INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.
Lewis, Brenda Neumon

BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN ACADEMIA: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF MENTORS

The Ohio State University

University Microfilms International

Copyright 1985
by
Lewis, Brenda Neumon
All Rights Reserved
BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN ACADEMIA: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS
OF THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF MENTORS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Brenda Neumon Lewis, B.A., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University
1985

Reading Committee:

David L. Boggs
William Moore, Jr.
Linda James-Myers

Approved By

Advisor
Education Policy and Leadership
Dedicated to Kevin and Kimani,
the wellsprings of my energy and joy.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is understood to undertake and to complete a task of this magnitude requires the help, encouragement, and tolerance of a number of people. As I reflect on my career development, I feel particularly blessed to have had a number of sponsors, mentors, and patrons, both identified and unidentified, who have helped me along the way. With this in mind I would like to extend my appreciation and well wishes to the following persons:

Dr. David L. Boggs, my major advisor, for his support of my interest in Black females' career development, for his positive reinforcement, and for his patience through the false starts and the interruptive "tasks" of my adulthood.

Professor William Moore for his input and for his early research of Black administrators which first ignited my interest into this topic.

Professor Linda James-Myers for her criticism of this research and for her valuable suggestions.

My friends and colleagues at the University of Maryland, whose confidence in my ability inspired me to set and to reach toward new goals; especially the Co-op staff, who always seemed ready to listen to my "dissertation blues." With a special note of thanks to Mary Roberts, a "real" secretary, who typed the early draft of this manuscript during a time of need.
The ten Black female administrators who willingly gave of their time and shared insights into their career experiences. Each of these women has provided valuable information on the career process of Black female administrators and without their participation the research could not have been completed.

Gail Stenberg for her careful preparation of this manuscript.

Family and friends were a reminder that the roots of most accomplishments lie in the special nurturing and love provided by those closest to us. Special thanks to:

my parents who have always made me feel very special. My mother, Mari Killian Neumon, a gifted and talented lady, has never waivered in her belief in me nor her willingness to assist me in every way. My father, Jacob Neumon, has always come through in a pinch. Through his example, I learned the value of hard work.

Kayin and Kimani. During times of greatest stress, their unconditional love made me realize I would still be "okay" if I didn't finish, and thus they gave me courage to go on.

Gussie Simon, a kindred spirit, for her words of wisdom and her unlimited caring and sharing.

My buddy, Germaine Branch-Simpson, for all of the running around she did to make sure this project was completed.

Thelma Williams for her good counsel and her companionship.

.... And to you, my weakness and my strength, goes my appreciation for just being you. After all, you'll still be the one.

To God Be The Glory For The Things That I Have Done.

Brenda Neumon Lewis
1985
VITA

BRENDA NEUMON LEWIS

August 11, 1950

Born - Montclair, New Jersey

EDUCATION

1979-1985
The Ohio State University: Doctoral Program in Educational Policy and Leadership Studies in Adult Education - Professor David L. Boggs
Studies in Higher Education Administration - Professor William Moore, Jr.
Studies in Communications Theory - Professor Donald Brooks

1972-1974
Atlanta University: Master of Arts in Reading and English Education

1966-1970
Doane College: Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education and History

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Present
Director, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Old Dominion University

1981-1985
Assistant Director, Cooperative Education, The University of Maryland University College

1979-1980
Graduate Research Associate, the Office of Continuing Education - Credit Programs, The Ohio State University

1977-1979
Adjunct Faculty Instructor, Franklin University

1974-1977
Coordinator, the Reading/Study Skills Center, The Ohio State University
1973-1974  Reading Counselor, The Office of Developmental Education, The Ohio State University

1972-1973  Teacher, Columbus Public Schools

1970-1971  Teacher, Orange Public Schools
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background and Setting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentoring - A Concept and a Function</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentoring In Adult Career Development</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research on Mentoring</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and Mentoring</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in Higher Education Administration</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks in Higher Education Administration</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Women in Higher Education Administration</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rational for the Methodology</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Technique</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sample</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method for Obtaining Sample</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of Contacting Sample</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of Sample</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Current Positions</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Interviews</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodological Issues</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectivity</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalizability</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. FINDINGS</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Biographies</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Themes</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice and Exploration</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Issues and Concerns</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Goals and Expectations</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Paths and Use of Mentors</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Paths</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Mentors</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Female Administrator—A Descriptive Profile</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Life</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Background</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work History</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentors</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of Self</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions on Administration as a Career</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Background</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection and Analysis</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patterns of Career Development of Black Female Administrators</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Extent to Which Black Female Administrators Attribute Their Career Development to the Presence or Absence of a Mentor</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions Under Which a Mentor Relationship was More Likely to Occur</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of the Relationship between Black Female Administrators and Their Mentors</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternate Strategies Used by Black Female Administrators to Enhance their Careers when They Did Not Experience a Mentor Relationship</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues and Concerns Most Significant to Black Female Administrators</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations and Recommendations for Further Study</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIXES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Initial Letter</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Follow-Up Letter</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Demographic Data Inventory</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. FaceSheet</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Position Titles of Sample</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Summary of Sample</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Type of Institutions Attended</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Type of Mentor Relationships Experienced by Sample</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Continuum of Supportive Relationships</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND SETTING

During the 1970's, writers of both popular and academic press became intrigued with the area of adult development. In large measure, they were stimulated by the changing demographics of society. Indeed, as our nation's population grows older, issues of "adult life" become increasingly relevant.

Because so much of adult life is defined, measured, and valued by work, it is understandable that much of adult development theory addresses and has implications for career development. There is both general support and theoretical evidence that career development is strongly influenced by role models, significant others, key influences, and/or key figures. Ginsberg et al (1951); Roe (1972); Super (1957) have all discussed the role of key influencers to career development. However, although these theorists have acknowledged the role of influencers in career choice and development, they have dealt with the concept in a broad sense.

Recently, the concept of mentor, has provided a more specific and narrow interpretation of role models. This has led to a widely held assumption that mentor relationships are positive and necessary influences to the development of a career. The acceptance of this
notion is found in both the private sector of business and industry, as well as the public sector of government and education.

Responsibility for this fresh interest in mentors is due primarily to the investigation of adult male development by Daniel J. Levinson. Levinson introduces the mentor as a psycho-social variable critical to the fulfillment of a young man's dream (ego ideal), both in terms of professional and emotional development. He maintains that the absence of a mentor is associated with "various kinds of developmental impairment and problems of individuation in mid-life."

