anthropology when she said,

> One of the first things you learn in anthropology is that the Natives will
>
> always tell you that they never marry their sisters. But as soon as you do
>
> the kinship chart, the only people they ever marry are their sisters. . . .
>
> They have a very logical explanation, 'Once I married them, they were no

longer my sister, their status changed.' In [the Natives'] minds, it is all so rationalized.

She reported finding almost daily applications for this lesson because often "what people say they're doing and what they're really doing, don't match." Through her anthropology background, Ms. Teal understands how "to figure out where they don't match and how it's been rationalized." In that way, she said, "[one] can really watch."

Ms. Teal grew up in Illinois and "went to high school in a Midwestern community which is in the very center of the state which is almost in the center of the country." Although she recalled that her high school "as notoriously prejudiced" and that her high school counselors "weren't very helpful," Ms. Teal was encouraged by one of her teachers to consider attending a liberal arts college for women in New England. Ms. Teal described this teacher as "the first person who ever had pulled me aside and gave me some direction, a white woman." In the summer before her senior year in high school, Ms Teal and her parents embarked on the traditional college tour, "we visited all these schools out East and I [Ms. Teal] ended up applying just to [two prestigious women's liberal arts colleges in New England.]" Although applying to only two colleges defied conventional college admissions wisdom, Ms. Teal was accepted to both. When the neighboring schools conducted visitation weekends on the same weekend, she "spent one day at [one of the colleges] and one day at [the other college.]." She remembered that her mother, who accompanied her for the weekend visits, encouraged her to attend

the place where Shirley Chisholm was guest lecturer, but we couldn't

remember which one . . . So she said, 'I think it's [one of the colleges

visited]' and I said, 'OK, I'll go [to that college]'.

Four years later, when Ms. Teal graduated, she had opportunity to go to [the other

college] to meet guest lecturer Shirley Chisholm. Ms. Chisholm, who, in 1968 was the

first Black woman elected to the U. S. Congress, made history in 1972 when she seriously

campaigned for the Democratic Party nomination for President, becoming the first black

woman to seek the nation's highest office (Scholastic, 2001).

The academic and social environments at the liberal arts college she attended were

a marked change for Ms. Teal. Founded in 1875, the college is one of the seven small,

private liberal arts women's colleges which comprise the Seven Sisters college group,

commonly considered 'sister' institutions to the once all-male Ivy League colleges.

Although she "had always grown up in middle class white neighborhoods, predominantly

white environments," her new college environment was, in her words, "a whole different

ball game. . . . the debutante things, the rich elite types of things . . . it was this whole new

culture." At the same time, Ms. Teal recalled, "You're a student. They're making you

write papers and all of that . . . I was simply miserable." The benefit of the experience

eventually became clear only later, "after I [Ms. Teal] graduated I realized how valuable

this was and how different it was from anything else." As a graduate teaching assistant

while completing her master's degree, Ms. Teal observed a general absence of the high

academic expectations to which she had become accustomed:

It's different . . . I think people will rise to the expectations you set . . . [it] frustrates me that people [in the state where she now resides] have such low expectations, not just for students, but for themselves. . . . The brain is a muscle. You've got to exercise it.

Life in her new home state has required other adjustments as well. Describing the community in which she has lived for several years now, Ms. Teal observed, "There is simply no African American community there. . . . you're isolated intellectually . . . it's not a very rich, diverse place." In her assessment this contributes to the "turn-over rate in the Afro-American faculty" at her institution who, as she saw it, "come here and they don't like it and they leave. . . . you're not really hanging' out with the white folks and there are no Black folks for intellectual stimulation."

Scheduled to complete her doctoral studies within the next three to four years, Ms. Teal's career sights are set on becoming a provost "at a smaller, possibly private institution." Although she expressed some doubt about attaining that goal in her new home state, Ms. Teal remained hopeful. Nonetheless, she said, "Everywhere else I go . . . I'm never happy. I come here [her new home state], my soul is happy. But the rest of me is miserable. Maybe I'll go on, do that for a while and come back."

Summary

This chapter presented the personal and professional backgrounds of 16 Black women senior-level administrators in the public higher education system of a Southern state. Relying on their own words, these "mini-biographies" offer insights into the women's formative years, educational experiences, family lives, and career choices.

These women represented three age-related reference groups – the *Trailblazers* who entered adulthood and began their careers in the 1940s and early 1950s during legally enforced racial segregation; the *Torchbearers* who grew up in the 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement; and the *Pioneers* who have lived primarily in a society free legally-enforced racial barriers in education and employment.

Although their individual histories varied, two factors were apparent in every story. First, each woman spoke of being encouraged at an early age by a significant person in her life to believe in the value of education as a matter of survival and personal success. Second, irrespective of age or background, each woman indicated directly and indirectly that she held high personal performance expectations, both for herself and others. Their stories conveyed that they expected no less than the best from themselves and no more than fairness from society.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

It's been a pleasant, uphill journey.
~Trailblazer Eunice Gold

The primary focus of this study was an examination of factors involved in the

career experiences of sixteen Black women administrators in higher education. To that

end, each participant was asked to discuss her career experiences in general and, more

specifically, what helped her career and what did not help her career. Across the three

groups – Trailblazers, Torchbearers, and Pioneers – the responses to the specific

questions ranged from the personal issues of marriage and child-rearing to the

institutional issues of underfunding and workplace politics to the more global, societal

issues of racism and sexism. The themes of the participants' responses were fairly

consistent within the groups of Trailblazers, Torchbearers and Pioneers. At the same

time, overall perspectives appeared to shift among groups, as each group reflected the

changing social and legal landscapes in which they pursued their work and careers.

The Factors Affecting Career Success – A More Focused View

This section of the study presents the participants' views on specifically what

helped and did not help in their careers. It may be read as a conversation among

comrades, some of whom were better acquainted than others, all of whom shared a

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common experience. To capture the richness and candor of the participants' comments and to protect their anonymity, these data are reported without attribution even to their pseudonyms.

Factors That Helped

Five broad themes emerged as the participants discussed factors what helped in their careers:

1. The intrinsic value of the work

2. Professional and family support systems

3. Academic and experiential preparation

4. Networking and mentoring

5. Attributes of leadership

These themes were similar to individual factors affecting Black women's career success as administrators in higher education as presented in Table 1.

The Intrinsic Value of the Work

For all of the participants, consistent with generations of Black women activists before them, the public sphere of their work seemed intertwined with the private sphere of their lives to yield a positive sense of doing well while doing good. Their comments revealed specific focus on the value of their work related to the field of education, the creation of nurturing environments for learning and personal development, and the expression of spirituality.

Education. Trailblazers' comments about the value and importance of education seemed to reflect their appreciation for the opportunities that education could provide and

for the teachers whose efforts have enriched the education process. One Trailblazer said, teaching is "the greatest profession in the world . . . every teacher, every leader in the world – kings, queens, potentates, doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs – they've all had teachers of some kind." The comments of another Trailblazer appeared to reflect the challenges faced by most of the Trailblazers (and many of the other participants as well) in securing their educations: "I believe that everybody has a right to education [and] I do what I need to do to ensure that - whether they take advantage of it, capitalize on it – that's a different thing." Perhaps because of those challenges, more than one Trailblazer affirmed the importance of teacher commitment to students and the learning process. One of the Trailblazers whose career included public school teaching said: "If you try hard enough, kids can learn." At the same time, a Trailblazer was firm in expressing her thoughts about meeting the obligations of teaching when she said:

> We have bad teachers just like we have poor students. And when we find
>
> them [bad teachers] . . . we have to reach out and help them. If we can't
>
> help them, then the next thing we [have to] do is write them up [and] ship
>
> them out.

The Pioneers' comments also reflected the importance of education in their lives and development, although they seemed more likely to take for granted the opportunities for basic and advanced education. For example, one Pioneer was very matter-of-fact in describing the process by which she chose between among two of the most prestigious liberal arts colleges in the U. S., a dilemma rarely, if ever, confronted by members of the Trailblazers' or Torchbearers' generations – regardless of their academic promise. For

the Pioneers, as well as the Torchbearers, choice and mobility, and not issues of segregation, were associated with their choices for undergraduate and graduate study.

With few exceptions, all of the participants described themselves as good students who consistently enjoyed school at all levels. Even the few who expressed limited interest in education beyond the undergraduate level completed graduate degrees, eventually attaining the doctorate degree, in some cases. Although this issue was not mentioned by the Trailblazers, some Torchbearers and Pioneers mentioned that they felt their enjoyment of school may have set them apart from many of their peers. For example, a Torchbearer said, "I always liked school; and I liked to study, but also, I'm just kind of a loner. I didn't fit in here when I came."

Participants from all three groups expressed personal pleasure and comfort working in higher education institutions. In a comment that seemed representative of the entire group, one Trailblazer said, "I'm never happier than on a college campus," while another Trailblazer said, "Students make my world go around." A Torchbearer stated, "I really love working in higher ed." Finally, a Pioneer offered this insight:

Working in academia is just an amazing thing . . . it's like being in a

candy store. You have such rich opportunities to influence and affect how

people learn, what they learn, how they feel about learning, how they feel

about their education, how they feel about themselves, what they perceive

they are able to do in the future, how they can invest their talents. It's

extraordinary.

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Making A Difference. All of the participants seemed to value the creation of a nurturing environment in which to sustain learners. However, for the Trailblazers that motivation seemed paramount, possibly because most of them had worked in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) where Black students have been shown to thrive in this type of environment (NCES, 1996). In the words of one Trailblazer, "No matter what a person's innate abilities are, their learned abilities, they can always learn more if someone believes in them. When I see a person, I don't see *bad* [emphasis hers]." Reflecting on the value of such an environment in her own life, a Trailblazer said:

> I have a tendency to expect more from people than they expect of
> themselves. . . . I think it's because I have been driven by people who
> believe[d] in me, that I could do something when I might have thought I
> didn't want to do it or couldn't do it.

Several of the Trailblazers shared what might be termed "turn-around" stories where the Trailblazer had positively affected a student's future and life opportunities. One Trailblazer described an encounter with a young man who came to her because he did not seem to be progressing in his studies after two years of college attendance. After encouraging him to bring his records to her, she described the caring attitude that she believed to be important in the teaching and learning process:

> He was one of those students who came and did not have the grade point
> average, had gobs of trouble at the very beginning, decided he would move
> away from the campus and he couldn't study out there . . . he had to have a
> job, had a death in his family and various and sundry problems. . . . He had

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a job waiting on him as soon as he got the degree . . . but he had to have

somebody to tell him that he was taking the wrong classes, that he needed

to make better grades . . . if he did not make "B's" and above, he was

never going to get out of here. . . . He is an honor student now.

Another Trailblazer related a similar student interaction episode as typical of her

experiences as a college faculty member; she acknowledged that as an administrator such

encounters had become much less likely:

I do enjoy working with students and I do miss the classroom. I have a

tendency to . . . what they say, "mother" my students, because I feel I can

talk to them like I would talk to my own children. I bring them in here

[gesturing toward a small conference table] . . . "You made an "F" in

math. You are going to sit at that table and study math everyday at a

certain time under my supervision." I'm probably one of the few

administrators that get on the phone and call the parent and say, "Look . . .

[Your student] is failing . I need you to help me work with him. . . We

don't want him to fail." But I would want someone to do me like that . . .

If I my child is here and not doing well, I want to know before I get the

grades.

In still another, similar story, a Trailblazer described working with a young man who was

alleged to have been a gang member before arriving at her institution. Recognizing that

"if he's a gang member, he has to be a leader . . . I just need to get him to my side," the

Trailblazer said she placed the student in a responsible position of employment after

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reminding him that, "You know I've got my finger on you. You can't let me down, you can't let Mr. Acorn down [referring to the person who first recognized the young man's potential.]" In the end, the Trailblazer declared, "He was one of the best [workers] we've ever had."

A different Trailblazer related how, as a national officer in her sorority, she began working with another, much younger national officer who was seeking entry into professional school:

I sent her information and she applied to several schools. . . . About two or three years later, she called and said, "I just can't get into school; I'm now teaching. My [professional school aptitude test] scores are low, but my GPA [grade point average] is high."

The Trailblazer then provided additional information about a different type of professional school, helped the younger woman with the application process, and "got people to write her letters of recommendation." Eventually the student was accepted for professional studies. As one of two Black students in that school, the young woman's initial adjustment was difficult, but the Trailblazer reported "at the end of her second year, she [the young woman] was voted the most likely to succeed." Concluding the story, tears came to the Trailblazer's eyes as she described the letter she received from the young woman "when she was getting ready to graduate."

More than one Trailblazer talked about aspects of her work that were almost an extension of "motherhood." One said straightforwardly, "I hug . . . the guys and the girls . . . sometimes all they need is just a little pat on the hand, but sometimes they need

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somebody just to hold them." In such an environment, the sharing of sage wisdom and motherwit are not unexpected, as in this Trailblazer's recounting of the guidance she has readily provided male and female students regarding matters of the heart: "I tell them my philosophy is cry once. Don't cry everyday. Cry once. You don't cry for every hurt."

While most of the them reported similar approaches to student interactions, one Trailblazer made clear that this kind of interaction may be neither an innate or even easily acquired response to student's in difficult situations. Recalling concerns she felt early in her career as an educator, she observed that good teachers must *learn* [emphasis added] to be forthright:

> I can remember there was a time when I would not be able to tell a student
>
> they were not doing well . . . you know, you beat around the bush. And
>
> now, I can honestly . . . say to a student, "You know, I will be doing a
>
> [you] disservice to give you an evaluation that ranks you higher than the
>
> work you're doing". . . and tell them where they need to improve.

Another Trailblazer also recognized a challenge inherent in any learning environment featuring too much nurturing when she expressed concern for her own style of personal interaction with both students and colleagues: "I think [my] tendency to want more for people that they want for themselves is not good, because every person needs to have the right to self-determine." However, as she explained further, that concern was positively reinforced in a recent encounter with a faculty member under her supervision:

> One person got very angry with me and she told me that she was very
>
> angry [because] I had insisted she go to school or lose her job. She came

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back [later, while in school] and said, "I want to thank you because I'm

enjoying this and I can see where I will be the benefactor, not just the

persons I will come in contact with."

Torchbearers too shared stories about students, but fewer than Trailblazers. A

Torchbearer spoke of her recurring efforts to help students at her institution broaden their

horizons and raise their aspirations by giving them "positive reinforcement about higher

education and letting them know that they don't have to limit themselves to living in [this

area]." Another Torchbearer told of hearing the following story from a faculty colleague:

> A student brought a note to her . . . and it turns out to be a wonderful thank
>
> you letter [that said], "I just enjoy your class so much. . . . I can apply it to
>
> real life. . . . I'm going to go home now and share it with my boyfriend."

For that Torchbearer, the story demonstrated "every now and then, it gets back to the fact

of why you're here . . . and that the possibilities you have are extraordinary." Still

another Torchbearer, describing her student-centered service ethic, said, "My agenda is

whoever walks in the door . . . whenever the [students] come, they know that they [can]

go ahead and knock on the door and that I'm available." She went on to say that this

practice contributes to what she termed "the most frustrating thing" about her job – "no

closure, [no opportunity] to come inside, close the door and have a whole day [in which]

I can think and create." Yet this Torchbearer explained her approach to student concerns:

> I treat everyone's concern with dignity . . . if it's a problem for them, it's a
>
> problem. There are times when the answer is "no" . . . but I treat it with
>
> dignity. What I say may be the last thing I say to that person and I want to

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feel good about the last thing I say. . . . I try not to even take notes until

there are specific things that I want to make sure I am addressing . . . I

want them to know that I'm concerned about their concerns.

Finally, a Torchbearer, describing her approach to assisting students, also said:

Sometimes I guide them on a different track because [their] expectations

are not realistic. But I don't say, "This is a ridiculous request." [Instead] I

say, "Well, how will this help?" . . . And I also ask them, "Now what

[role] will you play in this?"

A Torchbearer also voiced her concerns about student attitudes and outlooks as

she as observed them shift during her career when she said:

There seems to be a higher incident of dealing with students [regarding]

responsibility types of issues . . . [We're] seeing more students who say,

"But I *want* [emphasis hers] an A" and [the] faculties react to those in

different ways.

Three of the four Pioneers held positions that brought them into limited direct

contact with traditional students, which may explain why they had even fewer stories than

the Torchbearers. One of the Pioneers appeared to take a more bureaucratic approach to

her work than the Trailblazers and Torchbearers holding similar positions, as her stories

about involvement with students tended to revolve around applications of institutional

policies, not personalized interactions. A Pioneer also voiced concerns similar to those of

the Torchbearer about the attitudes of those students with whom she does interact, saying,

"I would not allow some of the things I'm hearing, or this disrespect, coming from some

of these students to have come from my [family.]" At least one participant talked about a "tough love" style of handling this concern for disrespectful behavior. Discussing the situation of one specific student whose extended period of disrespectful behavior in the classroom provoked an angry utterance from a faculty member and now sought an apology, she said, "I'm going to call her and talk to her about her behavior and hopefully make her see that if anybody here needs to apologize, it's her."

An anecdote shared by one Trailblazer seemed to capture the overall spirit of the participants' unrelenting faith in bringing out the best in students:

A lady started teaching school in this . . . underachiever neighborhood. But all of her students just blew the tops out of the tests . . . And the principal came to her and said, "Now, how are you doing this?" "Oh, it's nothing that I'm doing. They're all geniuses," said the lady. He said, "Well, how do you know this?" She said, "Because you gave me the IQ scores in the beginning, and the lowest one was 136." And he said, "Those were locker numbers." . . . It was expectations . . . when they [faculty] teach them in the way they know that they're going to do well then they'll do better than they would have done.

Spirituality. Spirituality appeared to have been an important aspect of the community life which shaped participants from all three groups. The observation of one participant characterized the importance of spirituality, the church and formal religious practice in the Black community, now and historically:

Where are most of our parents? Where do we hope that most of our

parents are? They're in the churches, and especially in the Black

community. I don't know about the others, but in the African American

community, the churches are our last bastions of community.

She expanded this idea to convey its impact in the future:

I'm excited now, about President Bush . . . We're going to be joining that

force too, networking with the churches in the community to try to get

something started so that we can help this institution and we can help the

public schools.

Nearly all of the Trailblazers spoke in some way about the role of prayer and

spiritual belief in her personal and professional practices. Although they all worked

primarily in State-funded institutions, more than one Trailblazer indicated that having "a

good spiritual base" was important to her work. One Trailblazer described how she

meshes her work and her faith:

One thing that makes my life at work enjoyable is that I can't separate . . .

that spiritual part . . . I have students who are very, very close to me who

are Muslims . . . who are Jehovah's Witnesses . . . and I respect whatever

they are . . . And I tell them . . . if I'm not familiar with it, make sure I

don't do something that is against what you believe.

Another Trailblazer, who also indicated that her spiritual life was very important to her

personally and professionally said, "I pray a lot. I have faith in the Supreme Being. I

believe that there has to be someone greater than those down here." Yet another

Trailblazer expressed her belief that "one's beliefs help to govern also what takes place in this life." Along with her individual faith, at least one Trailblazer spoke of the importance of faith in her extended family, describing her awareness of the impact of her grandmother's prayers for her continued success and well-being.

Religiously-oriented terms such as "I'm claiming the victory on that" were sprinkled throughout the participants' accounts, providing subtle reminders of their spiritual backgrounds. Another Trailblazer, describing the difficult challenges of raising a family, continuing her education and achieving in her career, said:

> I don't know how in the world we made it. But I know one thing, if you're
>
> determined, when you want to do something, you know, if you just make
>
> the first step, forces just start happening. God helps you. He just makes
>
> the way for you cause we had no way other than that.

In a similar way, a Trailblazer explained overcoming her own career challenges when she said, "I have a philosophy that we're all here for one reason and we're supposed to make a difference in at least one person's life and we never know who that person is, so you just keep on going."

Spirituality was less prominent in the comments of the Torchbearers and Pioneers. A Torchbearer described an epiphany moment related to her career and work environment and said, "So I said, 'God's trying to tell you something.' I really did believe that, that there was a message in there, because I also believed that when a door closes a window opens." One Torchbearer said, "My church is a good network." Another Torchbearer

was surprisingly direct about her spirituality and, specifically her Christianity, when she said:

> I have a strong religious connection . . . I don't have to compromise any of
>
> that . . . I'm not placed in the position to have to make decisions that
>
> would affect that so I can still be me. And I keep my Bible on the table, if
>
> not on my desk. . . . Many times they [students] see my Bible and say,
>
> "Oh, I'm glad that you're a Christian." Then that gives me an opportunity
>
> to respond to that.

A Pioneer explained, almost apologetically, that her church "gives me support there . . . [but] I don't, these days, have too much time to participate in a lot of activities."

Academic and Experiential Career Preparation

Participants from all three groups spoke about how their life experiences and academic preparation helped their work by providing them an emotional strength to overcome challenges and a knowledge base from which to draw. These comments fell essentially into three categories: family and life experiences, educational experiences and work experiences.

Family and Life Experience. Although most of the participants, from all three groups, grew up in two-parent families, some were raised with the help of extended family including grandmothers and aunts. Whether or not their families were traditionally structured, most of the participants described their early family experiences as stable. As one Trailblazer said proudly when talking about her family and her

hometown, "My family was among the earlier settlers of that community, so we have a lot of history there. A lot of that city's history is my family history."

Particularly among Trailblazers, and to some extent among Torchbearers, there were references to community involvement in their personal and character development of young people. As one Trailblazer recalled, "everybody in the community took responsibility" for encouraging and sustaining the next generation. While several participants described their parents has not having been well-educated, some participants had at least one parent with a college-education and in some cases, a college degree. Regardless of parent education level, however, nearly every participant described the direct and indirect ways in which the importance of education was stressed and conveyed as a value in her childhood home. Commenting on the far-reaching impact of these family efforts, which are detailed in the participants' narratives, one Trailblazer said, "I think one's experiential background determines what one will do. It's all about attitude – situations don't change, people don't change." Similarly, another participant pointed out, "We are products of our environments."

In addition, the impact of family influences was expressed in other ways. One participant described growing up with "boys" in the family and how she learned an important life lesson at an early age: "It's totally different [growing up with boys.] What does society teach us? It's OK [for girls] to cry. Guys don't cry. It's OK for a man to display anger in public, but not for a woman." In her career, she has observed the application of this lesson in her interactions with male colleagues, one in particular:

I'm very direct and he's very direct. He can be very direct with someone

and they just say, "Well, that's so-and-so." I can be direct [and] they call

me a bitch. They don't say it to my face, but you know that's their

thinking. Because you know women are not supposed to be like that. But

strong Black women are like that. . . . Strong Black women can make

decisions.

In a similar vein, a Torchbearer described an academic setting in which the discussion

turned to "how girls are taught not to compete with guys after about seventh grade . . .

because they won't like you." Realizing that she had never been taught nor learned that

lesson, the Torchbearer said:

My parents never taught me that. . . . [but] several of my friends who are

Black said, "Oh, yeah, we knew that." . . . I remember entering into my

ninth grade year and [my brother] told me: "I better not ever find out you

did any boy's homework."

A Trailblazer, who grew up with several brothers, expressed a similar outlook as she

talked about how that experience has affected her approach to interactions with students:

"men are no different . . . all the ideas were the same then as they are now . . . you can't

have two different standards."

Thirteen of the 16 participants talked of having been married, although several of

their marriages had ended in divorce. Two Trailblazers were married for nearly 50 years

before their husbands died, both within the two years prior to participating in this study.

In both cases, these women had been married to men who also were engaged successfully

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in higher education careers as faculty members and administrators. Some participants from all three groups described the challenges of parenthood, especially when combined with careers. Indeed, several participants had faced, at least for a time, the particular issues of single motherhood. Their responses to single motherhood were varied. For some it appeared to be simply a fact, neither a specific help or hindrance to their career experiences. For others, having a child was a strong motivational factor in their pursuit of advanced education and career.

A Torchbearer, describing her experience as a single parent, declared:

I think being a single parent has helped - - because I think that as a single

parent, especially with a teenager, and especially a woman who has a

teenage daughter, you get to be reduced to your bare essence at times. . . .

You have an opportunity to come face-to-face with your best and worst

self. . . . I raised her [the participant's daughter] with issues on how you

should take what you do seriously, but don't take yourself seriously.

A Pioneer who was very young at the time of her daughter's birth, said, "I realized I really needed to get back to school, but I needed to keep working."

A small number of participants reported that the issues of difficult, unsuccessful marriages and single parenthood were particularly challenging. One Torchbearer, who divorced after a long marriage, had two children now adults, one with a child of his own, said:

I have allowed my parenting role to be too much of a benchmark for my

goals. I pushed education and then let my needs be after that. And I put

me on hold all of my life. I didn't realize it until after my divorce.

Another participant spoke about the distractions of a bad marriage and said: "Selecting

the wrong soul mate, or what wasn't my soul mate, selecting the wrong spouse – that was

definitely not helpful."

Academic Experience. Ten of the 16 participants in the study said they attended

segregated public schools, most of them in the State in which this study was conducted.

The 16 participants had attended 17 Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) and five

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in 10 states, including the State in

which this study was conducted. Represented among these 22 colleges and universities

were seven of 23 publicly-funded colleges and universities in one Southwestern state and

one of that State's 11 private universities and senior colleges. Among the out-of-state

colleges and universities, seven were independent, private institutions and seven were

publicly-funded, State institutions. Six of the 16 participants in the study earned

undergraduate degrees and eight earned master's degrees outside the State in which the

study was conducted; and, among the nine participants who held doctorate degrees, three

earned the terminal degree outside the State as well. Two participants earned master's

degrees from the same out-of-state university, but at different times and in different

fields. Three participants, one from each of the three groups, attended the same out-of-

state HBCU as undergraduates, but again, all attended there at different times.

Educational attainment was clearly a value among the participants in this study.

The majority of the participants chose education as their career field during their undergraduate studies, graduating with undergraduate teaching degrees. Only one of the seven Trailblazers and one of the five Torchbearers earned an undergraduate degree outside education. By contrast, none of the four Pioneers earned baccalaureate or master's degrees in the field of education. At the time of the study, two of the Pioneers were actively pursuing doctoral degrees, neither of them in the field of education.

As demonstrated in the remarks of a Trailblazer, the climate of Jim Crow segregation that characterized the early educational experiences of most of the participants in this study did not deter them from obtaining strong academic preparation for their careers:

> I look at all the positions that I've held over the last thirty-five years.
> They've all been challenging. I've learned a lot. And, out of all the
> courses that I've taken, I know that they have given me a knowledge base,
> but the application has been terrific. . . . [In] every position that I have
> had, it seems that I have just built upon what I learned in the others.

Remarks were made by participants from all three groups about how their careers had been impacted by particular aspects of their academic and employment experiences. One Trailblazer talked about being one of only three women in her graduate program cohort group which included 25 men:

> I noticed that a lot of women were not going into administration . . . [and]
> if they did, it was community college administration or curriculum and
> instruction, but they were not going into administration. I chose education

administration but I also took the coursework in higher education administration.

A Torchbearer suggested that the influences of undergraduate fields of study "determine how that person thinks, how they approach problems and how they solve problems." Another Torchbearer spoke of how, as an adolescent, she turned to educational achievement as a means of expressing her anger at discrimination, in society and in the public school she attended:

> I just was going through that stage where I really was dealing with racism
>
> and had a lot built-in hatred in me. But . . . that all made me a good
>
> student because I was determined I was going beat [academically] every
>
> white kid at [her high school] and I did except for one.

Work Experience. Although many but not all, of the participants selected education as their career field during their undergraduate studies, none of the Trailblazers and few of the other two groups set out to work in higher education or in administrative leadership positions. Each told an interesting saga or twist fate story about how she got started. A Torchbearer who did not train as a teacher said, "I never really expected to be in higher ed [sic]; I never expected to be in education." Explaining her entry into the higher education arena, a Pioneer, said:

> I had some experience in higher ed [sic] because I was a graduate assistant
>
> and I did not, not like it. I enjoyed it, I guess but I never thought about
>
> going into academia because the degree that I had was largely public
>
> service.

Similarly, another Pioneer, not unaware of the irony, said:

As a graduate student, you're taught you're going to be faculty. And who

do faculty hate? The administration. And so it [a career in education

administration] just never occurred to me.

Even for those whose first career interest was education, the move into

administrative leadership often was described as compelled by outside factors, not self-

selection or deliberate self-promotion. One participant said, "It wasn't that I picked

myself out to be a leader. . . . But others saw leadership potential in me and encouraged

me . . . to go for it." Similarly, another Trailblazer stated, "I always thought the only

thing I wanted to do was teach after I went into teaching. . . . Somebody . . . observed my

work ethics and asked me to be in charge." On the other hand, one Trailblazer described

her motivation for seeking and accepting leadership opportunities saying, "I [the

Trailblazer] said, 'Maybe I can make a difference there.' So whatever it took, I did it."

Contrasting approaches to career success were presented by two Pioneers. One

Pioneer entered the work force in higher education as a clerical staff member and without

an undergraduate degree or clear-cut career aspirations. She noted that, "It took a lot of

"proving myself", [to show] I could do more than just secretarial work." Twenty years

and two academic degrees later, she had risen to the ranks of executive leadership within

the institution where she began working. On the other hand, another Pioneer who had

attained an undergraduate degree and aspired to a career in higher education

administration, deferred her entry into the higher education workforce until she was able

to obtain a management level position. Discussing the challenges of making the

transition from clerical to management work, she said, "My intention was not to come back to be a secretary just to get my foot in the door. . . . I think it would have been that much more difficult [to move up.]" Nine years after entering higher education as a member of the executive staff, this Pioneer was chosen as an officer of the institution in which she started working.

Professional and Family Support Systems

Participants from all three groups talked about the importance of the support they had received from a variety of sources in their careers. Two specific types of support figured prominently in these accounts: professional support from supervisors and colleagues who provided positive environments in which to accomplish their work and family support – husbands, children, parents – who provided encouragement and guidance. Their remarks related to mentoring, a specialized, more targeted form of professional support, are presented separately.

Professional Support. Participants from all three groups discussed the help they had received from supervisors, colleagues and staff members they had supervised. Most of their comments about supervisors and colleagues were more detailed than their comments about the supervised staff.

More than one Trailblazer discussed the support she received from the faculty and administrators with whom she had worked throughout her career. Describing faculty with whom she has worked, a Trailblazer said: "I've had support from faculty, a strong faculty and one that would work with me no matter what the task, and as long as I would ask them." Another Trailblazer who praised a particular supervisor's support said:

She is an extremely gifted woman . . . and also a good role model for

leadership . . . she may be a younger woman than I am but I learn from her.

She knows the subject matter . . . [and] she studies beforehand so she can

state her case in an eloquent manner.

Another Trailblazer described her positive experience with the executive leadership of an

institution in which she had worked:

He's [the institution's President] very student-oriented . . . he knows that

I'm student-oriented . . . and even in the past, even though there were

some philosophical differences with [another administrator], they've been

supportive of the programs I've run so that has made it very easy.

Commenting on the importance of the ability to work well with others, one

Trailblazer said, "You can involve other people . . . the people will help you, will do

almost anything, if you give them credit for what they do. If people are supporting you,

you can't let them down." Another Trailblazer who praised office support staff for

giving her a boost at the start of her career said: "I made friends with the secretary and she

knew that I was there and she knew that I was there and I got the assistantship and I

stayed until I retired this year." A different Trailblazer commented also on the

importance of inclusiveness in the administrative work environment and noted: "There

are times when you have negative people and you don't want to include them . . . but you

have to include them. You have to hear them. You have to listen to them."

Similarly, a Torchbearer said, "I've been blessed to have people that were really

[good] examples . . . great people, around me. And I think [my] willingness to observe

and listen are probably the most important things." Another Torchbearer talked about

valuing relationships with the people around her when she said, "I need to have people

who can listen and question and challenge what I'm saying and doing . . . to raise the

issues with me . . . and I've learned how to be more of a guide on the side."

A Pioneer explained the significance of her opportunities to work "with good

people." She said:

> I've been very impressed with the caliber of people that share the interests
>
> that I have and who are willing to take a chance or take a risk of working
>
> with me because most of the jobs I've had haven't existed before, so I've
>
> gotten to create things.