In the Grant Study of Adult Development, Valliant (1977) does not use the term mentor. However, he frequently alludes to the concept, finding that an important component of the period from age 25-35 was a relationship with a non-parental role model who seemed associated with the development of a solid career identification in the subject. Kanter (1977) states that the combination of planning and mentoring, whether provided by highly respected teachers or supervisors, will affect the career development of the young person and often accounts for higher compensation of business executives who have had mentors.

A significant weakness of much of the adult development theory is that it has been drawn from studies of largely white, male, middle-class populations. Astin, addressing this problem as early as 1969 stated:

While problems of identifying, developing and utilizing human resources have long been of concern to this nation, the consideration of these problems is usually limited to only half of the country's population - men. Despite the impact of the labor movement and the subsequent increase of women in the labor force, the career
patterns, vocational behavior and aspirations of women are still little understood.

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

Looking more specifically at this issue, we find an even more overlooked dimension of the problem; that is, the plight of Black women whose career development is impacted not only by sex, but also by race. Although it is apparent that Black women have concerns which are often different and more complex than white women, little research has been focused on their career development. In the words of Moore and Wagstaff, Black females in academe continues to be a research area "victimized by scholarly neglect" (1974, p. 161).

Although they are relatively small in number, there are some Black women who have overcome numerous barriers and assumed positions of responsibility and leadership within academic administration. The development of their career paths is the focus of this study. It is felt that an exploration of the careers of Black women in higher education from their perspective will provide insightful and significant information to current day theorists and researchers.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to develop an in-depth analytical description of the career development of Black women administrators in higher education, and to ascertain the degree to which the presence or absence of a mentor impacted their career development.
It was hoped that the information gathered from the research would add to the knowledge of the career development of Black women and would narrow the gap between speculation and investigative evidence. To this end, the research sought to answer the following questions:

1. What patterns of career development can be identified for Black female administrators in higher education?

2. To what extent did Black female administrators attribute their career development to the presence or absence of a mentor relationship?

3. Were there identifiable and understandable conditions under which mentor relationships were more likely to occur?

4. What was the nature of the relationship between Black female administrators and their mentors?

5. Were the strategies to facilitate and enhance career development different for Black female administrators with mentors from the strategies used by Black female administrators without mentors?

6. What were the issues and concerns most significant to Black female administrators?

ASSUMPTIONS

The central assumption of this study was that the participants were best qualified to provide insight concerning their career development. In addition, it was assumed that the way in which women talk about their lives and make meaning of their career paths would be
significant because it would reveal the world they saw and acted in. Further, it was assumed that the participants would answer seriously and to the best of their ability the questions posed to them within this study.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The increased participation of women in the labor force has been accompanied by a greater awareness that our understanding of women's career behavior and development is inadequate. In the last few years, this awareness has prompted a number of studies on the career patterns of women. The number of these studies is still relatively small and few have addressed the issue of Black women. Consequently, little information exists concerning either the career behavior or the career development of women in social groups other than the white middleclass.

Ashford (1969) has stated a fundamental purpose of Adult Education is to facilitate growth toward self-understanding and maturity (p. 6). Within this context, it was felt that a study of this nature would be significant and would contribute to the field by providing a greater awareness of the complexity of human development, and, also define personal goals and methods of self-improvement. Further, it was felt that a study of this nature would be significant for the following reasons:

1. It would add to the limited base of information on the career development of the Black female administrator in higher education.
2. It would offer a body of inductively formed generalizations whereby the behavior of adults could be more clearly understood.

3. It would identify strategies for career enhancement that could profitably be used by other women in higher education as well as in other professions.

4. It would generate information that could be utilized by educational practitioners to guide intervention efforts, program planning, training and evaluation.

5. It would offer creative alternatives for increasing the participation of Black women in higher educational administration.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are defined to promote clarity in regard to their usage in this study:

**Black Female.** Refers to women of African ancestry, including native American Black women; those who are naturalized or alien and who are employed in American institutions of higher education.

**Career Development.** The progression, evolution or sequence of part-time and/or full-time gainful employment engaged in by the individual during the course of her working life.

**Four-year Colleges and Universities.** Any educational institution offering a four-year program of studies leading to the customary baccalaureate degree and/or those offering more than a four-year program of studies leading to the master's degree or the doctoral degree, or requirement for selected professions such as law, theology or medicine.
Mentor. A trusted teacher, advisor or counselor who takes a special interest in and who sponsors, guides and influences the career development of a younger person.

Private Institution. Colleges and universities that are independent of public control and are maintained by private groups which are often religious or denominational.

Public Institutions. Colleges and universities that are maintained and supported by public funds provided by federal, state, county and municipal governments.

Key Administrators. This designation includes those executive officials in colleges and universities who are responsible for the management of institutional affairs (e.g. presidents, chancellors, heads of divisions, deans, department chairs). Also included are administrators who are in positions of primary administrative responsibility who have authority to make decisions regarding personnel, budget, physical facilities and/or academic programs (e.g. directors and heads of student services programs).

Two-Year Colleges. Educational institutions that offer a two-year program of study leading to an associate degree, an occupational certificate or transfer credits toward a baccalaureate degree. Formerly known as junior colleges, two-year colleges are often classified as community colleges.
CHAPTER II
A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

OVERVIEW

An exhaustive review of the literature by this researcher yielded only a few studies that focused on Black women in higher education administration. Further, there were no studies found that dealt specifically with Black women administrators' career development or their use of mentors.

Wallace (1980, p. 4) has duly noted that much of the data on Black women has been subsumed within studies of Blacks in general or women in general. Moore and Wagstaff (1974), state that just as the term minority group conceals the situation of a specific minority group, so does the category "women" hide what is happening to a specific group of women.

Borg (1971, pp. 69-70), in discussing difficulty with new areas of study within research, states:

Relatively new research areas usually lack an organized body of secondary source information to provide general background and thus require a fairly broad review in which even those studies that are only peripheral to the main areas should be read in order to give the student the foundation of knowledge he requires.... In new areas, little depth is available, and a broad review is necessary to get sufficient insight.

In order to provide a complete picture of the Black woman administrator, who has the dual distinction of being both Black and female,
and to provide an in-depth review of how the phenomenon of mentoring relates to their career development, the literature review will focus on the following areas: 1) Mentoring: A Concept and a Function; 2) Women's participation in higher education administration; 3) Black's participation in higher education administration; and, 4) Black women's participation in higher education administration.

MENTORING - A CONCEPT AND A FUNCTION

Mentoring In Adult Career Development

The concept of the mentor is not new. As cited in Webster's New Word Dictionary, the term has its origin in Greek mythology and is defined as a teacher, trusted advisor or coach (Guralnik, 1979). The fresh interest that has been attracted to the concept of mentoring is primarily attributable to the research of Daniel Levinson (1979). In his study Levinson reported on the life cycle development of forty (40) adult males, which include ten (10) academicians; ten (10) business executives; ten (10) biologists and novelists; and ten (10) blue and white collar industry workers. Levinson conducted in-depth interviews with these participants and developed a detailed description of a mentor.

Levinson suggests that the mentor, a combination of a parent/peer, teaches, advises, sponsors, and particularly bestows his/her blessings on the mentee.

The mentor, says Levinson, is usually 8-15 years older than the mentee and is one who goes beyond the call of duty and treats the younger person as a protege who is actively provided with guidance, support, and opportunities.
Further, he suggests that the impact of the mentor is durable, lasting much longer than the actual relationship and is a critical factor in the successful life cycle development of men. It is the mentor, states Levinson, who fosters the mentee's development. He helps to define the newly emerging self, by supporting and facilitating the realization of the "dream," that is, the vision of what the mentee expects his life to be like as an adult. Thus, from Levinson's perspective, not having a mentor can be a handicap to both adult development and career development.

Shapiro, Haseltine and Rowe (1978) described mentoring as a range of support or "patron" relationships which can be viewed as facilitating access to positions of leadership and authority. On one end of the continuum is what they call a peer/pal relationship; on the other end is the mentor relationship. They perceive the "mentor" as the most intense and paternalistic of their five category patron system.

Shapiro et al. suggest that each category of patron provided increasing benefit to the protege. For example, while "sponsors" are strong supporters they are less powerful than mentors in promoting and shaping the careers of their proteges. Likewise, the "guide" is less able than both mentors and sponsors to fulfill the role of benefactor, protector or champion. However, they can be invaluable in explaining the system and pointing out pitfalls, etc.

They suggest that those relationships that fall toward the "mentor" side of the continuum tend to be more hierarchical and parental, more intense and exclusionary, and therefore more elitist. Those relationships which fall toward the "peer pal" side of the
continuum tend to be less intense with more emphasis on sharing for mutual support and benefit.

Dalton, Thompson and Price (1977) discuss mentoring in the context of four successive career stages within a work environment. These stages are apprentice, colleague, mentor, and sponsor. Each stage is described in terms of activities to be performed, relationships to be developed and psychological adjustments to be made.

The apprentice stage is a dependent relationship which involves helping to learn to follow directions. The second stage is characterized by a collegial relationship and independence. Stage 3, or the mentor stage, is the point when one offers guidance to those in Stage 1. The final stage of sponsor occurs when a person helps shape the direction of an organization through policy decisions and promotions of key people. According to Dalton's theory the focus of a sponsor is on the organization while the focus of a mentor is on the individual.

Bolton (1980) presents a conceptual analysis of the mentor relationship as an aspect of socialization. She asserts that human behavior is to a large extent socially transmitted and is either deliberately or inadvertently acquired through behavioral examples provided by influential models. According to Bolton, the mentor is a more specific form of a role model and suggests that the absence of this type of experiential learning may be the reason why women seldom progress beyond mid-management positions in any organizational setting.

Schmide and Wolfe (1976), in encouraging the development of mentoring relationships among student personnel professionals, suggest
that the mentor has three main functions. The first function of a mentor is to act as a role model for the protege. This involves demonstrating a highly skilled level of performance that is considered worthy of imitation. The second function of a mentor is to act as a consultant or trusted advisor, providing the mentee with information and necessary skills, and intellectual prerequisites for future development. The third function of a mentor is to act as sponsor or "door opener," using connections to promote the professional development and advancement of the protege.

When mentoring is described in the classical way, one notes a phenomenological character to the relationship, and as such it is defined not so much in terms of formal roles, as in terms of the nature of the affiliation. The relationship which often starts as an apprentice/expert interaction, evolves into a relationship of mutual benefit that is characterized by intense feelings of concern, loyalty and friendship.

The protege often feels (and is viewed by others) as having been specially chosen; that is to say, sanctioned by someone in authority. Indeed, as stated by one individual who had a mentor, "there is a sense of having had hands laid on," like an ordination (Moore, 1980). Often this specialness motivates the protege to consider his/her career and its possibilities, thereby raising expectations as to what one can achieve. Levinson (1978) states that while the protege feels admiration, respect, appreciation and love for the mentor, there are also conflicting feelings of resentment, inferiority, envy and intimidation. At different times or at the same
time, states Levinson, the protege may feel like the inept novice, the fraudulent impostor, the equal colleague and the rising star who will someday soar to heights far beyond those of the mentor. Mentoring is further described by Levinson as a form of a love relationship. It has some of the characteristics of a parent/child relationship, as well as the relationship between lovers or spouses. Frequently, Levinson found it was difficult to terminate such a relationship in a civil manner and many ended as a result of intense conflict.

Research On Mentoring

Empirical studies of mentoring have sought to determine the extent of the phenomenon, the importance of it in terms of career development, and whether the phenomenon is related to the sex of those involved (Merriam, 1983). Roche's (1979) study of business executives indicated that mentor and protege relationships are fairly extensive among the elite of the business world. Roche attempted to survey over 3,976 men and 28 women senior executives whose appointments were announced in the "Who's News" column of the Wall Street Journal in 1977. He received responses from 1,250 subjects which represented a 31 percent return rate. He found that nearly two-thirds of the respondents had a mentor or sponsor and one-third of them actually had two or more mentors. In addition, it was found that those executives who had mentors earned more money at a younger age, were better educated, were more likely to follow a career plan and were more happy and satisfied with their career progress. Nearly all the mentors had been males. Almost 74 percent of the respondents acknowledged that mentors had had a substantial influence upon their
lives; with 14 percent reporting that it was an extraordinary influence. However, the majority of the subjects attributed their success more to personal characteristics such as motivation, skills and abilities than to the influence of the mentor.

With regard to women, Roche's findings indicated that women tend to have a larger number of sponsors than the men and that most of their mentors were men. It should be noted, however, that women respondents constituted less than 1 percent of the 31 percent responding to the survey.

Burton (1977) tested the importance of the mentor with a sample of men and women between the ages of 30 and 40. He supported Levinson's contention of the importance of a mentor for adult development. Burton concluded that mentoring always has a connection with work and love. He found that the absence of a mentor was associated with "... an existential vacuum in clients and a neurotic search for meaning in life" (p. 117).

Lea (1980) attempted to examine the relationships of three developmental tasks ascribed by Levinson to males in early adulthood. These included (a) forming a dream; (b) forming a mentor relationship; and (c) forming an occupation. His sample was 50 males ranging in age from 28-36 who were members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Basically, the results of this study supported Levinson's developmental tasks.