Another Pioneer, acknowledging the importance of staff support, said, "My secretaries

have always loved me and I've been very fair."

Family Support. Most of the participants talked about supportive parents, or the

relatives who fulfilled those roles in their lives. Most participants talked about their

family's high expectations for personal achievement. As one Trailblazer put it: "That

was the expectation of our parents that we would go and learn and that kind of thing. A

Pioneer, describing her mother, said: "She's never done anything to hold me back and has

always promoted my interests. . . . She and I are very close." Among the Trailblazers,

one participant spoke about her father's involvement in every aspect of her education and

employment decision-making process, and about the roles in her childhood played by her

grandmother and aunt after her mother's death. Another Trailblazer described how she

sought counsel from her brothers and sisters before making a momentous decision.

One of the Trailblazers said of her husband and family, "Having a very supportive
. . . family. I think, most of all, that has helped me be successful." Another Trailblazer
spoke about her husband, describing him as "a supportive husband who did not stop
doing anything that [I] did." Participants with children described their adult and young
adult children in ways that conveyed supportive relationships, using words such as
"supportive," and "encouraging."

Among the Torchbearers and Pioneers, references to family support were
frequently related to parents and children than to husbands. One Trailblazer said,
"Having a very supportive family, I think that, most of all, that has helped me be
successful. And then there's the support of my husband. he was very supportive of what I
did." Another Trailblazer spoke about her husband's unwavering support for her
academic and career goals, describing him as "a supportive husband you did not stop [me
from] doing anything that I did." Participants in both groups acknowledged their parents'
assistance with child care needs.

Mentors and Mentoring

Based on the participants' comments, mentors and mentoring too have played a
role in the careers of participants from all three groups. Although Trailblazers described
some mentoring experiences, it appeared they were more likely to have mentored than to
have been mentored themselves. Torchbearers described both being mentors and being
mentored, although at least one felt there was not enough Black female-to-Black female
mentoring presently. Pioneers were more likely to have been mentored than to have
mentored.

One of the Trailblazers recognized the value of mentoring in her professional development when she said: "I have been able to work with some outstanding female administrators." Describing her relationship with one of those administrators, the Trailblazer went on to state: "She was my mentor; she served on my dissertation committee. And everything that I do in terms of being an administrator at this level, the level of a dean, I learned from her." Another Trailblazer described her experiences as an undergraduate in an HBCU setting and said, "They gave us a lot of information, a lot of mentoring."

A Torchbearer spoke warmly about her access to mentoring and said: "I have had some good mentors. I have had some good support people. I've just had people to take me under their wing and decide that they wanted to make sure I had some opportunities." Acknowledging the help she has received from one of her mentors, one Torchbearer said:

> [The mentor] and a couple of other friends have been very helpful in
>
> helping me to understand the history to the political climate [in the
>
> workplace] . . . the personalities of some of the players. . . . That helps one
>
> negotiate as a Black woman because, you know, the rules sometime are a
>
> lot different for us.

In addition, the same Torchbearer reported having accepted specific behavioral pointers from a mentor as well, including caution about curbing her tendency for speaking out and carefully choosing her "battles."

In several instances, participants appeared to have benefitted from mentoring relationships with university presidents. One participant, a Pioneer, described the

positive impact of encounters with the president of her institution early in her career:

"Having met the president and he respected me and what I did and thought I had ability . . . and he seems to think that I do a good job." Another participant credited the president at her institution

> For being so patient and for helping me [the participant] along the way. . . .
> He was there as a mentor. Whenever I would have questions, he would
> direct me to the readings that would help me understand things. The
> president is very well known - not only in Oklahoma but all over the
> place. If he takes a moment to introduce me to some one else that carries a
> lot of weight, a lot of credibility. He does that.

Describing one of the presidents for whom she had worked, a participant said, "Dr. Acorn, always kept real close with the faculty members . . . he was interested in what I wanted to do." Without identifying any of the presidents for whom she had worked specifically as a mentor, one participant noted, "The presidents we had in the past have always been real supportive. . . . I was never denied any conferences or any type of seminars or anything I wanted to do." Although he was not president of the institution, one Pioneer said the following about working with her highly-placed mentor, "I trusted him, I got to know his family. His wife is a wonderful person. . . . I really enjoyed working with him." In addition to sharing his insights and guidance, she said her mentor shared "his appreciation of the academic community his value for it . . . how important it was to train the next generation."

The sense of obligation among the participants to provide support and assistance to those aspiring to career advancement was voiced by all three groups. The spirit of the folk wisdom, "pass it on," and of the recent movie, "pay it forward," seemed present in the outlooks of all the participants. As one participant said about her efforts to assist other women faculty members and administrators: "Somebody did it with me." A Torchbearer expressed the feeling that her generation has not been active enough, that they were not doing as much for the next generation of Pioneers as the Trailblazers had done for them:

> The generation that has gone before us, what Tom Brokaw calls "The
>
> Greatest Generation," I think that they really provided, and I'm thinking
>
> specifically of the women now, a really wonderful role model for your
>
> being in a leadership position. Because they were very strong women. I
>
> mean, those were some tough sisters.

She went on to say:

> They had that stick-to-it, that perseverance that I think is so important.
>
> And I don't know that our generation is providing that same degree to the
>
> next generation. I do think it is incumbent upon us as minority women
>
> administrators to do what the movie says, "pay it forward." And try to be
>
> a role model for someone coming along and encourage them in the field.

Typical of the Torchbearers' views on mentoring was this statement from another Torchbearer:

There have always been people who supported me and rooted for me . . .

I'd like to make sure I carry that on and do that for somebody else. . . . I

do believe that as Black female administrators . . . we have an opportunity

to help other young Black women particularly. Of course, if they're

qualified . . . we're scrutinized more than any other group so we have to be

careful to make sure everybody meets criteria.

At the same time, another Torchbearer spoke eloquently about adopting the pattern set by

one of her own mentors as she has sought to mentor a young, Black female colleague. In

describing her mentor, this Torchbearer used these phrases:

I remember having a mentor when I came . . . she was very helpful . . . she

just liked me . . . she would always go out of her way to talk to me on a

daily basis . . . she kept me informed . . . she always gave me gifts . . . she

wanted me to be comfortable . . . she wanted to give me positive guidance

. . . we spent a lot of time together . . . she'll always be special to me.

About her own efforts to mentor her colleague, she said:

[We] work real close together. . . . We'll go shopping together. . . . I help

her out a lot, just because she's young . . . I encourage [her] to go on and

get another degree, at least a Master's if nothing else because we need

more Black females in higher education.

Contrasting experiences with mentoring were reported by two participants, one

describing helpful, but limited mentoring relationships with several former supervisors

while another spoke of an almost-family relationship with her mentor and his wife. In her

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reflection on past supervisors, the former said, "[We've had] a good mentoring relationship. It's just in the office." She went on to explain that "things like going out to lunch and talking – it's just never happened. . . . I don't think it ever occurs to [them] to provide that part of the mentoring process." At the same time, she pointed out that this distancing was not without some positive aspects when she explained: "At least I have no alliances with anyone." On the other hand, another participant talked about her very different experience, having been frequently welcomed into the home of her mentor where she was warmly received by his family.

Networking

All three groups described forms of networking, collaboration, or partnership to which they ascribed aspects of their career success. The networking activities generally fell into three categories: professional/business connections, social connections, and a blending of professional and social connections which I termed synergistic connections. As one Pioneer said, "You have to network and get to know people." A Trailblazer spoke of the impact of "Being at the right place at the right time when there is a need and someone recognizes the individual as being able to supply that need." Another Trailblazer similarly spoke about the value of "going to meetings . . . networking . . . and [finding out] who these people are and . . . if you can address some of their needs." And a Pioneer said, "The more I talk to people, we get back to who you know."

Professional/Business Connections. Professional organizations and groups provide an important opportunity for establishing connections with others engaged in the same or similar work and work environments. One participant described her participation

in a group comprised of her counterparts within her own institution: "We serve as a support system . . . we sit together and we talk . . . we are able to share our experiences. We are also setting up workshops to help us [with] special skills such as PowerPoint and legal issues." On the other hand, a Trailblazer noted that establishing these types of relationships outside her own institution had been difficult, even with her counterparts at other institutions within the same governance system: "We are at sister universities, but we don't do anything together. We don't call each other. We don't invite each other for anything, you know."

Most of the participants also mentioned state, regional and national professional organizations in which they held membership and whose meetings they attended on at least an occasional basis. In addition, some described topical conferences which they have attended regularly. One Torchbearer, describing the benefits she has derived from such a conference, said:

> I get the refreshing type [information] . . . [but] sometimes I really don't
>
> get to talk much because they're describing horror [sic] and bizarre things
>
> and I can't relate to that . . . I can't say that I've experienced any of that.

One participant described how she had used business contacts in the community to garner much-needed financial support for her institution, solidifying the institution's place in the community and obtaining funds for furnishings and equipment: "One thing that's really helpful at this level is being able to network. Because one of the things that we lack in education is money, funding. And sometime we have to go out for additional funds."

Another type of business/professional connection is the continued relationships maintained by the participants with former students. Participants from each of the three groups described student and institutional advancement opportunities that have grown out of their continued personal contact with former students. A Torchbearer who had worked primarily in PWI environments related a story about a Black former student, now a successful businessman, brought to the campus as a speaker, who sought to help students relate their coursework with their future endeavors:

> [He said] you take GPS [general physical science] and you think, "I don't
>
> want to know anything about the metric system." And he's telling them,
>
> "Now I have a flat in London [and] an apartment in Hong Kong". . . . And
>
> [that] if he didn't know about the kilometer, about the metric system, it
>
> would have been difficult for him to function.

She noted that the former student spoke at a sparsely attended Black History month program. One of her non-Black colleagues who attended the program, later seemed surprised at the universal applicability of the message when she commented: "We should have had the entire student body there."

In a variation on the pattern of continued relationships, another Torchbearer, describing what she called her "mentoring system," said:

> I serve as a troubleshooter for students who've found difficulties
>
> navigating their way through the maze that sometime college life presents
>
> . . . I also work with high school students and I basically walk them
>
> through the system of how to get connected. . . . But when they leave and

go on to [other colleges], I still keep in touch with them and they teach me

new things that are going on at [other colleges] so I can pass that

information along to the mentees [sic] that I have right now.

As one of the few Black administrators on her campus, this Torchbearer further observed:

I've been basically the Black connection . . . anybody who wanted a job or

who had a student that was ready to attend school . . . they'd call me. . . .

I'm very active in the community. . . . That's where the real connection

came. And the more I helped, the more I enjoyed helping.

Yet another variation on the theme of professional connections was described by a

Pioneer whose work currently requires her to "help faculty understand what

administration is about . . . especially those who want to go on to a career in

[administration]." She described how "we're exposing them to all the administrative

questions and criteria . . . because you don't just step from teaching to being a department

chair to being a college dean."

At least one participant talked about "community contacts," connections with an

array of predominately Black, local grassroots organizations and leaders. Explaining the

value of these relationships she said:

[At one time] I was doing a lot of community work and not only did that

help in terms of references but it also helped when I decided to speak out.

People knew there was support [for me] in the community.

Specifically, she recalled when a former employer was

> Getting ready to dissolve [her position] and my students and my
>
> community people came up to the university and said, "Oh, no! We want
>
> this office, we want to see [the participant] in this office."

She also said:

> If I had any advice for younger administrators, Black females in particular,
>
> [it would be to] keep the community ties. For one thing, you're helping in
>
> the community, helping somebody out there. But, I [have] found my
>
> community comes through for me.

> Social Connections. Eleven of the 16 participants indicated that they were

members of one of the six historically Black Greek letter organizations for women,

although some were not actively participating in the groups at the time of the interviews.

Among the eleven, five of the seven Trailblazers, one of the five Torchbearers and two of

the four Pioneers were members of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Incorporated which is

the oldest Black Greek letter organization for Black women. Two of the Trailblazers

were members of the second oldest historically Black sorority, Delta Sigma Theta

Sorority, Incorporated and one participant, a Torchbearer, was a member of Zeta Phi Beta

Sorority.

One Torchbearer, who was not affiliated with any Greek letter organization, was

direct in her evaluation of social connections related to her career experiences: "I don't

know if my social network in that sense is helpful." Only one, a Pioneer, spoke

specifically of the role played by the sorority in her professional preparation and

development: "As an undergraduate I was president of my chapter and I was sent to [a] leadership training program and it was all great and wonderful." Another Pioneer acknowledged the current role of the sorority in her professional support system, noting that her sorority membership had been "somewhat helpful because I [the participant] know that there are individuals who have very important positions to me as far as support. I am sure that enhanced their support."

Leadership

In their demeanor and through the experiences they reported, all of the participants demonstrated themselves to be women who were not afraid of tough challenges. As one of the Trailblazers observed, "if everything ran smooth [sic] it wouldn't give you anything to, no challenge, no motivation." Two types of leadership issues were mentioned by participants from all three groups: leadership qualities – what appeared to be personality characteristics that seemed to assist the participant in carrying out her leadership responsibilities; and, leadership skills – effective techniques for dealing with problems or people that the participant appeared to have learned somewhere at some time.

Leadership Qualities. Participants from all three groups talked about approaching their work with an open mind, willing spirit, and a high level of self-assurance, in a way that translated to an intense willingness to do what was needed and not stand on ceremony. Most participant showed through their comments an ability to "see the whole picture" and a belief in (and acceptance of) their responsibilities to improve that picture.

A Trailblazer stated this point of view straightforwardly when she explained: "I've never seen a job too menial [for me to do] or I've never seen a job that I said,"That's not what I was hired to do." She provided additional insight on the impact of this philosophy when she said, "I have always in my one mind led by example. I don't ask people to do things that I'm not willing to do myself." Another Trailblazer, also speaking directly to the point, said of her outlook: "I've just gone on and done what I know that I'm supposed to do. I don't wait to be told, if I know that something has to be done I'll go on and do it." One Trailblazer offered this more specific observation:

> You have people that are working with you, people that you are
>
> supervising, [who may say,] "It's not on my contract." You can't put
>
> everything that one is expected to do in a written contract or even in a job
>
> description. That's why they put down there, "And others as assigned."
>
> But who cares what it says there or not, it has to be done.

A Pioneer, seemed to take appropriate pride in this characteristic when she said: "I can see the big picture. . . . I know what to think about and what all the factors involved in the decision making process are." Acknowledging a drawback to this kind of broad vision and the challenges it presents, a Trailblazer offered this observation:

> I have a tendency to take on anything and everything that excites me. And
>
> that's not good, because [then] one can not give the best to any one
>
> situation. If one ends up trying to give one's best, it takes a toll on the
>
> person, [not] on the things.

Explaining the importance of open exchange of ideas in her interpersonal relations style, one Trailblazer said, "Even dealing with difficult situations, with people and so forth, [it] is my beliefs that cause me to let them be able to say whatever they [colleagues and those she supervises] need to say." About her similar approach to encouraging candid exchanges, another Torchbearer said: "I'm more of a participatory collegial kind of person than an autocrat. . . . I need to have people who can listen and question and challenge what I'm saying and doing." At the same time, this Trailblazer pointed out a challenging and related issue:

> I [the Torchbearer] have to do more to back up and not try to fix it all at
>
> one time and make everybody do it the way I want to do it. I have to really
>
> live the belief that none of us knows as much as all of us, that what we do
>
> in the collectivity is stronger than one individual can come up with.

At the same time, another participant, a Trailblazer, acknowledged the value of the collegial approach in her own administrative outlook and practices:

> Some people feel that unless they get in positions where they dictate and
>
> [say] "you do this" and "here, you do that" that they are not being an
>
> administrator and that's not the case. Certainly, not with me. I don't' like
>
> dealing with minutiae. Sometimes I expect you to be able to solve those
>
> problems yourself. . . . And, if you can't, them may be you're in the wrong
>
> position.

This kind of inclusiveness, though desirable among these participants, is not necessarily

easy or natural as acknowledged in one Torchbearer's description of her concentrated

efforts to create this environment:

> [Sometimes] I have to work my brain backwards in order to accommodate
>
> other people's opinions 'cause I'm like Archie Bunker. Archie Bunker
>
> used to say, "There's two ways to do things: my and I don't give a damn
>
> about the other." I mean that's where I start out and I have to work
>
> backwards from there so that I can hear and receive and honor the input
>
> that I receive from other people. I can't take myself too seriously because
>
> if I do that I'm left there by myself.

> Leadership Skills. Some of the participants mentioned the benefit gained from

mastery of very specific skills such as "being able to write effectively" when they talked

about their career experiences. Others alluded to more elusive patterns and traits that

have served them well as they progressed through a variety of responsibilities.

The related matters of good judgment and good decision-making were mentioned

by participants from all three groups. A Trailblazer described her decision-making style

as follows:

> I treat everybody the same, fairly and gently, in all of my judgments and
>
> decision making. The one thing that I hope I am creating here, is a shared
>
> decision. Because I tell them [I] don't want to make any decision without
>
> your input. So that's my philosophy . . . shared decision making.

One of the Torchbearers noted that decision-making was not a difficult task for her when she said, "Strong Black women can make decisions," clearly identifying herself among those women. A Pioneer said:

> To me it's [good judgment] very [much] common sense . . . it just makes sense. "A – B – we discuss it, we look at the alternatives." I don't' find it that difficult for some of the things that come up. . . . I can be firm when I need to be.

Along with decision-making, several participants talked about the need for problem-solving skills as vital in their career experiences. A Trailblazer observed simply that "you need to be a good problem solver." As she noted, the nature of the problems to be solved may vary: "Some of the problems that come up center around personal ego with people. They [may] think you have a hidden agenda to do something personal to them." At the same time, she and others acknowledged, "it doesn't help when we have to focus . . . on tiny, tiny problems all the time but you can not afford to ignore them." A Torchbearer too spoke about similar types of problems, in this case issues that often appeared to her as a confluence of the historical challenges of race and economics, and declared:

> Some specific kinds of things come out of that, that are not good and you have to spend time on those things. . . and they're not academic things. And they're not propelling your academic goals forward but you have to stop to deal with them.

Taken together with the individual participants' narratives, these comments provide a general insight into their career experiences and their perceptions of the factors that helped them in pursuit of those careers.

Factors That Did Not Help

Four broad themes emerged from the participants' discussions of what did not help in their careers and are presented in this section:

1. Money

2. Workplace politics

3. The Intersection of gender and race

These factors are similar to those previously identified as institutional factors affecting Black women's career success as administrators in higher education (Table 1).

Two observations seem important here. The first is simply that those things that did not help advance these women's careers were not the direct inverse of those things that helped. The second is more complex. It appeared substantially more difficult for the participants to describe what did not help than to describe what helped. This view was directly conveyed by one Trailblazer who said:

> Any negative that could happen becomes a positive with me. It's all about attitude. It's all about attitude. I tell people all the time, "Situations haven't changed. People haven't changed, but your attitude has changed."

A Trailblazer also said, "I can't handle negatives. I don't know what to do with them. . . . I set my sight on a goal and there it is." Another Trailblazer said:

I just never let anything get in my way, so if I were discouraged, I would

just sort of shrug it off. . . . I think that if you have a positive influence,

that positive influence outweighs the negative regardless of what it is.

That sentiment was echoed by a Torchbearers who said:

I don't have a lot of stuff that I'm carrying around that I can say, "This was

a problem for me." If it's been a problem, then I pretty much worked

through it.

Another Torchbearer put it this way:

I've had some frustrations but . . . usually I try to take those and turn them

into something positive, in order for me to function. . . . I try not to think

back over the bad stuff. . . . I tried to take everything and turn it into a

positive.

While a Pioneer, whose career in higher education spans nearly ten years, said:

Everything's pretty much worked out for me . . . If I had applied for [a]

job and didn't get it, I might be able to say, "Well, this hasn't helped or

hasn't worked."

And another Pioneer stated it somewhat differently:

What hasn't helped are things I haven't noticed. . . . I elect not to pay

attention to certain things in the environment just because I don't have

time for it most of the time.

Finally, yet another Torchbearer, said simply, "I'm one that has not had the kinds of

hardships that I hear people talking about."

Money

Several participants mentioned money, financial issues, as among the factors that did not help in their careers. Issues related to money were raised in two contexts: institutional underfunding and personal remuneration. Since most of the Trailblazers have worked in (HBCU) environments, some in the same institutions, it was not surprising that institutional underfunding was cited as a continuing issue. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (1996), as recently as 1993-94, the educational and general expenditure per student at HBCUs nationally was only about 88 percent of the average for all public colleges and universities.

Institutional Underfunding. For some Trailblazers, the underfunding translates to understaffing. As one Trailblazer observes, a recurring issue is, "Not having enough help . . . Sometimes I [the Trailblazer] get spread too thin and that's personally frustrating to me." At the same time, she indicates that some of the frustration may be "assigned but a lot of times it's my own doing." As an example, she related this observation of her own behavior:

> [In a past position] I had assigned myself with security . . . that anytime
> they had a serious problem like rape or a girl getting beaten up, some
> would call me . . . [in her current position] I still work with the students
> who try to commit suicide or date rape ro something like that . . . I try to . .
> . let them know that they can come and see me and call me at home.

In her assessment of the frustration of institutional underfunding and the activist attitude required to address it, one Trailblazer said:

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You have to be very creative. You don't have money to do things and you

know that they need to be done. You have to know how to piecemeal the

approach, you know, to doing things. But you have to get started. You

just can't stop and bellyache all the time about it.

A Torchbearer stated the situation more directly and succinctly when she said, "Finances

are always an issue." She noted this is a particular problem for (HBCU)s and especially

"if you compare things like endowments and scholarship money . . . if you're trying to

compete . . . you wouldn't have the ability to do to the same level as other institutions."

Significantly, none of the participants appeared to take the simplistic view that

additional funding would automatically eliminate all the problems faced by their

institutions. As one Torchbearer said it, "That doesn't mean that money solves

everything."

Personal Remuneration. Several references were made to personal remuneration.

The example accompanying one reference seemed quite likely appropriate for any of the

Trailblazers (in fact, for all the other participants in this study.) Acknowledging that

"I've never made any demands on people for raises . . . I've just gone and done what I

know that I'm supposed to do," one of the Trailblazers said, "I never thought that the

money that I have made, in any of the positions, is really equal to the time and energy that

I put into the job." To explain this position and convey her belief that one should go to

whatever lengths are necessary to meet one's responsibilities, she gave the following

example: "I don't know too many people that would . . . stay up in this office all night

long . . . But I have walked out of here, at 5:30 in the morning." Without mentioning its

relationship to salary, another Trailblazer told how she too "was working 14-, 15-, 16-hour days" for her institution.

One Trailblazer who felt she was not being compensated sufficiently took a different approach to the situation:

> I had been at the same salary for four or five years and [an employer outside higher education] offered me a $4,000 raise. So I went to work there as supervisor of their education programs and I stayed there for about eight months.

When she decided to return to higher education, she said, "I got $4,000 more than I was getting at [the previous employer] when I went back. I deserved it."

Concern about possible inequities in remuneration for similarly ranked male and female administrators led to a Trailblazer's "badgering until at least I [the Trailblazer] wasn't the lowest paid . . . I matched *some* [emphasis hers] man's salary."

For one Trailblazer in a dual career marriage, heeding the calling to work in education created a substantial financial challenge, as she saw it, "From the very beginning. We never made enough money." For her and her husband, accepting their first jobs in their chosen profession of teaching meant reducing their monthly income by 80 nearly percent. Recalling those days, she said, "We almost starved to death . . . It never got much better."

On the somewhat related matter of the expenses of graduate education, a Trailblazer noted:

They want you to be prepared and they don't give you a dime to help you

with it. Every college and every university that has somebody working for

them, should pay for them to get that doctorate degree . . . if you go to

work for Williams Company, and they want you to upgrade your skills,

they're going to pay for it . . . but you work in education and they want

you to upgrade your skills . . . but they don't give you a dime to help.

Workplace Politics

Trailblazers, Torchbearers and Pioneers alike commented on matters related to

workplace politics, all appeared to recognize directly or indirectly that "the academic

world is very political." As one Trailblazer said, "It's [all] a political race, and they say

it's not, but it is. And, you just have to know the right people. But if you're around and

you observe for yourself, you can listen . . . and go from there." Attention to the

politicization of the workplace was more prevalent among Torchbearers and Pioneers,

though Trailblazers were by no means dismissive or oblivious to these issues as indicated

by the comment above. One Torchbearer, talking about her work environment, said:

Part of it is just understanding the politics. . . . [to] understand the history to the

political climate . . . the personalities of some of the players . . helps one

negotiate as a Black woman because, you know, the rules sometime are a lot

different for us.

The issues of credentials and competency were raised directly by Torchbearers

and Pioneers who pointed out that in their experiences the two often were not related at

all. A Torchbearer reported finding herself, in more than one setting, supervised by

"some white male who might not have a doctorate . . . some of them pretty dead." A

Pioneer expressed her frustration that "in the academic world, competency – what you do

– doesn't matter. Because you can have an incompetent person with a Ph.D. and they

will get all of the respect instantaneously." In what might be termed a pragmatic view of

such situations, another participant observed that, "You can do as great a job as you want

but a lot of times you have to pay your dues." For these participants, advancing her own

credentials had proven to be a significant part of resolving this dilemma.

One Torchbearer spoke directly regarding the politics involved in an

administrative position she had held, when she said :

[It was] just a title . . . I [had] decisions that I [could] make . . . but in a lot

of situations where I would think that I should have been involved in

decision making processes, I was probably the last one to find out . . . the

men make the decisions.

She attributed some of the practices in that specific environment to her observation that

among her male colleagues, "their wives [tended to be] subservient."

In the related matter of recognition for work actually done and done well, at least

one participant found, in her words, "in my early years that promotions weren't that easy,

no matter how hard I worked. A lot of my promotions came when I would leave that

position and go some place else." A similar concern about recognition was raised by

another participant who said of her own situation: "A lot of times I did not feel I received

fair consideration when certain positions would become available." This participant went

on to explain how she worked to overcome this situation:

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I just kept asking, "What do I need to do to be considered for this?"

Whatever the response might have been, then I immediately got on that

and started working toward that, then I'd go back [and say], "Okay! Now I

have this. What do I need to do now?" Persistence was one of the things

that paid off. I don't want to unfairly accuse anyone of the reason [for this

happening] being that I was a woman. [But] I have [a] right to believe that,

in most cases, until recently.

Among other things, this participant's experiences would appear to confirm with another

participant's observation that, "We do have to work harder as Black female

administrators. . . . [knowing] that helps one negotiate as a Black woman because, you

know, the rules sometime are a lot different for us."

In some instances it was difficult to determine whether a participant's concern

was a matter of workplace politics or a more specific issue, perhaps related to the

participant's gender or race, or the complex interplay of all three. For example, one

participant said:

I'm very upfront about it. . . . I know sometimes if I'm sent somewhere to

go to dinner or to go to a meeting it's because I'm Black. Or because I'm

a woman. And that, to me, is okay in a sense, because I see the big

picture. I see the politics.

A more complex example of this situation was offered by another participant who told of

a most unpleasant encounter with executive administrators in one institution where she

worked. In her view, the meeting, which included several highly placed university

officials whom she described as "all white men, all older and above me in rank," began

with an effort to intimidate her through the sheer presence of these individuals. The

participant said she felt "his [the highest ranked executive present] approach was to ask

me a question, then cut me off, not let me explain what I was trying to do. . . . he was just

the rudest thing. And he just kept cutting me off." Describing what happened after

several of these, in her perception, uneven exchanges, the participant said:

> I finally said, "If you would shut up long enough for me to explain, finish a
>
> question, maybe we could, you know, talk about this." He looked startled.
>
> And then, he kept on. So I just started shouting over him. And . . . when
>
> he asked me something and I decided I had not responded fully, I just
>
> shouted over him.

Recognizing the damage caused by this encounter, the participant noted: "I made a big

enemy that day. From that point on, of course, he didn't like me." That series of actions

and their easily predicted outcome – ostracism and, eventually, resignation – easily might

have been attributed to political naivete or a momentary lapse in judgment under some set

of circumstances. However, because the encounter began from a philosophical difference

over campus diversity issues, matters of race and gender were drawn into the picture.

The Intersection of Gender and Race

The complex interplay of race and gender was present throughout the comments

of participants from all three groups. Their concerns were expressed either as direct

remarks about what did not help in their careers or as anecdotes such as not being hired,

twice, apparently because of being a woman and possibly because of being Black also.

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A thoughtful description of this complex situation was provided by one participant who talked about the atmosphere in an institution were she studied, in her words: "[There was] what I perceived to be so much racism within the institution . . . not something that was blatant, but places where you really had to question your own understanding." This participant went on to explain her view that in this environment, it might be difficult to gain the teaching skills she felt she would someday need:

> I knew . . . as a new teacher I wouldn't understand [if] the criticism I was
>
> receiving was because I was not doing a good job or because I was Black .
>
> . . And I was Black at that time instead of African American, because
>
> that's what we were.

She went on to explain:

> I needed to learn how to be a teacher and I didn't know that that was the
>
> environment where I would learn without being embittered. . . . I could
>
> have worked [there] ten years later or could work there now. But [not] at
>
> that time.

For some participants this uncertainty was voiced as a major frustration. One participant articulated her long-term concerns quite clearly:

> The whole issue of being a minority is interesting. [Even] when I was a . . .
>
> student, every time I got something, a lot of times it was irritating in a
>
> sense, you always feel somebody saying, "Oh, yeah. It's because she's a
>
> woman." Or, "it's because she's a minority." And it always bothered me.

In a similar observation, another participant expressed similar frustration with the challenges of analyzing the atmosphere and events of her workplace: "And so you never know – is because you're Black? Because you're a woman? Is it because you don't have a PhD?"

While most of the participants seemed generally comfortable discussing matters of race and gender, their personal styles for doing so ranged from direct to gentle, but firm. One participant said:

> I am not a Black woman with a chip on her shoulder. . . . I am not
>
> offended, I will talk to you about race in two seconds. In fact, I will
>
> probably be the one to bring it up, and so I do not offend and bother
>
> people.

Only about half of these women have been part of a cohort of Black women administrators within any of the institutions where they have worked. At the time of the interviews, eight of the participants were employed, or had been employed, by the same State System institution but not in the same locations. Three of the remaining eight participants are employed in one State System institution, but again not in the same locations. Among the remaining five participants, two were employed by the same State System flagship university, but again in different locations; one is employed at a State System two-year college; and, the remaining two are retired.

In the context of these relatively isolated work settings, one participant who described herself as "being the only woman administrator, aside from being African American" observed:

Being the only person of color can be really bizarre. People expect you to

know things that you absolutely have no clue about and they expect a

certain kind of behavior from you that may or may not be what your family

history or your culture is.

Addressing this same idea of imposed expectations, another participant offered this

insight:

People see you in a certain way. Sometimes I don't fit the stereotype that

somebody has for me. I don't act the right way or talk the right way. . . . I

don't fit whatever pattern somebody has established for me. So that has

been troublesome for [them.] It has not been especially troublesome for

me because I'm accustomed to my not fitting in just quite.

Another participant voiced the frustration and feeling of isolation that seemed an

undercurrent in the comments of several participants said:

One thing that bothers me everyday, that is not having anyone to talk to,

anyone of comparable status. Because I work mostly with white males and

they don't understand how I perceive the world. That's one of the hardest

things on a day-to-day basis.

Several participants spoke about the ironies and frustrations of participating in

high-level discussions, particularly those related to diversity issues as the only woman or

the only Black person, sometimes both. One participant summed up the feelings of

several others when she described her routine approach to such meetings:

It's weird how you think sometimes when you go to meetings. I walk in to

the meeting and the first thing, in my mind that always comes through is,

"Who's in the room? How many minorities?" Always. That's just how I

am. . . . I guess because it's so obvious, I've always had to notice that.

It's just so obvious.