Kellermann (1978) used a case study approach to study the effect of mentors on the political life of former Chancellor of West Germany, Willy Brandt. Her study, focusing on the role of the
mentor in the theory of political leadership, suggests that the extent to which a leader has been the beneficiary of good mentoring will help determine the extent to which his leadership style is less preoccupied with power relationships than with interactions which are more permissive and democratic.

Using a systematic random sample of 567 scientists, Rawles (1980) investigated the influence of a mentor on self-actualization among scientists. The sample represented both men and women scientists who ranged from 24 to 84. This study concluded that there was a positive relationship between the presence of a mentor and the level of self-actualization. This is, those subjects who had mentors (66.3 percent) were found to be more self-actualized than those who did not.

In a national survey conducted by Black Enterprise, a magazine with a readership of primarily educated middle class Blacks, just 27.9 percent of 2,000 randomly selected persons said that a mentor had helped them advance in their career. Approximately seven (7) in ten (10) respondents reported no such person had been involved in their career. Women, who considered themselves on a career track, reported mentor support more frequently, (37.6 percent) than did the entire sample (Dreyfuss, 1982).

Women and Mentoring

The degree to which women have benefited and experienced a mentoring relationship appears to be much less than that of men. Merriam (1983) cites two major problems in the formation of such relationships for women: (1) the paucity of women in high level managerial or administrative position who can serve as mentors to
younger women, and (2) the potential sexual problems inherent in male mentor/female protege relationships (p. 166). There is some evidence however, that mentors have been a key component in the careers of successful businesswomen.

Missirian (1981) surveyed the female executives on Business Week's list of the 100 top business women in America. She followed up with in-depth interviews with 15 of these women. Her general hypothesis was that mentoring has indeed been a significant part of the career development of successful female managers. Her research also identified three elements which distinguish mentoring from other supportive relationships: (1) the degree of power the mentor commands in terms of access to resources both material and personal; (2) the intensity of emotional involvement with the mentor; and (3) the level of identification with the mentor.

Thompson (1976) interviewed successful business women and found that these women perceived mentor relationships as being influential in career advancement. The women reported that their mentors were males who were ambitious, highly secure in their jobs, and open to taking risks. None of these women reported having sought out their mentor but reported that the relationships formed casually after the potential mentor and mentee had worked together for a period of time and gained each other's respect. The empirical value of this survey is somewhat limited, however, because of Thompson's omission of research procedures, e.g. sample size and sample method.

Hennig and Jardin (1977), using open-ended interviews, studied the career development of 25 highly successful business women at the
level of corporate vice president or president. The study indicated that without exception, each subject reported that during the first decade of their career a father-like relationship with their bosses provided a buffer by which the women could develop and test new skills and roles. These women reported that the relationship with their mentors was emotional, intense, but not sexual. It should be noted however, that although the authors concluded that a mentor is a necessity for women's career development, the women in their sample for the most part had fathers who had provided their entre into the organization, and selected the supervisor who took charge of their development. In this light, it is hard to draw implications for women who have no such connections in their organization.

Sheehy's (1974) conclusions were supportive of the findings of Hennig and Jardin noting that women who gain recognition in their careers had a mentor relationship although they may not have seen it as such.

A total of 331 participated in a study by Phillips (1977), assessing the career development of women managers and executives. Fifty of the total sample were interviewed. Mentoring was defined in the study as "the help given by someone (mentor) to an individual (protege) in order to help the protege define or reach life goals, On the survey questionnaire sixty percent stated that they had had one or more career mentors. Phillips categorized these mentors as either "primary" or "secondary." Primary mentors were those mentors who went out on a limb for their protege professionally and personally. Secondary mentors helped proteges as part of their duties and
were seen as more businesslike. The difference, she concluded, depended entirely on the perception of the protege. Three fourths of the women interviewed identified a primary mentor, and all named at least one secondary mentor. Phillips concluded that while mentors played a significant part in the career development of the women in her study they were by no means the only factor in women's success.

In a study by Moore & Sangria (1979) 180 women administrators in Pennsylvania were surveyed regarding their career development and use of mentor. Eighty-nine (89) of those sampled indicated that a mentor was important to them in their careers. This was less than one half of the sample.

In summary, the review of the literature shows strong support for the mentoring process. However, there is some confusion as to the meaning of mentoring (mentors) and conceptually it seems to differ in the setting of business and industry from the setting of academia. In addition, it appears that mentoring is more widely practiced in business and industry from the setting of academia. Developmental theorists agree that the presence or absence of a mentor figure is critical to the normal development of adult males. While it appears that women do not experience mentoring relationships to the extent men do, mentors seem to have had impact on the careers of successful women. There were no studies that focused on the use of mentoring in the career development of Black female administrators in academia.
WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

Due to the changing role of women and the economic trends of our society, women are joining the work force in increasing numbers and now comprise over 50 percent of the total labor force. While this may not seem significant in terms of employment statistics, the other important fact is that the majority of these women work at low level jobs (Bolton, 1980). This fact appears to be true regardless of the level or type of work engaged in by women. Even when women of higher education and social class work, they, like their less educated and poor sisters, tend to find that their place is at the lower end of the occupational range. Carol Epstein has characterized the occupational participation of women as "bottom heavy." She states, "no matter what sphere of work women are sired for or select, like sediment in a bottle of wine, they seem to settle to the bottom (1970, p. 2)."

This situation is no less true of women in academe. Despite equal opportunity legislation, affirmative action and a social climate more supportive of women's professional aspirations, they are still seriously under represented, and concentrated in the non policy making, support staff positions of the nation's post secondary institutions.

Although 51 percent of all students enrolled in colleges and universities are women less than 5 percent of all college and university presidents are women, only 16 percent of high level educational administrators are women, and only 26 percent of faculty are women (Fisher Thompson & Hall, 1981, p. 2).

Baldrige, et al, (1978) in their study of governance and leadership in higher education found that in relative terms women have
actually lost ground because the proportion of women in academia has declined. Moore's (1982) national study of higher education administrators supports Baldrige's claim stating, "despite common perceptions generated by affirmative action, white males have benefited more by the expansion of higher education in that white males have been the first occupants of newly created positions than either women or minorities (p. 45)." Van Alstyne (1977) indicates that white men still dominate top-level posts holding 95 percent of the chief executive positions and over 80 percent of other types of administrative positions covering the survey.

A recent article in the Chronicle of Higher Education also dealt with the status of women in higher education. It was stated that despite the increase in numbers in administrative ranks about 90 percent of the country's students attend institutions where the three top administrators posts i.e. president, chief academic officer and dean, are held by men (Sandler, 1984). Additionally it was reported that the salaries of women remain lower than men. This exists at every age, at every degree level, in every field, and in every type of institution. Women academicians earn approximately 85 percent of the salary earned by their male counterparts.