Another participant described her thoughts at the outset of a recent meeting at

which she was one of two women and the only Black person attending:

They're [other campus administrators] going to sit up there and talk about

diversity and all I want to do is say, "What's wrong with this room right

now?" Sometimes I really question its [the institution's] commitment to

diversity. In the sense that, maybe, the upper administrators are committed

to it but it's what everyone else does.

Another participant expressed a slightly different view of the broader situation:

And as an administrator, I consistently am in meetings or workshops or

conferences and I'm the only person of color in the room. I'm not

uncomfortable, personally. But I do think that we has a nation really have

not lived up to our responsibilities in that regard.

One participant, a Torchbearer, spoke about her experience at a recent meeting

with professionals outside her campus environment. She recalled having realized that

"there are ways within settings that people accept or place value on what you say," and in

this particular setting, it appeared to her that her comments were being ignored by the

meeting chairperson or acknowledged only when they were repeated by a male participant

in the meeting. For her, too, thorough analysis of this situation proved vexing:

> It might not be because I'm a woman, it may be because I'm black. I'm
>
> not sure, because there's no other black person or there are other women
>
> on that committee.

Going further, she said: "Sometimes I think that being female has not been especially

helpful because, we do value what men do and we value men." Another participant

described a similar situation wherein an idea she proposed was adopted by a

predominantly male group, but, as she saw it, they didn't like the idea that [I] was the

one that instigated it." She went on to explain how after a male colleague specifically

gave his verbal endorsement of her idea, the group began to attribute the resulting success

to both of them, making the two of them responsible for the project's success. In the end,

she concluded, "it didn't bother me because I got the [desired result.]"

Similarly, another participant observed the dissonance in her experiences with

meetings and actions, particularly with regard to diversity issues:

> I think our problems in higher education, again, specific to women
>
> administrators, particularly minority women administrators, is [sic] kind of
>
> a big picture thing. And I think, a lot of people feel that "Oh, we've
>
> solved all that now." But when you look at the hard facts, the numbers.
>
> And I don't know . . . when I go to a meeting and there are a hundred
>
> people in that room and, as I said, I am the *lone* [emphasis hers] African
>
> American. I don't know if they're even cognizant of "Oh, gee. We need

to . . . Are we really doing this?" Because how do we teach all these great and wonderful things . . . when we're not doing them?

The participants described a variety of ways in which they responded to this type of challenge. One participant, a Pioneer, spoke of responding but not too forcefully: "I don't want to damage my career at this university," while another, older participant said:

When I see something that appears to be racism [or] sexism, those things, in particular, kind of set me off. And, you get classified as a non-team player when you do that. And my response is [that] I want to be on a team that respects people. Young administrators need to aware that their job [sic] situation may not be as solid, if they are looked upon as speaking out. I've been outspoken to presidents of institutions, but I would do the same thing again because I don't like it when I see somebody who has those "isms" and somebody who is disrespectful of people. I just don't allow people to be disrespectful to me.

The overriding elements of optimism in the participants' stories about their career experiences were conveyed by a participant who said:

I don't think this country will ever be a color-blind society. And, so, there [will] be those who are going to judge you differently and look at you differently and expect different things from you, no matter what you do. So, part of it's about just being comfortable with yourself. Doing the best job you can, not, letting a lot roll off your back but then standing up for your principles. Choosing your battles. I've learned that.

Another participant further captured this optimism in her assessment of her own years in higher education when she said:

> Working at [her institution] was a challenge. First, I had to overcome the adversity of just being young . . . living in [this town] . . . then being a Black female. . . . It did test me. In fact, I don't think if I hadn't been so positive, I might [not] have stayed.

Summary

This chapter draws extensively on the participants' own words to explore the factors impacting their career success. Five factors were identified that helped in the participants' careers: (1) the intrinsic value of the work; (2) personal and professional support systems; (3) academic and professional preparation; (4) networking and mentoring; and (5) leadership skills. Three factors that did not help in the participants' careers also were identified: (1) money; (2) workplace politics and (3) the intersection of gender and race.

Notably, the factors that did not help were not simply the inverse or absence of the factors that helped. The participants had significantly more difficulty identifying the factors that did not help. This difficulty seemed to stem from a tendency among all the participants, regardless of age-group, to find the best aspects in even the most challenging situations.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

*What we think and feel, how we interpret our lived experience, is deeply
informed by who we are as social creatures at a moment in time. The
lessons we learn, especially those that appear in memory later as
"truths," are not accidental.*

~Beth Roy (Roy, 1999, p. 10)

This study sought to answer four main questions:

I. How do Black women higher education administrators in one Southern

state experience their careers?

II. What factors appear to affect their career success?

III. How are factors affecting their career success impacted by Braddock and

McPartland's (1980) perpetuation theory of racial desegregation and

Granovetter's (1973) strength of ties theory of social networking?

IV. How can career success and attainment opportunities be enriched among

Black women administrators in public higher education settings?

These questions were addressed by exploring the career experiences of 16 Black

women administrators who had attained the position of dean and above in the public

higher education system of a Southern state to identify factors affecting their career

success. The context of the study was set in Chapter II which explores some of the major

factors historically affecting women's life and work choices generally in the U. S., their

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particular effects on the unique experiences of Black women, and in higher education settings particularly. Those issues were then related to Braddock and McPartland's (1980) perpetuation theory of racial desegregation and Granovetter's (1973) strength of ties theory of social networking; the two theories provided the theoretical framework around which the study was constructed.

Data from semi-structured interviews with the participants were reported in Chapters III and IV. Chapter III contains an overview of each participant's career experiences. These mini-biographies rely heavily on the participants' own words to tell the stories of their family, education and employment backgrounds. Chapter IV, again drawing on the participants' own words, presents their views of specifically what helped and did not help in their careers. Five themes emerged from the participants' discussions of what helped in their careers: (1) the intrinsic value of the work, (2) professional and family support systems, (3) academic and experiential preparation, (4) networking and mentoring, and (5) attributes of leadership. On the other hand, three broad themes emerged from the participants' discussions of what had not helped in their careers: (1) money, (2) workplace politics, and (3) gender and race, separately and together.

This chapter relates these data to the theoretical framework of the study, analyzing the relationships between the participants' experiences and the tenets of perpetuation theory (Braddock & McPartland, 1980) and "strength of ties" and social networking theory (Granovetter, 1973). In addition, this chapter examines other noteworthy elements from the data, elements not directly tied to the theoretical framework, but nonetheless worthy of recognition and discussion.

A key factor related to the analysis of the data in this study was not a direct consideration in the design of the study, but emerged as the study was conducted. That factor was the participants' ages and, consequently, the time periods in which they experienced family, educational and employment milestones. As the interviews were conducted and the participants told their stories and shared their insights, it became clear that even within this small group, there were vast differences in experiences that clustered around age. Until those differences became apparent, despite its focus on and intended sensitivity to differences between genders and among races, this study had looked on the participants primarily as having a common experience as Black women. Instead, as the stories conveyed, the national transition from legally enforced, socially condoned racial segregation to desegregation is directly reflected in the participants' experiences and outlooks. This dynamic led to grouping the participants based on the timeframe for their milestone experiences. Three groups were identified: Trailblazers – those who came of age in the Jim Crow days of the 1940s and early 1950s; Torchbearers – those marked by the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s; and Pioneers – those whose lives have been spent in a legally desegregated society.

Perpetuation Theory

Perpetuation theory as posited by Braddock (1980) holds that "Blacks have learned to avoid and withdraw from interracial situations where they may experience pain and indignity" (p. 179) and that those actions may tend to sustain the racially separate conditions of segregation. Further, Braddock and McPartland (1989) observed that "Blacks who were segregated in one institutional sphere . . . are more likely to have

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mostly segregated experiences in other environments" (p. 267). Prior studies by Crain (1970) indicated that Black students who attended racially desegregated public schools were more likely to enjoy higher occupational status and better-paying employment opportunities than their counterparts who attended racially segregated schools. Crain (1970) attributed this difference to the opportunity to form social contacts with white people and, therefore, to benefit from otherwise less available (or unavailable) information about employment opportunities. In everyday vernacular, Braddock's (1980) and Braddock and McPartland's (1989) work offers a possible explanation for why "birds of a feather flock together" while Crain's work supports the notion that "it's not only what, but also who, you know."

The contact-hypothesis (Braddock, 1980) and desegregation practice (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989) are two important elements of perpetuation theory. The contact-hypothesis suggests that the nature of early interracial contacts influences the propensity to maintain interracial contacts through later stages in life. Desegregation practice refers to opportunities to experience these interracial contacts in environments such as schools. Four criteria are offered to assess the nature of these interracial contacts: (1) equal status, (2) common, shared goals, (3) cooperative interaction, and (4) the presence of environmental support. In the 1960s and early1970s at least some of these conditions that might have been found in schools participating in closely monitored school desegregation programs such as the A Better Chance Program which began in 1963 (ABC, 2002).

Using Braddock and McPartland's (1989) definitions, only six of the 16 participants in this study experienced desegregation practice. These six might be expected to serve as bellwethers of the contact-hypothesis predictions. Thus, six of the 16 participants might be expected to demonstrate differing outcomes related to the effects of the contact-hypothesis (Braddock & McPartland, 1989). With two exceptions, the older participants, those designated as Trailblazers, attended racially segregated public schools in the South. As might be expected, the Trailblazer who grew up in a northern state attended desegregated schools which were also parochial and "very ethnically oriented." That Trailblazer spoke of being one of "8 or 10 Blacks" in one such school she attended. The other Trailblazer who attended desegregated schools grew up in a small town in the State where this study was conducted – a town which was simply too small to maintain totally separate schools.

Somewhat surprisingly, the Torchbearers, most of whom are among the Baby Boom cohort of Americans born between 1946 and 1964, actually reported similar experiences. Four of the five Torchbearers reported attending segregated public schools, one in the "Deep South" and three in the State in which this study was conducted. The fifth Torchbearer talked of attending racially desegregated schools on the Atlantic coast prior to moving to the Southwest with her family, then attended racially mixed schools in the State in which this study was conducted. The four Pioneers, younger than the Torchbearers by nearly a generation, all reported attending desegregated schools, two in the North and Midwest and two in the State where this study was conducted.

Based on their reported schooling and limited experience with early desegregation practice, perpetuation theory would suggest that most of the participants in this study might express greater comfort in and desirability for segregated environments in several spheres of their lives. Among the life spheres which might be examined in assessing the extent to which the participants' lives reflect this propensity are (1) educational choices, (2) family environments, (3) religious environments and (4) employment environments,.

Educational choices. Among the 16 participants, 13 chose an undergraduate college with a racial environment similar to that of the public schools they had attended, i.e., if they attended segregated schools, they chose a segregated college. Only one participant continued that trend at the graduate level, a Trailblazer who earned two master's degrees at the HBCU where she was employed full-time as an academic administrator. This Trailblazer was married with children when she and her husband and family moved to the two in which her graduate HBCU alma matter was located: "[We] lived there for 19, [or] 20 years." Among the three participants who chose colleges with different racial environments, only one attended desegregated public schools and chose an HBCU for her undergraduate studies. This simplest level of analysis appears to confirm predictions drawn from Braddock's perpetuation theory (1980.) Yet, the participants' descriptions of their college experiences would suggest that numbers alone may not indicate the full picture.

Most of the Trailblazers earned undergraduate degress from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), most doing so before the term "Historically" was added to the phrase and most remaining in their home states. Although in recent years,

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these schools have enrolled increasingly diverse student populations (NCES, 1996), in the 1940s and early 1950s, when the Trailblazers attended them, these were All-Black Colleges and Universities– students, faculty and, for the most part, administrators. According to the NCES (1996), white leadership – administrators and faculty members – at Black Colleges and Universities was replaced by Black [male] leadership following World War I, when an influx of some "400,000 Black members of the Armed Forces" (p.3) returned from the War. For example, Mordecai Johnson was appointed the first Black president at Howard University, one of the oldest and most prestigious, private Black colleges, in 1926 (NCES, 1996).

In most cases, the Trailblazers' undergraduate college choices were artificially limited by legal and social barriers which pushed them to segregated collegiate environments just as they had been pushed to segregated public schools. Indeed, those same laws and social patterns determined the location of at least one Trailblazer's master's degree studies when, unable to enroll for graduate studies at the public universities in her home State, she attended an out-of-state private university at the State's expense. One of the Trailblazers who did not attend racially segregated public schools earned an undergraduate degree from a desegregated college. However, as she described it, her choice was influenced by her family circumstances and by a high school counselor, not the racial composition of the institution. Each of the five Trailblazers who earned doctoral degrees did so at predominately white institutions, primarily at one in-state university in the 1970s and 1980s.

Among the Torchbearer and Pioneer groups, as the legal and social barriers were removed, it would appear there were greater opportunities for exercising freedom of choice. Still, although one Torchbearer reported attending desegregated public schools, all of the Torchbearers initially attended Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Interestingly, two Torchbearers transferred from their initial choices – one public, in-state and one private, out-of-state – after one semester and one year respectively. The first cited financial problems when the second straightforwardly attributed her decision to "being homesick." Both resumed their studies at, and subsequently graduated from, predominately white, public in-state universities.

By the 1970s when the Pioneers began making their college attendance decisions, increasing numbers of Black students attended desegregated public schools in the South and the State in which this study was conducted. In fact, none of the Pioneers reported attending racially segregated public schools and only one Pioneer attended an Historically Black University. Having already started her family when she began her undergraduate studies, she cited proximity and the prospect of employment as key factors in her choice: "[The Historically Black University] was only 12 miles away and . . . by the grace of God, there was an entry level position available." The other three Pioneers chose PWIs, public and private, in and outside their home States. The two Pioneers who grew up in the State where this study was conducted were among the participants who traveled the least distance to attend college, both remaining within 20 miles of their respective home towns.

The bigger picture on educational choice would indicate that among the participants in this study, educational choices were influenced by several factors,

Religious environments. Participants in all three groups frequently made generally religious references through phrases such "God's trying to tell you something," or "I'm claiming the victory on that" as they described their career experiences. Strong religious and spiritual beliefs were expressed by several of the participants, particularly among the Trailblazers and Torchbearers. Consistent with other Black women, the participants spoke about the importance of religious institutions in the Black community as well as their own spiritual convictions (Gregory, 1999). One participant noted, "in the African American community, the churches are our last bastions of community." The importance of the church as a community institution was echoed by a Trailblazer who proposed "networking with the churches in the community to try to get something started . . . we can help the public schools."

For more than one participant, the role of prayer and spiritual belief held a distinct place in her professional practices. A Trailblazer spoke almost poetically about how her grandmother's faith and prayers had guided her life, even well into her adulthood, marriage and career. Another Trailblazer described her own practices and their effect on her professional outlook, "I pray a lot . . . I believe that there has to be someone greater than those down here."

Their denominational affiliations nor the racial makeup of their churches were mentioned, but among those known to me personally, most belong to churches whose memberships at the congregational and organizational levels are predominately Black. The participants' lives in religious environments also would appear to be conducted in what Braddock and McPartland (1989) would consider a segregated sphere.

Employment environments. Kulis and Shaw (1996) pointed out that beginning in the 1970s, workplace racial segregation was lower than in most other aspects of society. Nine of the sixteen participants spent at least a portion of their careers working in HBCU environments; the Trailblazer, Torchbearer and Pioneer groups were represented among the nine. Although more than half of the participants work, or have worked, in an HBCU environment, none of the participants works in a racially segregated setting.

Most of the participants came unintentionally into higher education and, in most instances, into administration as well. All of the Trailblazers were trained as teachers at the undergraduate level. Some may have been drawn to teaching by the early 20th century legacy of Black clubwomen who believed "only Black women could save the Black race" (White, 1999, p. 36). For others, teaching may have been the most acceptable occupation among the limited range of choices then generally accessible to the middle-class in Black America.

The Torchbearers and Pioneers represented a wider range of initial career choices. In those groups, only three of the nine participants chose teaching or education as their undergraduate field of study and only one worked in public school settings prior to beginning her higher education career. In fact, their initial career choices included nursing, biology, anthropology and accounting – none of which might be considered "traditional" women's work.

Some of the participants spoke directly about their decisions to work in specific higher education environments. Describing her choice to work in an HBCU, one participant said, "My commitment is to work . . . with people like me. I like people like

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me. I want to work in an environment where I think I really make a difference." Another participant, whose career has included both PWI as well as HBCU environments, described her shift to an HBCU: ". . . At this stage in my life, money is not important. It's important that I use my time in helping mankind in some way." Both of these participants supervise faculty; and staff members of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Among the participants who had not worked in HBCUs, none spoke specifically of avoiding these environments. In fact, in a pattern of choices similar to those that led them to higher education, most elected to work in PWI environments because the opportunities arose at appropriate times. And, although there are still relatively few Black women successfully pursuing administrative careers in PWI environments, when this study was conducted, two of the five Torchbearers had worked for the same institutions for nearly thirty years.

While more than half of the participants have chosen to work in HBCU environments at some point in their career, these environments no longer constitute segregated environments. Between 1976 and 1994, nationwide at HBCUs non-black enrollment grew from 14.5 percent to 17.8 percent (NCES, 1996). Again, a conclusion drawn at the simplest level would present an incomplete picture of the participants' choices regarding segregated spheres within their employment environment.

Other Spheres. Sorority affiliations too were prominently mentioned by several participants. Among those who spoke of such memberships, all were members of one of the four historically Black sororities. Although each of these organizations boasts multi-racial membership internationally or nationally, all remain overwhelmingly Black. In

addition, several of the participants discussed community service work in which they are involved. Along with the sororities, organizations such as the Links, Inc., a highly selective, invited-membership service organization for Black women, and the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (I-FESH), an international development program established by the late Reverend Leon Sullivan, figured prominently in these conversations. All of these organizations and activities are located within and target Black communities.

Overall, on the surface it would appear that most, though not all, spheres – family, church, community service – of these women's lives are generally segregated. However, the reasons for these choices may not be self-evident nor as simple as the Braddock and McPartland (1989) model would suggest. Although some of the participants specifically mentioned their desire to support the Black communities from which they came and to support the efforts of other Black men and women who have chosen education as a vehicle for their own success, none of the participants in this study indicated unwillingness to be involved in more desegregated settings.

Strength of Ties Theory

Granovetter (1973) introduced "the strength of ties" as a key factor in understanding the impact of less formal social networks on information diffusion. In Granovetter's view (1973), social networks are characterized by two types of relationships: formal, or strong, ties and informal, or weak, ties. Granovetter holds that strong ties often represent redundant relationships while weak ties, which can serve as bridges between networks, are more likely to bring an individual into contact with

socially distant ideas that might be otherwise unavailable. Weak ties have been demonstrated to be particularly valuable when they establish bridges to higher status networks and the associated opportunities (Granovetter, 1983).

Weak Ties and Employment Opportunities. This line of thinking has been used to examine the patterns by which employment information is passed. In a study of job changing, among employees whose new job information came from personal contracts, Granovetter (1973) found that 85 percent of those contacts could be described as weak ties, contacts whom the job changers saw only occasionally or rarely. This finding would appear counterintuitive to the commonsense expectation that an individual's close friends and kinship groups might be most concerned about helping her meet fundamental needs. Crain (1970) found that Black job-seekers were more likely to seek job referrals through more formal means such as newspaper notices and employment agencies. This pattern can be traced to past discrimination practices, when unequal employment opportunities were present in the majority of settings. The current study provides only limited support for the value of weak ties in the dissemination of information yielding improved employment opportunities. In all three groups, participants described employment information obtained through formal sources, through relatives and friends (strong ties) and through acquaintances or chance encounters (weak ties.) None of the participants were asked directly to explain the method by which they obtained job referral information. However, as they talked about their careers, most of the participants talked about their transitions from employer to employer and from job assignment to job assignment.

Among the Trailblazers, personal contacts through family members – strong ties – were mentioned most often as the source of career and job referrals. Four of the seven Trailblazers began their higher education careers coincidental with their husbands' entry into or progress in higher education careers and then subsequently advanced on their own merits, eventually attaining positions that equaled or eclipsed those held by their spouses. After relocating and succeeding in several progressively responsible administrative positions as her husband moved up in his career, a Trailblazer moved so he could accept an administrative position to the State in which the study was conducted. Although she "decided [she] was going to teach [her] twelve hours and go home and just ease into retirement," within one year she had accepted an appointment as head of an academic division, a position approximating that of her husband. Another Trailblazer also entered higher education when her husband "took a coaching position" and "as part of the package deal . . . told them they had to give his wife a job." However, her career progress from entry-level federal program counselor to assistant vice president appears to have been directly related to her own perseverance – after several seasons of popularity and team success her husband eventually returned to the classroom. Similarly, a third Trailblazer accompanied her husband through four career relocations as he pursued his career as an academic officer at various institutions. Throughout the moves, the Trailblazer too sought and attained progressively responsible academic and administrative positions. At their last institution, as he returned to the classroom and later retired, her career achievements continued and eventually she was appointed chief academic officer there.

More distant acquaintanceship, or weak ties, contributed to at least one

Trailblazer's initial employment after college. Her first public school teaching job was

offered to her by the school principal, a fellow graduate of her undergraduate alma mater,

who "had been a graduate of [her alma mater] and was looking for a [her alma mater]

graduate to teach English." After deciding that she and her family needed to relocate to

another city, a Trailblazer spoke of initiating contact with an acquaintance who had

become a school district superintendent there. That contact yielded a position with that

school district. Another Trailblazer, planning to relocate to her home State, appeared to

have used more formal means for applying for a State-level administrative position in

public education. She was chagrined to learn the position and the program with which it

was associated had been abolished (apparently absent ties.) Later, a spontaneous, casual

acquaintanceship – airplane conversation – led her to both graduate education and

employment opportunities in higher education (weak ties.)

Still another Trailblazer whose career spanned at least four institutions, including

two stints at one institution, benefitted from a variety of approaches to obtain information

and referrals for progressively responsible employment opportunities. An

acquaintanceship with a department secretary yielded "insider information" on a graduate

fellowship which included an employment obligation in an administrative office (weak

tie.) Later, her successful experience with the head of that office appeared to positively

influence that administrator's decision to offer her a full-time administrative position

under his supervision (strong tie.) After moving to another institution, this Trailblazer

learned of a significant administrative opportunity through her mentor who then guided

her successfully through the application and interview process (strong tie.) Although she did not mention the mentor's role in this opportunity, several years later, after employment at a different higher education institution and outside the academy, this Trailblazer returned to the second institution and remained there more than ten years.

As would be expected among this group, these employment activities were centered primarily in Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Nonetheless, patterns of strong ties and weak ties with family members, other Black and non-Black educators emerge as the leading means by which employment information was obtained by the oldest participants. Indeed, by their confinement generally within primarily Black institutions and by their dual commitments to marriage partnerships and career achievements, each of these women would appear to be highly successful models of the bloom-where-you-are-planted maxim.

The Torchbearers described similar experiences – both strong ties and weak ties had contributed to their career information and job referral experiences. Notably, one Torchbearer provided clear examples of the limited reach of strong ties and bridging effect of weak ties as she described getting her first job after college. Even before completing her teaching degree, her career confidence had been bolstered by encouragement from "a lot of teachers in the public schools here in [her hometown] . . . They would tell me, 'Oh, they're going to want you in [her hometown.]" Still after a summer of applying there and in several nearby towns, she recalled: "I couldn't find a job and that was really disappointing. . . I even took the Civil Service exams. I applied everywhere." Toward the end of the summer, she described having been contacted about

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a job at a nearby two-year college: "He called me; I didn't apply. . . . I don't know if it was from the Placement Office at [her alma mater] or . . . if it may have been . . . one of the members of the State University Governing Board [which also governed the two-year college] was also a principal of . . . the elementary school I attended." Nearly thirty years later, she professed to her uncertainty about exactly how she came to the attention of the college president who provided her first higher education career opportunity.

In the racially segregated town in which this Torchbearer was raised, it seems reasonable to expect that many students' connections with former teachers could be considered strong ties – they worked in and attended a small, closely related group of schools, attended the same churches, lived in the same neighborhoods, and likely participated, albeit in different roles, in the same civic activities – fraternities, sororities, and social clubs. Although several of the Torchbearer's former teachers expressed encouragement and concern about her employability, none were not in the position to directly assure her employment. At the same time, the generation differences between teachers and students along with large student-to-teacher ratios would suggest that except in the case of relatives and specific family friends, most students' connections with former teachers were probably weak ties – although they might be known to each other, they enjoyed relatively infrequent contact. The Torchbearer's uncertainty suggests she did not specifically seek out and rely on the former principal's assistance in her job search, but that he may have been one of several sources from whom she sought assistance in her employment search. However, within her community, the former principal alone might have had direct contact and influence with the president of the two-

year college which until that time did not have any Black men or women in its faculty ranks.

Consistent with Crain's (1970) findings, at least one participant from the Torchbearers group described using formal means of locating jobs early in her career. After an encouraged resignation from her teaching job due to her pregnancy, as she put it: "I saw an ad in the paper to come to [a local two-year college] so I completed the ad . . . and came to work in the summer [after the baby was born in January.]" More often, a mixture of strong ties and weak ties seemed to have contributed to their career advancement efforts. A cousin [strong ties] provided information about graduate fellowships to one Torchbearer, allowing her to relocate to pursue graduate studies which included an internship at the community college level: "I did my internship . . . and really loved it. I decided I had found my niche. . . . After I finished my degree, they hired me as an adjunct." She talked of having relied on "community contacts" (weak ties) for support and encouragement through her career. Another Torchbearer said, "Just by happenstance, I got into the higher education system and had worked at a community college as a librarian prior to coming to [the college where she remains employed.]" Nonetheless, it seems important to note her legacy of strong ties to her current institution: her father and mother are undergraduate alumni, her mother's sister is an alumna and retired faculty member and upper-level administrator, all three have been active leaders of the institution's Alumni Association.

On the other hand, among the Pioneers, all but one of whom came to higher education after training for or working in other career fields, three described receiving

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employment information from individuals who might have been described as strong ties. Each of these three was brought to higher education by a former supervisor with whom she had developed a positive, mentor-like relationship. Two participants described having specifically enlisted the support and assistance of their former supervisors to make the transition from their earlier career fields to higher education. In each case, the former supervisors were well-placed and empowered to be effective career influences – both were college presidents. Workplace relationships typically would be considered weak ties. These Pioneers were successful in enriching these connections with persons outside their circles of close friends and relatives and in utilizing these connections to positively influence their career development.

Examining the experiences of the 16 participants in light of Granovetter's strength of weak ties theory, the wisdom of the adage "it's not only what you know, but who you know" appears to be substantiated, but with an important caveat. It appears that in the end, while it matters who you know, the benefits of knowing them are derived both from who they know and what they are willing to tell you.

The Greater Value in Weak Ties. Equally important and, in the end, more informative for this study is Granovetter's later assessment of the value of weak ties "in the social construction of individualism." Drawing on the sociological concepts of alienation and social integration, Granovetter (1984) points out that "exposure to a wide variety of different viewpoints and activities" is crucial to the development of individual identity. In a process not unlike Milgram's six degrees of separation, Granovetter (1983) can be linked through sociologist Rose Laub Coser's writing on individualism (1975)

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with classical ideas in sociology and sociologist Robert Merton who pioneered the study of "role-set theory" (Merton, 1967).

Merton (1975) suggests the theory of role-sets as a means of understanding social status and social structure. Merton (1975, p. 42) defines role-set as "that complement of social relationships in which people are involved simply because they occupy a particular social status." Thus, every social status involves an assortment of affiliated roles. For example, Merton (1975) cites teacher as a social status and points out that not only does the teacher have obvious roles with her students and her principal, but also with the students' parents, district-level administrators, school board members, teachers' associations, other community group members, etc. The situation is made more complex by the fact that every individual holds more than one status. Using the preceding example, the teacher may also hold the status of a wife, a mother, a daughter, and a student – each status carrying its own role set. In Merton's view, each individual then is challenged to organize these various role sets "so that any appreciable degree of social regularity obtains" (1975, p.42).

Coser (1975) recognized that often an individual's hold status positions, and consequently role-sets, that involve multiple social institutions – church, family, workplace – and the resulting role expectations might be incompatible and inconsistent. Drawing again on the example of teacher, it is not difficult to imagine how her family's expectations for use of her time outside the regular workday might conflict with her supervisor's expectations that she would be involved in extracurricular curricular activities. As Coser put it (1975), individuals are expected to

"behave differently at different places and at different times, when they interact with different people who themselves occupy different positions . . . [to] differentiate their behavior not only according to requirements of time and place but also according to the interests of those with whom they interact." (p. 237-238)

Coser argues that this "multiplicity of expectations . . . incompatible or contradictory as they may be, or *rather precisely because they are* [emphasis added], makes role articulation possible in a more self-conscious manner than if there were no such multiplicity." In other words, an individual can make more purposeful, intentional choices about how and when to act in certain ways, largely because of the varied conditions surrounding the choices and the large number of choices to be made. In Coser's view this is consistent with Simmel who held that "the fact that an individual can live up to expectations of several others in different places and at different times makes it possible to preserve an inner core, to withhold inner attitudes while conforming to various expectations" (Coser, 1975, p. 241).

Recognizing a difference between simple role-sets (those involving few role partners who are generally in similar status positions) and complex role-sets (those connecting more role partners usually in varying status positions), Coser (1975) contends that complex role-sets demand mastery of more measures to prevent internal discord. Merton suggests three factors that govern the individual's management of conflicting expectations: interest, power and observability (Coser, 1975). The individual's choices then are guided by her assessment of the role partners' interest in her behavior, her

assessment of the role partners' power, and her assessment of how easily or closely the role partners may be able to directly observe her behavior. Further, Coser (1975) argues the higher her status (and more complex her role-sets), the more freedom the individual has to use these factors in determining the priorities – her own or those set within the culture – for addressing the mix of expectations within her various role-sets. The greater the complexity, the greater the likelihood for incompatible expectations and the greater the opportunity for the individual to practice "reflection" (thoughtful consideration of the behavior choices), "flexibility" (various ways to reduce the potential discord), and "innovation" (different approaches) in relation to the expectations (Coser, 1975, p. 246.) From this it follows that individuals in lower status positions would be neither expected nor encouraged to master these factors – their behaviors would be expected to be more prescripted, routine and standard.

Citing Basil Bernstein's research on types of speech, Coser (1975) contends that communication patterns may provide evidence of an individual's sophistication with regard to understanding social structures. Achieving "the ability to relate two variables to each other than to oneself" (p. 248) demonstrates "understanding that rules can be changed because they are rooted in the relationships among people" (p. 249). This relativity may be expressed through use of what Bernstein recognized as "restricted speech" or "elaborate speech" (p.255). Restricted speech is simpler, more-context bound and relies more heavily on assumptions of common understanding than elaborated speech which is characterized by reflection, not context-bound and assumes that understanding must be built through rules of language, not common understanding. Coser concludes

that "in elaborated speech there is a relatively high level of individualism, for it results from the ability to put oneself in imagination in the position of each role partner in relation to all others, including oneself" (p.257). Distinguishing between individuals participating in society as "subjects" and "objects," hooks (1989, p. 42) makes a similar point. In her view, as an object, "one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others and one's history named only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject, whereas subjects "have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history."

All this suggests that a combination of mixed social relationships exemplifying strong ties and weak ties and bridging social institutions and imposed racial boundaries would strengthen an individual's abilities to meet varying demands for social acceptance within those institutions. The participants in this study provide strong evidence in support of this interpretation. Examining the participants' stories through this lens provides deeper, richer insights into their personal experiences and careers. From the "turn-around stories" that figured prominently in the Trailblazers' and Torchbearers' responses to the high value placed on education by all the participants to the strength conveyed in stories about family (as children and parents), the participants provided multiple examples of how they have been molded and shaped by the complexity of expectations in their lives. In telling their stories, generally the participants used what would have to be considered elaborate speech – communication on a level understandable by those inside and outside the academy, those familiar and unfamiliar with their experiences. Occasionally, however, the speech was more restricted – particularly when

conversing about race and gender – relying in part on the shared experiences of the interviewer and interviewee.