The studies which have been completed on the status of women in higher education, (Astin, 1969; Graham, 1974; Van Alstyne & Withers, 1977; Moore 1982) all come to similar conclusions. These are:

1. Women are underrepresented in both administrative and instructional capacities in postsecondary institutions;
2. Most women in higher education occupy middle- and low-level posts which rarely lead to top academic positions;

3. When women are found in postsecondary institutions they tend to be concentrated in those fields traditionally occupied by women (i.e. social work, nursing, support services).

4. The more prestigious the institution the fewer women are present;

5. The highest percentage of women in top level positions are found in private women's colleges;

6. Women in higher education earn less than men despite comparable levels of training and education.

A number of responses are given when the question is posed as to why there are so few women in leadership positions within higher education. These include (1) a lack of large numbers of qualified women; (2) the lack of career mobility of many women; (3) the nepotism rule which adversely affects women; and (4) the notion that women will interrupt their career for marriage, babies, and husband's career changes.

Much of the theory surrounding the lack of women in higher education has focused on the external barriers to women in the field. These fall into several general categories. The one which received much of the attention following the renewed interest in women's rights is institutional discrimination or sexism which manifests itself in the inequalities of salary, rank, tenure and fringe benefits, which have been pervasive in the academic world (Astin, 1973).
large amount of the information on women comes from these data and is mostly quantitative in nature (Ironside, 1981, p. 6).

Another theme is the psychological barriers faced by women which focus on their own ambivalence about their societal roles and the consequences of careers. It is suggested in much of this literature that women do not aspire to leadership positions and rarely apply for them (Tibbetts, 1979). One of the most notable and widely cited theories is Horner's (1972) "fear of success thesis." She asserts that because women expect negative consequences and social rejection, they temper their motive to achieve. Horner's studies show that there is validity to this notion. Despite the recent emphasis on a new freedom toward women, negative attitudes toward very successful women remain high. Horner's 1964 study indicated that 65 percent of the respondents had negative attitudes about successful women. In 1970, that percentage had risen to 88.

Thirdly, there are the theories that focus on the sociological or cultural barriers which effect both males and females. These barriers prescribe a very narrow career role definition for women, says Tibbett (1979), and are so pervasive in our culture as to produce generations of people who operate, as they must, within the limitation and framework of their own socialization (Grambs, 1976, as cited in Tibbett).

Ironside (1981) states that more troublesome than the barriers themselves is the statistical reality to which they have contributed. "The very lack of women at the top in academic administration perpetuates the problem by setting subtle limitations on other's perceptions."
of what is possible and thus worth striving for." What exists says Nieboer (1975) is a vicious cycle:

Without role models an increase in women administrative applicants seems unlikely; without an increase in applications and appointments the number of women administrators is not likely to increase.

A number of empirical studies focusing on the female administrator have described her in terms of her status within the institution, her self-perception and her career patterns. Oltman (1970) conducted a study for the purpose of creating an awareness of discriminatory practices in a sample of 454 schools. The questionnaire consisted of items designed to determine whether or not females were active participants in decision making; in policies regarding hiring, promotion, maternity leave, nepotism; programs for mature female students and whether or not females were being utilized in major offices and committees.

Results of this survey verified that females have yet to attain the same status as men in academia. Although 98 percent of the institutions stated that their policies of promotion were the same for both sexes, there were no females in the position of department head in 34 of the schools with the mean number of female department heads being less than three per institution.

In a descriptive study conducted to determine the career patterns of women who held positions not typically held by women in public coeducational, higher educational institutions, Fecher (1972) found that women administrators (1) generally accept new positions within the same institution; (2) do not have similar educational backgrounds;
(3) generally are not appointed to upper level management positions; (4) feel that being a woman in an administrative position is neither an advantage nor a disadvantage; and (5) feel that being married is neither an advantage nor a disadvantage.

In 1975, Mary H. Gasser's study, "Career Patterns of Women Administrators in Higher Education: Barriers and Constraints," indicated that parental support for career goals, encouragement from faculty, contact with active career women, support from colleagues and supervisors and their own acceptance of responsibility and hard work were significant to the career advancement of the respondents.

In addition looking at upper level administrators as compared to lower level administrators, Gasser found that the mean age of the lower level administrator was 44 years while the mean age of the upper level administrator was 48 years. With respect to the attitudes towards females in administration the majority of the respondents felt that females had the requisite ability, commitment, interest and desire for the responsibility and authority to be appointed to upper-level administrative positions.

Silver (1977) conducted a study to determine if inadequate training was a factor in the under representativeness of women in leadership positions. She studied the registration forms of 219 women participating in the Computerized Research and Placement Systems (CORPS) from 1974 to 1976. She compared a composite of these women to 430 males in the data bank. Her conclusion was that the under representation of women in educational leadership positions was
warranted on the basis of preservice experience or formal training. Among her recommendations for change was more sponsorships by professors.

Hepner and Teaborg (1979) surveyed 200 female administrators at the University of Cincinnati to determine influence on their careers, professional mobility, and self perceptions. Their attempt was to develop a profile of the women at their institution and their research focused on three primary issues: (1) what was the status of the women in the institution; (2) what were the influences on the careers of the women in the institution, and (3) how did they perceive their work environment?

In general, they found a lack of mentor systems established by the women administrators, but also a belief on their part that "good connections" were necessary for their advancement and success. This was contrary to their explanation as to why they were chosen for their current positions which they primarily attributed to competence and experience. They did not view themselves in the mainstream of the work environment. Some of the more specific conclusions were: (1) the most significant influencers in the career development of women administrators were family members, spouses, followed by teachers, friends then supervisors; (2) over three-fourths of the women reporting assistance in getting their present job stated the assistance was from a man. Almost all respondents stated they had promoted the career of others, mentoring women twice as often as men; (3) there was an apparent inconsistency in how women administrators saw themselves and how they saw "the system". They stated their competence
and experience were the primary factors in their own careers, but stated that connections were important for getting ahead in the work environment. Throughout the responses the researchers noted an undertone of isolation and separation from the system; and (4) salary, job title and level of degree attainment did not appear to be distinguishable factors.

In summary, it can be concluded that even though doors have been opened and numbers are increasing, the fact remains that among educational administrators, women are yet a small minority. Women rarely occupy the highest administrative posts of president, chief academic officer or business officer. Women are less likely to be top-level administrators in large co-educational schools and public institutions, and the greater the prestige, salary, and level of the position, the less likely it is that a woman is occupying it.

BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

There is little recorded history that can be found on Black administrators before the second half of the century. This is due primarily to the denial of Blacks to receive or participate in educational opportunities until after the Civil War. Following the Civil War however, Freedmen's schools began to flourish throughout the south. Negroes intense desire for knowledge, coupled with the zeal of benevolent missionaries, inspired an educational movement not since known in American history.

Bullock (1967) reports that there were basically three kinds of white and Negro teachers during this time. First, those who had
managed and maintained schools throughout the crises; second, some educators, who on their own initiative, had started schools for Negroes during the emergency; and third, the group who responded to the appeals of Union generals by setting up schools. It was not long before the need for higher education became evident.

It was realized that a larger supply of teachers was needed and that the type of schools in which Negro teachers could be trained would develop a pool of such teachers. The Freedmen's Bureau, attempting to meet this need, began to provide support for the establishment of normal schools. Their efforts formed the beginnings of such notable schools as Atlanta University, Hampton Institute, Fisk University, to name a few. Out of these institutions came educators who scattered throughout the south organizing new educational institutions (Bullock, 1967). These teachers and administrators were the men and women who became and remain the backbone of higher education for Blacks in the United States. For more than a century the majority of Black administrators were to be found managing these small black colleges and universities. Under their direction and leadership they nurtured and developed the historically black college and university. In spite of limited resources, ill prepared students and often a climate not supportive of their endeavors, these administrators trained and taught virtually all of the educated Black individuals in this country through the late 1950's. However, after the Brown vs. Topeka case of 1954 the barriers of segregated education began to come down. Minority students began to attend previously all white
post secondary institutions where their numbers steadily increased through the 1970's.

During the late sixties through the early part of the seventies, the United States became a country fraught with anxiety and unrest. Much of the violence which permeated the era occurred on the nation's university and college campuses. Educators and administrators were forced to address the issues of the era as much of the criticism was being leveled at them and their administrative policies and procedures. Student rights organizations and civil rights leaders began demanding that white universities be responsive to the plight of Blacks and the poor. The demands were very much the same across the country. Black students demanded (1) a measure of control over the operation of these institutions commensurate with their needs; (2) more courses in Black history, culture and contemporary conditions; (3) recruitment of larger numbers of Black students; and (4) that Black persons be hired on the faculty and at all levels of the administrative staff.

Predominately white institutions were faced with the necessity of hiring Blacks to serve in various capacities. This need resulted from pressures which were exerted by Black students, the Black community, and the government's threat to withhold funds from institutions with an insufficient number of Black personnel. White institutions subsequently hired and appointed Blacks to administrative positions. Many of these appointments went to administrators who had spent their entire careers working in Black institutions.

Almost two decades later we find that while there are more Blacks than ever on white campuses, their numbers are yet relatively
small (Middleton, 1978). The first annual report on Blacks in higher education by the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy describes their position as "still unequal, though improved in higher education." Even with the help of supportive legislation, court decisions, Affirmative Action programs and increased financial aid, the achievement of Blacks has remained irregular and inadequate" (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1976).

The data are somewhat conflicting as to the actual numbers of Black administrators at predominately white institutions. This is due in some part to the varied procedures for data collection and the inclusion or exclusion of other minorities and women into the statistics. At a recent Conference On Issues Facing Black Administrators at White Colleges & Universities it was reported that Black administrators make up only 7 percent of the administrators in both two-year and four-year accredited institutions. An alarming fact is that this includes figures from historically Black institutions.

Some suggest that Black faculty and administrators have declined. Poussaint (1974, p. 9), reports that a significant number of the academicians appointed during the late sixties are reassessing their positions and are rejecting and/or leaving positions with prestigious and illustrious titles, often returning to more supportive and secure Black institutions or entering the more lucrative private sector.

Middleton (1978, p. 10) cites statistics which indicate that the number of Blacks and minorities is increasing, Wideman (1978) on the other hand, concluded that Black scholars in white institutions are
decreasing or at least remaining constant. Regardless of whether one utilizes the statistics that show an increase or a slippage, there appears to be a perception among Blacks in academe that they are losing ground particularly in the goals relative to them.

The earned doctorate is usually a basic requirement for entrance into the upper levels of administration in most colleges and universities. According to a survey conducted by the Office of Special Projects of the Ford Foundation, less than one percent of the earned Ph.D. degrees in this country are held by Blacks. In the 1983-84 Digest of Educational Statistics it was reported that 1,265 Blacks received Ph.D. degrees with 694 going to men and 571 going to women. Coupled with the small pool of Black Ph.D.'s is the fact that it seems to take longer for Blacks to complete the doctorate after the completion of the undergraduate degree than their white counterparts.

Moore & Wagstaff's study (1974) stands as the seminal national examination of Black professionals working in white institutions. They surveyed more than 3,000 professionals with one-third of the sample listing themselves as academic administrators. A significant finding was that 94 percent of the positions held by these administrators were staff positions. That is, the positions were basically peripheral and were in support of other line officers. In addition, they repeatedly found feelings of frustration and isolation among the respondents. They characterized the Black academician in predominately white institutions as an "alien in the promised land."

Black administrators have been given responsibility, but they have not been given the power and authority in the formal administrative structure of the institution commensurate with that responsibility. According to Smith, the second reason why Black administrators in white institutions are in such peculiar situations is the nature of their positions in the total administrative structure of the university.

Hayes states that Black administrators generally do not have line authority and are not responsible for personnel, budget, and programs related to major goal activity. This finding was also supported by Smith (1980) and Frank (1981). In a recent issue of the Chronicle of higher education (Feb. 3, 1982), it was reported that more than a sixth of all minority group members in administrative positions at predominantly white coeducational institutions held one of two positions, Affirmative Action Officer, or Student Financial Aid Officer (p. 4). It was reported at the 1984 Conference of Issues Facing Black Administrators At Predominately White Colleges & Universities that 74 percent of Black professionals are in positions with a minority focus.

Otha P. Cox (1971) compared the self-perceived roles of 110 non-Black administrators in white institutions. Specific objectives of the study were to determine if the role functions of the Black and non-Black administrators who occupy similar positions were similar; to determine if there was a difference in self-perceived power and authority between the two groups and to determine if there was a difference in perceived conflict.

Cox found that proportionately more Black administrators have dual job titles and have more duties related to Black students and
faculty. In addition, this research indicated that Black administrators were much more involved in routine procedural, human relation functions than their white counterparts. Also, 84 percent of the Black administrators and 100 percent of the non-Black administrators graduated from predominately white graduate institutions, and Black administrators generally have fewer years of administrative experience.