As one clear example of the tendency to defy the self-definitions imposed by others while maintaining a strong core sense of self, several participants talked of frequently finding themselves expecting more of their students (and occasionally their colleagues) than the students or colleagues expected of themselves. One participant spoke of having seen potential in a struggling student: "He had to have somebody to tell him that he was taking the wrong classes, that he needed to make better grades . . . he is an honor student now." Another participant said: "When I see a person, I don't see *bad* [emphasis hers]." Still another spoke of realizing "the possibilities you have are extraordinary" and of her efforts to share that realization with students. A Trailblazer acknowledged her expectations of others may have been influenced by her own experiences: "I have been driven by people who believe[d] in me, that I could do something when I might have thought I didn't want to do it or couldn't do it."

Even their expressions of concerns for providing too much nurturing in their work environments could considered a matter of respect for self-definition opportunities. One participant recounted an episode involving a colleague, saying: "I think [my] tendency to want more for people than they want for themselves is not good, because every person needs to have the right to self-determine." Among the younger participants – Pioneers – there was less mention of these incidents, perhaps because their work responsibilities had brought them fewer opportunities for contact with students. Another possible explanation might be that there has been less difference between their expectations for themselves and

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those of the society surrounding them. Absent separate schools and externally imposed and enforced limits on their aspirations, perhaps the younger participants themselves had fewer experiences with extensive negative externally-presented social expectations.

The internal strength to sustain themselves – maintain their core – in the face of competing expectations appears to have developed early, particularly among the older participants. A Trailblazer spoke of accompanying her grandmother to community activities where they were often the only Black people present. A Torchbearer, taught to swim by her older brothers, worked several summers as a lifeguard at a public swimming pool during an era when swimming was practically an oddity in her community – even in recent years, she experienced disbelief from students when they learned she was the swimming instructor. Another Torchbearer indicated that early in her school years, she felt set apart from her peers: "I always liked school; and I liked to study . . . I didn't fit in here [the State in which the study was conducted] when I came ." And a Pioneer described how she took responsibility for her own college counseling after personnel at her high school neglected her needs, intentionally or as result of oversight. Indeed this initiative against the counselor's norm may have positively contributed to her college success. Yates (2001) provides evidence that minority students deciding to attend colleges with small numbers of minority students enrolled tend to be seriously committed to their college success.

The idea of capitalizing from every opportunity and setback alike was conveyed throughout the participants' stories. In fact, this idea seemed fundamental to the "turn-around stories" – the expectation that students would not squander opportunities for

improved education and its accompanying opportunities for career and life success. This idea appeared to permeate their views of marriage and family life as well. The demands of two-career marriages and those of single parenthood were met with equal aplomb. In fact, at least two Trailblazers credited their husbands' career moves with bringing them into higher education from other fields. Among those participants with children, none spoke negatively of foregone career opportunities or career sacrifices related to parenthood. Further, their children seemed to exemplify the qualities that served their mothers so well – strength in the face of opposition, belief in education, commitment to reap maximum benefit from opportunity.

The participants' stories are replete with examples of how they began early in their lives to become comfortable in multiple and unscripted roles, thereby bringing themselves into contact with people and ideas which might have been otherwise inaccessible to them. And in the process, they gained early and ample practice in the art of understanding the various expectations and demands placed upon them, honing their abilities to be comfortable and expressive in a variety of settings.

Bringing it all back to Granovetter, it becomes apparent that the participants were successful in building and using strong ties that were not stultifying, while also building and using weak ties that enriched their intellectual lives and broadened their opportunities for career success. Indeed, successful combinations of strong and weak ties were sufficiently prevalent to suggest that without them, the participants might have been less successful in their career achievements. The participants' strong ties – relationships and connections within their families, their spiritual lives and their community lives –

bolstered them, providing sufficient shelter and support for them to enjoy strongly

centered lives as they crafted their abilities to respond dynamically to the myriad

expectations confronting them while they cultivated valuable weak ties. The participants'

articulation of this phenomenon varied. A Trailblazer describing her marriage

relationship, recognized her husband's contribution to her success: "I gave my husband

something one time that said, 'Because of you, I am.' " Another Trailblazer talked

matter-of-factly about the impact of her role-switching between professional educator and

parent as she pressed to relocate her family in the interest of her child's future, rather than

her own or her husband's career success: "I just said, 'Mama has to be Mama now. I

guess I better take over my responsibilities.' " A Pioneer noting her close relationship

with her mother (and her grandmother before she died) said: "She tries to help me think

things through . . . she's never done anything to hold me back and has always promoted

my interests."

The participants' observations about their lives and careers demonstrated

cognitive flexibility to respond purposefully and richly to the externally presented

demands of complex role sets and, it would appear, to go beyond that and impose

additional demands on themselves. Not only have these women lived across social

institutional boundaries, most have managed to do so in essentially two different worlds –

that of the dominant predominately White culture and that of the minority predominately

Black culture. They have sought and found comfort, success or both without being bound

to the self-definitions presented to them by either world. In a twist of Coser's

observation, they have seen themselves in imagination and achieved immeasurable

strength and individualism to successfully overcome the challenges to their success.

Other Insights

The participant' stories were unique in their details and remarkably similar in their

patterns. Family histories varied – ranging from homes with two college-educated

parents to homes with a single grandparent with limited formal schooling, from large

families to small. Yet, someone in every family nurtured the participant, inspiring and

encouraging her toward high educational aspirations. The participants' educational

backgrounds ranged from perennially underfunded historically Black collegiate settings to

elite, private liberal arts colleges to nationally recognized research universities. And, in

all these settings, each participant set and successfully met high academic performance

expectations. While some participants spoke almost poetically of long, successful

marriages, others described the challenges of poor choices and single parenthood; some

spoke of the successful careers of adult grandchildren while others talked of deferring

their educational and career achievements until their young children are out of high

school. Still, all the participants made clear that their families were an important source

of sustenance to them, that family obligations were opportunities and not encumbrances.

Within this context and somewhat outside the theoretical framework, two patterns

merited special attention: first, the participants' choices of institutional settings for their

careers; second, their marriage histories; and finally, their resilient, optimistic outlooks.

Institutional Choices. Most of the Trailblazers and Torchbearers described

themselves as among the first in their families to pursue a college education, Finnegan

(1993) found similar educational backgrounds among non-Black faculty hired during the 1960s and early 1970s. Finnegan (1993) also observed that faculty serving in the Carnegie Classification of Comprehensive I Universities chose those institutions based on their own career aspirations and the distinctive nature of those institutions. Her study, which featured three cohorts based on career-duration, confirmed Lipset and Ladd's earlier findings that "academics from working-class and farm backgrounds turn up most heavily in the lower-status colleges" (p. 646). Although many of the Trailblazers and Torchbearers began their careers in a climate of limited institutional choices, most gave some indication of deliberate decisions to devote their careers to the specific institutional type in which they worked. Despite society's often disparaging assessment of their work places, the women who worked in HBU settings took pride in their accomplishments and their contributions to raising the standards within those institutions.

Marriage and Family. Although marriages of thirty and forty years duration will become increasingly rare given the high rate of divorce today, the long marriages reported by the Trailblazers should not be considered unusual. Starting in the late 1800s, as college education became more widely available and acceptable for women, Harris (1978) reported that white women were increasingly faced with the dilemma of choosing between getting married and having children or remaining single and having a career. In fact, "society sanctioned only three courses for the middle-class white woman in the Progressive period: marriage, charity work or teaching"(Landry, 2000, p. 67). This was not a dilemma typically faced by college-educated Black women. Although Howard University policy in the early 1910s precluded married women from holding teaching

positions, by 1938 an article about Bennett College, one of the three Black women's colleges, recognized that "when you educate a woman you educate a family . . . the entire curriculum is geared to provide the students the type of education that not only will make them intelligent, alert, and progressive, but will go a long way towards helping them establish homes and happy families as well" (Bell-Scott, 1984, p. 9). Then (and more recently) college-educated Black women more likely combined marriage, motherhood, work and social activism, seemingly guided by an awareness that they could not comfortably retreat to the safe haven of middle-class homes. A study of welfare reformers in the first half of the 20th century showed that 34 percent of the white activities had been married while 85 percent of the Black activists had been. More than 80 percent of these women (both Black and white) were college-educated (Landry, 2000).

Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of data from interviews with the participants examined through the theoretical framework of perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989) and strength of ties theory (Granovetter, 1973, 1983.) On the surface, it appeared that perpetuation theory offered an explanation for this pattern. However, closer examination showed that a variety of factors influenced the participants' educational choices. Further, it appeared the make-up of the participants' other life spheres – family, religion, employment – was consistent with perpetuation theory tenets. Also, the participants described "strong ties" with family and personal friends consistent with "strength of ties" theory (Granovetter, 1973, 1983). Most valuably, the role of weak ties in the development of individualism appeared to provide a

viable illumination for understanding the participants' success in a variety of challenging

environments.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND A PLAN OF ACTION

*Let us insist then on special encouragement for the education of our
women and special care in their training. Let our girls feel that we expect
something more of them than that they merely look pretty and appear well
in society. Teach them that there is a race with special needs which they
and only they can help.*
                    ~*Anna Julia Cooper* (Lemert & Bahn, 1998, p. 86-87)

A retired faculty member from a four-year university in the State where this study

was conducted recently recalled that when she began teaching in higher education in the

mid-1970s, the faculty at that institution included "six or seven other Black men and

women who held Ph.D.s in their fields" (Ivory, 2001, p. 1*)*. When she retired in the mid-

1990s, only two Black full-time, doctorate-holding faculty member remained, the others

having retired from the university or moved on, usually out-of-state, to other universities

or other fields. Four years later, there were none. This pattern is not presented here as

representative of intentional State System or even institutional policy. However, with

four other State System colleges and universities indicating no Black faculty or

administrators, the pattern should not be easily dismissed or ignored.

What Was Done and What Was Learned

This study began in 2000 with the re-reading of Moses' (1989) monograph on

Black women in higher education. Although a decade had passed, and the national

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landscape was changing, it seemed that little had changed in the local environment. In fact, if anything, it appeared there was less cause for hopefulness. Twenty years ago, it was still possible to talk about overcoming the barriers to equal opportunity as a broad scale goal, something to which all Black people could reasonably aspire. In 2000, that optimism appeared to need careful reconsideration (Geok-Lin Lim & Herrera-Sobek, 2000; Gregory, 1999; Harvey, 1999; Tidball, Smith, Tidball & Wolf-Wendel, 1999). This study represents exploration of these concerns on a local scale.

Interviews were conducted to learn about the career experiences of sixteen Black women holding the position of dean or above in public higher education institutions in a Southern state. The data collected was reported in two ways. Relying on the participants' own words, mini-biographies describing their family, education and employment backgrounds are presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV presents the participants' views of specifically what factors affected their careers, again relying on their own words. Factors affecting career success that emerged from the participants' responses were similar to those identified in earlier studies of Black women administrators as described in Table 1. The data were analyzed using a theoretical frame of perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980 and Braddock & McPartland, 1989) and strength of ties theory (Granovetter, 1973; 1983.) As reported in Chapter V, the findings were mixed.

Perpetuation theory would suggest that absent early, positive experiences in racially desegregated settings, Black people would tend to maintain racially segregated patterns in education and other life spheres. Due to their ages and States of origin, most

of the participants attended racially segregated public schools and, it would appear, predictably attended racially segregated colleges and universities as undergraduates. However, the participants' explanations for those choices and their patterns of later choices, would suggest that legal, not social, barriers were major influences on those decisions. As the legal barriers were removed, and in one instance when the legal barriers required, these women chose racially desegregated institutions for graduate study and acquitted themselves well, academically and socially. Except in their work environments, most of the participants' life spheres – religious, family, community involvements – are comfortably and predominately Black.

The influence of strong ties – close relationships with varying combinations of parents, husbands, siblings, children and close friends – as sources of emotional support and encouragement was evident among all the participants. Weak ties – from work and other environments – were described by most of the participants as well. Through their adroit balance of the combination of these strong ties and weak ties, all of the participants demonstrated the ability to respond to a host of differing expectations from a variety of sources while maintaining a coherent sense of self.

Discussion

Both perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980 and Braddock and McPartland, 1989) and strength of ties theory (Granovetter, 1973; 1983) draw on ideas introduced in the mid-1960s. As noted in Chapter III of this study, during the ensuing forty years, this nation's social justice landscape has changed. Visions for attaining a "just society" now range from *acculturation and assimilation models* (the cultural melting pot image) where

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irrespective of racial or ethnic background or history, the dominant group's cultural

patterns become the standard for all aspects of the society to be adhered to by all its

members to *enculturation and cultural pluralism models* (the cultural salad bowl) where

each culture sustains itself and the society is comprised of an array of diverse cultures.

Perpetuation theory in its broadest sense might even be considered a tool for

understanding why American society as a whole has resisted major shifts toward either

extreme, while strength of ties might offer insight into the internal workings within the

patterns.

Not surprisingly both theories would appear to accept the dominant group's

worldview as the desirable norm – placing premium value on the dominant group's social

institutions while dismissing or denigrating those associated with other groups. This

segmented view results in lose of value to the whole society because it systemically

assures that an entire constellation of potentially useful ideas and information becomes

inaccessible to the entire society. In past eras, marked by global isolation and

assumptions of abundant resources, where stability and staid tradition were characteristics

of societal success, this segmentation, though insulting for some, was not deemed a

significant problem, if it was considered at all. In the current era of global proximity and

increasingly scarce resources, where innovation and adaptation are now associated with

societal success (at least in the Western world), and access to ideas is a valued form of

social capital, such segmentation creates a significant disadvantage. Carrying the food

metaphor a little further, we now recognize that the best fondue requires an assortment of

cheeses and assorted crudite's, just as a good salad relies on a bit of dressing to bring out

the flavors of assorted greens and vegetables – neither cheese nor greens and vegetables alone achieve the same flavorful impact.

Reading history, even when women are mentioned or included, it is often intriguing to notice the points of view expressed and even more intriguing to realize those that are absent. A cross-section of texts were used to obtain information for this study about women's lives in the United States since pre-colonial days. Most of these sources described women's lives generally, not specifically denoting race with every reference to "women," singular or plural. In doing so, most of these volumes at least tacitly offered the patterns of white women's lives as a standard, then mentioned Black women and other women or color in the special places where their lives departed from that norm. While this is an accepted convention, it misses that Black women's experiences, even having followed a different pattern, are nonetheless a standard through which most Black women come to understand their own lives and those other Black women – their grandmothers, mothers, sisters, aunts, and friends. By acknowledging and accepting the patterns of Black women's lives, this study expands on the all-too-infrequent opportunity for others to understand themselves in relation to Black women's experiences.

There were remarkable differences between the career experiences of the participants in this study, many of which appear to be associated with the participants' ages. Clearly all of the participants appeared comfortable with themselves, as Black women, as decision makers, as talented well-educated high achievers. The Trailblazers were simply more textured and therefore, in many ways, more intriguing. The adversities they overcame seasoned them for success, gave them a self-assurance and strength that

the younger simply did not demonstrate. They were more educated, more worldly, more savvy. The Torchbearers too experienced segregated America, but from the vantage points of childhood and adolescence. Most of the Torchbearers have not yet mellowed to the refinement exhibited by the Trailblazers. These participants do still carry the traditions of nurturing and racial uplift as important themes in their work. The Pioneers were the farthest removed from the experiences of racial segregation that so prominently marked the experiences of the other two groups. Pioneers were more business-like in their approaches to work and careers. Their interests appeared to be more professionally oriented than service oriented. Nonetheless, more than any other group, the Pioneers mentioned the desirability of connections with other Black women, women who might see the world of their work as they did.

A mantra from the early days of multicultural education suggested that difference should be observed, studied, and celebrated until "difference don't make no difference." That goal has not yet been reached in society generally nor in most individual lives, not to mention in higher educational settings at the campus, state or national levels. This study suggested an alternative goal: understanding and learning from difference until the negatives associated with difference are discarded and difference is embraced for its enrichment potential. This paradigm applied to higher education would recognize the participation of Black women as an element of excellence, not an imposition or afterthought.