Doughty (1977, 1980) studied minority administrators employment patterns and found that Affirmative Action and E E O programs designed to aid minorities have not had as significant an impact as is believed. Doughty states that Black administrators still face conscious and unconscious resistance to their employment and advancement in white academe. Although Equal Opportunity requirements provide minority candidates with a better chance for an interview, their applications are often screened out and used as evidence to meet federal guidelines and requirements.

Mommen's 1974 study found that 79 percent of Black Ph.D.'s work in predominately Black institutions. Moore (1982) states that the greatest opportunities for administrative careers for minorities remain in colleges and universities specifically designed to serve them, i.e. Black institutions.

In summary, Blacks have served in leadership capacities in the nation's historically Black institutions for over a century, and the majority of Blacks in key administrative positions are still to be found in this type of institution. In general, Blacks did not have access to positions within higher education at white institutions until the late sixties and the early seventies. Many of these
positions have not been part of the hierarchal mainstream but have been special in the sense that they were designed primarily to deal with minority students' problems and concerns. Despite recent efforts to alter the structure of universities, supportive legislation and Affirmative Action, there still are relatively small numbers of Black administrators at predominately white institutions.

BLACK WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

Unlike their white counterparts, who have only recently entered the labor force in large numbers, Black women have participated in the labor force for generations. The 1980 United States Census data indicate that of the seven million Black females over the age of 15, 56 percent were employed as opposed to 46 percent of the white females the same age.

Blacks as a group have been entangled in a web of sexual and racial myths. Murray and Mednick (1977) state that Black women have often been depicted as aggressive, independent, and domineering individuals who achieve at the expense of Black men. In addition, it has been alleged on the one hand that Black women are lazy and do not want to work, and on the other, that they enjoy greater advantages in the employment market than both Black men and white women. These myths are not supported by the data. In actuality, Black women despite their very high percentage in the labor market, earn less than Black men and white women and are concentrated in the lowest status jobs. Mosley's (1980) research confirmed the fact of Black women's status in the salary range hierarchy; that is, it is an inverted pyramid, with white
men at the top, Black men second, followed by white women, with Black women at the bottom. Further, Department of Labor statistics show that in 1973 Black women who worked year round at full-time jobs, had a median salary income that was only 49 percent of that of white men, 69 percent of that of Black men, and 88 percent of that of white women (Mosely, 1980, p. 299).

Historically, Black women have been much more likely to work out of necessity than white females. Daughters have been taught the importance of work or career as an integral part of their lives, thus work has been viewed as a necessary part of life (Stroud, 1975). Epstein, (1973) asserts this economic rationale for working is legitimate in American society and as such, has allowed Black women to achieve a level of independence and self reliance only recently realized by large numbers of white women. Black women have little internal guilt over not being at home with their families. There has been no question that Black women needed to work, so there has been little guilt associated with it. This is not to suggest that Black women are not subject to the stress that most women face when balancing a career and family, but rather that they generally experience less conflict over the option to work or not to work.

Assuming leadership roles in education is likewise not a new phenomenon for Black women. Gerta Lerner (1972) reports that despite the lack of extensive historical notation, Black women have long been pioneers in the educational field. Before and following the Civil War Black women, mostly from the South, volunteered and joined the ranks of Northern trained teachers. While there are not accurate
figures available for the number of Black women who taught Freedmen, their number increased rapidly after 1870 (Lerner, 1972, p. 94). In later years, Black women active in the establishment of educational institutions, fostered such notable and outstanding women as Mary McLeod Bethune, Lucy Laney and Ruth M. Harris. These women, among others, served as the backbone of the black college (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974).

Despite gains made during the sixties and early seventies, the status of Black women in higher education mirrors her impact in the society as a whole, where she has not been granted entre into her culture's power elite. The American Council on Education conducted one of the few studies which presents separate statistics on women, minority men and minority women. They surveyed 52 administrative positions in higher education and found that white males held 79 percent of the key administrative positions at the survey institutions; white women held 14 percent; minority men held 5 percent; and minority women 2 percent (Van Alstyne, 1977, p. 8). The study also reported that women and minorities generally were best represented in positions relating to student affairs and external affairs. They found that administrative employment patterns are less related to sex at historically Black institutions with minorities being best represented in two year institutions.

In 1981, the American Council on Education's Office of Women in Higher Education reported there were 22 "minority" women presidents in postsecondary institutions. Of this total Black and Hispanic women accounted for 10 each with 1 Asian and 1 Native American. The
highest number of chief executive officers for that year was found to be 350 (Smith, 1982, p. 3173).

Affirmative Action and other legislated remedies to improve recruitment and hiring of minorities in education has not created sudden changes in hiring practices. Hennig and Jardim (1977) found in their research that legislation has not necessarily affected the "informal structure" of an organization, and it is this "informal structure" which presents resistance to those persons who have not traditionally been a part of that subculture.

Martha Peterson, at the 1976 meeting of women college presidents at the Johnson Foundation Educational Conference in Wisconsin, commented on the difficulty of women entering this informal structure. She stated:

"... we often are not present where vital decisions are made -- the squash court, the luncheon club, etc. We need to be very aware of where the power base is in our community and if exclusion from the mainstream of power limits us in serving our institutions properly, perhaps we need to think about how to make some changes (Taylor and Shavlik, 1977, p. 95 as cited in Creer, 1980).

Carol F. Epstein has expressed the belief that Black women have had to exhibit superior ability in order to receive equal opportunity and to gain acceptance in this "informal network." Although this is an experience shared by most minority groups, e.g., white women and Black men, the Black woman has an extra step to take. She must not only be better qualified than men, she must also be better qualified in her professional career than white women."
Taylor (1977) conducted a descriptive study to determine the status of Black female administrators before their institutions established Affirmative Action programs, and how many were appointed after the Affirmative Action plans were established. Findings were based on 189 usable responses from chief officers and 70 responses from Black women in administrative positions. Analysis of the data revealed these responses:

1. There were very few Black women in top level administrative positions in the selected colleges and universities. Nearly 60 percent of the institutions reported no Black administrators.

2. There were no Black administrators employed as chief executive officer of either two-year and four-year colleges and universities studied.

3. Most of the Black women administrators were employed as directors of special services programs.

4. Almost all of the institutions had established Affirmative Action programs.

5. The existence of an Affirmative Action program had not made a major difference in the employment of Black women in higher educational administration.

Taylor's study was replicated in 1981 by Cynthia Greer. Greer's study, "The Perceptions and Status of the Black Administrative Women in Selected Two-Year and Four-Year Coeducational Colleges and Universities," utilized the same institutional list as Taylor. Greer received 262 responses from institutions with only 183 institutions reporting top-level Black women as administrators. One hundred and
ninety top-level Black women administrators were identified with 170 responses received (89.4 percent).