For Black women to be a continuing and potent presence in higher education institutions in the State where this study was conducted and nationally, significant efforts

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will be needed to recruit, sustain and retain present and potential leaders. These efforts must include not only the women themselves, but participants from all levels of the higher education enterprise, from students to chancellors, from campus administrators to State-level officials. No less than the entire academy must be engaged to bring forward the talent, welcome its participation and value its contributions. Efforts targeting only Black women will not be adequate, they alone cannot assure environmental shifts toward inclusion, acceptance or appreciation.

Some of the values set out in the proposed activities have long been transmitted from generation to generation with Black communities – nurturing promise in the next generation, reaching across class and cultural boundaries, understanding the importance of knowledge and skill acquisition, surviving and thriving as individual and collective endeavors. Most of the participants in this study – from Trailblazers to Pioneers – indicated that they participate in some segregated spheres – families, churches, sororities – and some spheres which are desegregated, often by their very present in them – most notably, employment. Granovetter (1973; 1983) and Coser (1975) suggest it is the integration of these multiple spheres, these collections of multiple and varied roles that cross social and cultural boundaries, that undergirds these women's individuality. Without such personal integration, the work of being a Black person, a woman, an administrative leaders, a spouse and mother, a churchwoman, a contributor to community life would be confusing, daunting or even overwhelming. In a very real sense, what challenges them does not destroy them but makes them stronger.

A Plan of Action

To derive the full benefits of difference, the tools for developing this outlook must be engendered among younger Black women, recognized and appreciated in current practitioners and promoted across the boundaries of culture, race and gender. This study began with concerns about how to enhance the attainments of Black women administrators in higher education in a particular state system. The literature, the data gathered through the study, and the tenets of the theoretical framework suggest a multi-faceted approach for achieving this goal. The state system and the various governing boards must be actively engaged to assure that these well-qualified candidates are honestly considered for top-level administrative posts, even in institutions with limited histories of employing people of color. Through its educational programs for trustees and chief executives, the state system can press for openness in application and selection processes – not by pressing for preferences, but by urging inclusive definitions of excellence, pushing for the best qualified candidates and fair procedures. Institutional leaders can work toward creating and sustaining inclusive campus climates by engaging in and supporting the elimination of barriers that may restrict the full participation of women and people of color. The women themselves must be prepared for this environment by continuing to be ready academically, psychologically, and socially for the mantle of leadership.

These recommendations offer a four-step approach to achieving the related goals of excellence in the higher education system and increased presence of Black women in executive administration. Borrowing from the familiar saying, the action plan focuses on

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the "what you know," and "who you know," as well as "who they know," and "what you can learn from all of them." The successful implementation of these recommendations requires representation of the entire cross-section of higher education administrators, males and females from all racial and ethnic groups. Systematically including everyone offers increased likelihood that the entire system benefits and decreased likelihood that the plan runs afoul of current affirmative action/gender preference taboos. A national symposium focused on Black women and higher education would provide an appropriate starting point for implementing this professional development model.

Strengthening the Skill Set – "What you know". Current and aspiring administrators must have the requisite skills and developmental experiences to fulfill leadership responsibilities and accomplish institutional goals. Specifically, these include the "big picture" skills of institutional visioning and goal-setting, budgeting, decision-making, fund-raising, and political acumen. While graduate and postgraduate education, symposia and professional development programs offer theoretical knowledge in these areas, the entire system benefits from providing opportunities for applied experiences to aspiring and entry-level administrators. The state system, individual institutions, and individual administrative leaders play pivotal roles in developing these opportunities and assuring they are made available to the full spectrum of aspirants, including Black women.

Multiplying the Mentors – "Who you know". Mentoring has become an important way of learning; most of the participants in the study recognized the benefits they had received from mentoring relationships during their careers. Often these

relationships were with highly-placed individuals on their respective campuses, including presidents and other executive administrators, usually male and usually white. Several, though not all, of the participants described these relationships as distinctively limited to certain settings and certain aspects of their careers. Even the most well-intended white male may not fully understand the special demands – internally- and externally-imposed – of being young or middle-aged, relatively new in your career or seasoned, well-educated and ambitious, married or unmarried with or without children, while also being black and being a woman.

With that caveat, these relationships still should be encouraged for the positive learning opportunities they represent. They should also be supplemented by second, third or even fourth mentoring relationships developed to complement the more limited relationships. In a process facilitated by the state system or individual institutional governing boards, prospective mentors would be recruited from throughout the system with matching based on a variety of factors including desirable experiential bases. Same race, same gender matches would be permitted, even encouraged, for at least one of the multiple mentoring relationships. A foundation of this activity would be communication among those mentored and their several mentors, to assure trust is sustained in all the relationships.

Creating A Network – "Who They Know". Amazingly many of the participants in this study were not acquainted with each other. Excluding the seven participants who work for one institution most of the participants were the only Black women in senior-level administrative positions on their respective campuses. Most of these women have

been socialized in cultures where, there might be concerns about the number of women in highly-placed positions; they do not expect to be one of many, and in some instances would not be comfortable in such setting. Many of these women were accustomed to being their own counsel, in the "chilly climate" of their campus environment (Shavlik and Touchton, 1986).

Still, what we learned through Granovetter (1973; 1983) and Coser (1975) suggests that at least acquaintanceship relations with others in higher education might be desirable. There would appear to be positive potential from building connections with other women and men doing similar work as well as with other women facing or having faced similar challenges. These connections, in turn, could spawn additional connections – across institutional lines, across governing boards, across cultural lines. Sharing knowledge and information, sharing insights, sharing visions and goals holds potential for enriching the entire state system, for bringing all participants – including the Black women – into contact with otherwise inaccessible levels of achievement.

Priming the Pipeline – "what you can learn from them". The career experiences documented in this study were rich and varied, inspiration to any reader, not just to other Black women interested in higher education administration. Along with the career experiences of other groups in higher education, these stories could be used in the recruitment and development of future higher education leaders.

Among other things, the participants' stories showed that the identification and development of future leaders begins early, middle school or high school is not too soon. By offering career workshops aimed at encouraging college attendance in general and

promoting careers in higher education specifically, the state system could encourage

development of the next generation of leaders. Through these efforts, undergraduate and

graduate students might be encouraged to remain in the state, understanding that their

talents would nurtured and their contributions valued. With presentations drawn from

diverse racial and cultural experiences, the state system could model its goal for the future

– alerting all participants that regardless of their physical resemblance to any speaker,

they could expect a fair opportunity to succeed in a career in this state's public higher

education system.

The desired impact of these initiatives is changed consciousness, not just among

the participants, but among all stakeholders in the higher education community –

students, faculty, administrators, and society as a whole. This kind of change requires

intentionality and recognition on the part of all its adherents that the best higher education

systems seek and utilize ideas, embrace proven talent and leverage strength from all

sources, including Black women.

Significance of the Study

This study of Black women administrators in the public higher education system

of a Southern state has significance for researchers, practitioners and policymakers. First,

it adds to the existing scant body of literature on Black women in higher education.

Through its focus on Black women deans and vice presidents, this study expands

awareness and understanding of the factors leading up to and impacting success in those

positions in both HBCU and PWI settings. In addition, the qualitative nature of the study

allowed participants to provide insights on the "what" of their career experiences, but the

"why" and "how" as well. Second, the use of the theoretical framework employing both

perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock and McPartland, 1989) and strength of

ties theory (Granovetter, 1973; 1983) expands understanding of the value of these

theories for interpreting experiences and events across gender and racial boundaries.

Further, the use of the theoretical framework allows a structured analysis of the data.

Much of the available literature is anecdotal or biographical and does not lend itself to

such analysis.

By offering a view which takes of Black women's lived experiences as a norm

against which to consider other experiences, this study provides a helpful tool for other

Black women who aspire to or currently hold upper-level and executive positions in

higher education. The participants' stories acknowledge and explicate the complex

conditions affecting Black women's presence in the academy, offering a source of

inspiration or education to others in similar conditions and those who seek similar

careers. The benefit of understanding from the non-dominant perspective is not limited to

other women and Black men, expanded perspectives, as well as access to ideas, provide a

form of social capital that transcends race and gender.

In a statement that might appear to underestimate the Black professionals (men

and women) who have chosen to devote their careers to public institutions in the State in

which this study was conducted, an official at the State System level noted that the State

exports more talented Black men and women than it imports. The proposed action plan

offers a professional development opportunity to stem the outflow within the current

social justice climate of concern regarding affirmative action-type initiatives. Further,

policymakers at the State System and institutional levels may find this study useful in

analyzing and enhancing campus climates toward greater appreciation and support across

racial and gender barriers.

Suggestions for Future Research

Through the findings of this study, Black women holding or aspiring to hold

administrative positions in higher education will be helped in their understanding of

factors potentially impacting their careers. Awareness and understanding of these factors

will allow these women to better sustain and prepare themselves for successful

administrative careers in higher educational, potentially even exceeding the levels of

success enjoyed by the participants in the study.

Issues of race and gender provided key focal points in this study. In State System

history only two women have attained college presidencies and only one Black person has

attained the presidency in a Predominately White Institution (Hagy, 2000). Further study

to examine the career experiences of other women and other Black professionals within

the same State System might be expected to provide additional valuable insights into

factors affecting career success in public college and university settings in this State,

opening the way for more diversity at the chief executive level.

Although the theoretical framework of perpetuation theory and strength of ties

social networking theory guided the organization of this study and influenced the

methodology used, the unstructured nature of the interviews resulted in collection of

extensive data from the participants. Valuable insights regarding career success might be

obtained through consideration of these data in relation to changes in the higher education

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environment and the nature of participation in that environment, particularly during the years between 1960 and 2002. Assessment and data analysis using other theoretical frames such as armoring (Bell and Nkomo, 1998), biculturalism (Hughes & Dodge, 1997; Richie, 1992; Bell, 1990; Beale, 1970), or feminist standpoint (Allen, 1998) could be helpful in extending our understanding of the participants' realities. Studies conducted with the same participants might focus on more in-depth understanding the impact of their roles and participation in egocentric networks (personal, e.g., friends and family connections) and sociocentric networks (group-defined; e.g., work and other professional connections) (McCarty, 2002).

Replicating the study with similarly-positioned Black women in the public higher education institutions systems of other States could explore not only career patterns, but also could expose state-to-state or regional differences in approaches to racial desegregation and gender inclusion, thereby enriching the understanding and usefulness of information about factors related to career success. Further insights also might be gained from identifying Black women whose career pursuits were not as successful as those of the participants in this study to obtain their views on the factors affecting their careers, with particular attention to their use of strong ties and weak ties. Deeper exploration of the issues of marriage and family through study focused on husbands and children of Black women college and university administrators could also yield valuable information, especially for those women seeking executive positions.

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Summary

This chapter offered discussion of what was learned from this study, along with an action plan drawn from the findings of the study and the theoretical framework of perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock and McPartland, 1989) and strength of ties theory (Granovetter, 1973, 1983; Coser, 1975.) Perpetuation theory was found to be an inadequate predictor of the participants' educational choices (Braddock, 1980) or the make-up of their various life spheres (Braddock and McPartland, 1989.) While most chose racially separate educational environments, those choices were influenced by a variety of factors including proximity and access as well as enforced racial segregation strictures. Although the participants described life spheres that were primarily Black, they also reported participation in spheres that were racially mixed and indicated no unwillingness to participate in racially mixed spheres. Strong ties and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1983) were present in the social networks of all the participants and both appeared to contribute to their career success. Most significantly, the breadth and number of strong ties and weak ties ascribed to the participants appeared to bolster their abilities to respond to wide-ranging expectations from a variety of sources while maintaining a coherent sense of self. Finally, a four-part plan of action was recommended to increase opportunities within the state system of public higher education for leadership development, mentoring, networking and administrative career awareness.

A Final Thought

Returning to the idea with which the study began, we are reminded that whether regarded as the "double jeopardy" (Beale, 1970, p. 90) of race and gender, the triple

jeopardy of race, gender, and class (hooks, 1989) or quadruple jeopardy of race, gender, education and isolation (Williams, 1992), the condition of Black women in higher education must be acknowledged as complex and unique. By their careers and accomplishments, the 16 participants in this study demonstrated that Black women can successfully negotiate the challenges inherent in a public higher education setting. These women have seized and held the spaces in that setting where someday in the foreseeable future Black women administrators will be able to stand to their full height, in the places where they belong, in the highest reaches of the system.

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APPENDIX A– INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview # _____
Date: _____
Place of Interview: _____
Time: Start _____   End _____
Assessment of Rapport   LO   1   2   3   4   5   HI
Tape # _____   Begin _____   End _____
Transcribed by _____

Demographics
Subject: _____
Birth Place: _____
Age Range: _____
Employing Institution: _____

Educational Background
        K-12:   _____
        UG: _____
        GR: _____

Family Background
        Parents & Siblings _____
        Current _____

Employment Background
        Outside Education _____
        Education _____

Hobbies _____

Questions

I.   How did your career in higher education begin?

II.   What helps you in your career?

III.   What does not help you in your career?

IV.   Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your career?

APPENDIX B--INTRODUCTORY LETTER

204 Cary Place
Muskogee, OK 74403
February 21, 2001

Dr. Study Participant
Oklahoma College or University
Oklahoma Town, OK

Dear Dr. Participant:

As a graduate student at Oklahoma State University, completing doctoral studies in higher education administration, I am conducting a research study which will culminate in the preparation of my dissertation. My qualitative study will look at how Black women experience their careers in higher education administration, with special focus on Oklahoma.

You have been identified as a possible participant in my study. As a participant, you will be interviewed about your career as a n administrator in Oklahoma public higher education administration. This face-to-face, unstructured interview is expected to take about an hour of your time and will be scheduled at a location and time convenient to you. Of course, all information obtained in the interview will be treated confidentially and maintained and used in such a manner that protects your identity.

I appreciate that you have given positive consideration to this request for your assistance and participation. Thank you in advance for your cooperation in this endeavor. I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Jocelyn Lee Payne

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APPENDIX C–OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR HUMAN SUBJECTS RESEARCH APPROVAL FORM

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

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Office of the Vice President for Research
203 Whitehurst
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078-1020
405-744-6501, Fax 405-744-6244

01-Nov-01

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jocelyn Lee Payne   Adrienne Hyle
        204 Cary Place   314 Willard Hall
        Muskogee, OK 74403   Stillwater, OK 74078

FROM: Dr. Carol Olson
        Director of Research Administration and
          University Research Compliance

SUBJECT: IRB Application No: ED0171   Protocol Expires: 1/11/02

        Proposal Title: STANDING TO OUR FULL HEIGHT: NETWORKS RELATED TO
                          CAREER SUCCESS OF BLACK WOMEN IN OKLAHOMA
                          HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

1st Notice

Our records indicate that your IRB application will expire on the above listed date. If you
have not yet completed your interactions with human subjects, in accordance with Federal
Regulations, it will be necessary for you to submit a continuation form to the IRB office to
the attention of Sharon Bacher, 203 Whitehurst, Stillwater, OK 74078. Forms are
available on the web at www.vpr.okstate.edu/irb.

Please recall that the regulations require annual approval for continuation of any research
using human subjects. If your study has come to an end, please notify the IRB
office **in writing**, or by returning this document marked as such below, so that the records
can be updated accordingly (e-mail is acceptable to sbacher@okstate.edu).

Any questions can be addressed to the IRB Executive Secretary, Sharon Bacher (405-744-
5700), sbacher@okstate.edu, or me (405-744-6501, colson@okstate.edu).

☑ The research has been completed. Please close my file. Signature
  (Please return this document to the IRB office at 203 Whitehurst.)

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VITA

Jocelyn Lee Payne

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: CAREER SUCCESS OF BLACK WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Major Field: Higher Education Administration

Biographical:

> Personal Data: Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma; the daughter of Johnson E. and Effie J. Lee.

> Education: Graduated from Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma; received Bachelor of Arts degree (Cum Laude) in Psychology from Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts; received Master of Science degree in College Teaching from Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education with a major in Higher Education Administration at Oklahoma State University in May, 2002.

> Experience: Employed in student affairs-related and business affairs-related administrative positions at Creighton University, University of Houston, Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science (now Philadelphia University), and Bryn Mawr College; employed in student affairs-related and business affairs-related administrative positions at Northeastern State University, including Vice President for Administration (1993-2000); Assistant Professor of Education and Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Special Projects, 2000 to present.

Professional Memberships: Association for the Study of Higher Education.