Her responses indicated the following:

1. The majority of the respondents were in student affairs and administrative affairs positions.

2. There were no Black women chief executives as respondents.

3. Two-thirds of the women did not have tenure or faculty rank.

4. The perceptions of the respondents' administrative responsibilities were that they matched their administrative titles and that race and sex had a negative impact on their career progression.

Myrtis Mosley's 1980 study characterized Black female administrators as an "endangered species." Utilizing a questionnaire sent to 212 top administrators she sought to (1) provide information on the number of Black women who occupy administrative positions in predominantly white institutions of higher education; (2) determine the kinds of positions these women are likely to hold; (3) determine the general status of these women and to find out some of the professional and personal characteristics of Black female administrators; (4) determine the extent of their inclusion in decision making in their respective institutions; (5) determine their options and attitudes on general issues affecting higher education e.g. Affirmative Action and the women's movement; and (7) determine some of the barriers and pressures felt by Black women in administration.

Women in this study confirmed that Black women are at the bottom of the salary range. Seventy-four percent of the respondents felt discriminatory practices against the hiring of Blacks existed, with
one third stating that discrimination was extremely prevalent in hiring practices at their institution. One third reported either limited responsibility, or that they were responsible on paper, but were thwarted when they tried to act. Thirty-five percent felt that they had little or no influence in their own areas and found themselves enforcers of the rules rather than as change agents.

There are data to indicate that administrative employment patterns at historically black institutions are somewhat less related to sex than is the case at white colleges and universities. Statistics released in 1977 by the College and University Personnel Association reported that minority women occupied 25 percent of the administrative posts in minority institutions which was almost double the 14 percent reported for white institutions.

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) commenting on this phenomenon advance several reasons for this: (1) Black males appear to be more willing to accept leadership and contributions of females than white males; (2) historically many more college trained women than college trained men were available; (3) anti-nepotism rules were not applied as stringently in black institutions as in white colleges and universities; (4) teaching has been the most acceptable and accessible vehicle for educating Black girls, and black colleges encouraged women to go into teaching. Further, they state the Black female has been the backbone of the black college (p. 155).

Of the respondents to Moore and Wagstaff's survey, 41.7 percent of the educators in two-year colleges and 29.1 percent in four-year colleges were female. Although Black women held administrative
positions in some community colleges, only 50 percent of these women indicated they held line positions. The majority of Black female administrators in the study were in urban institutions with large enrollments of minority students.

A comparative study of Black male and female administrators in historically black institutions sought to determine if they have significantly different perceptions of their roles (Dawson, 1980). Comparisons of the two groups were made on role function, power, authority and role conflict. Based upon her findings the following conclusions were drawn: (1) Black male and female administrators in higher education in comparable positions in historically Black institutions perceive that they carry out similar official duties and responsibilities in their respective roles; hence, both males and females perceive comparable levels of decision making responsibility in the critical areas that govern the day to day operations of the institution; (2) both groups perceived equal influence in key areas of decision-making that undergird institutional life; and (3) both male and female respondents perceived the same degree of frustration resulting from incompatible demands and expectations related to their organizational roles.

In order to gather data on the problems, prospects and coping strategies of Black women administrators in predominately black colleges and universities, Swann and Witty (1979) sent mail questionnaires to 200 randomly selected women who were listed in the 1976-1977 National Center of Education Statistics, Higher Education Directory. One hundred sixteen women responded to the questionnaire,
which represented a 52 percent response rate. The largest percentage of the women were married, within the age bracket of 46 to 56 years old. Thirty-nine percent indicated that their highest degree was the Master's degree, with seventeen percent stating they had completed the doctorate degree.

Largely, these women held support service type positions (61 percent), with only 20 percent of them holding top-level positions. The majority of these administrators were satisfied or very satisfied with their positions. The most commonly mentioned strategy used to be successful in their work was being thoroughly knowledgeable about their job and the work to be done.

In conclusion, it is apparent the Black female administrator, fairing less well than either her white female counterpart, or Black males in higher education, are the bottom of the education heap. Black females in higher education are generally concentrated in low level positions where they carry out policy as opposed to making it. They serve as "coordinators", "assistants to", and assistants of major decision makers. In addition, although they have been present in the labor force and more specifically education for decades, their numbers are still very small and tend to decrease with the level and the prestige of the positions. There is some evidence that this disparity occurs to a lesser degree in historically Black colleges and universities.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is concerned with providing a rationale for the methodology, with outlining the procedures and methods used in collecting and analyzing the data, and with describing the characteristics of the sample of this investigation.

RATIONALE FOR THE METHODOLOGY

As stated in Chapter I, the purpose of this investigation was to develop an in-depth analytical description of the career development of Black female administrators in higher education, and in so doing, assess the extent to which the presence or lack of a mentor impacts their career development. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to identify a methodology which was flexible and allowed for an understanding of the values, perspectives and motivations of the persons under study, and which examined how they have made meaning of their career experiences. This study did not seek to verify any given theory or set of a priori assumptions, rather, it sought to discover the reality of the participants, i.e. their perceptions, in their terms and in their language.

An approach which emphasized an inductive line of inquiry, and avoided the prejudgement of the nature of the problem and its participants was in order. Approaches of this type may be loosely
described as qualitative methods. VanMaanen (1979) states these methods as being interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning not the frequency, of more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the world (p. 520).

Some of the characteristics of qualitative research as outlined by Englert (1981), states qualitative research:

1. is collaborative, involving both the researcher and the practitioner;

2. is directed toward the totality of a given situation, calling for the researcher to gain an understanding of the context in which the phenomena under study occur;

3. produces findings which while not generalizable, may be transmittable (in a common sense way) to other settings;

4. produces tentative hypotheses which assist the researcher and participants in gaining an understanding of a given situation;

5. is systematic and based upon the principles of disciplined inquiry;

6. addresses realistic problems and situations; areas of study are not limited to strict methodological considerations;

7. is flexible, thus methods and analytical tools are based upon the nature of the problem;

8. occurs within a mutually acceptable ethical framework for both the researcher and participants, with values, intents, and purposes clearly stated from the beginning;
9. allows practical significance to take precedence over statistical significance;

10. is eclectic and interdisciplinary, allowing for the introduction of a multitude of analytical tools and perspectives.

Patton (1980, p. 40) in discussing the qualitative approach states:

Researchers using this approach strive to understand phenomena and situations as a whole. This holistic approach assumes that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Thus, it is insufficient simply to study and measure the parts of a situation by gathering data about isolated variables, scales or dimensions. In contrast to experimental design which manipulate and measures the relationships among a few carefully selected and narrowly defined variables, the holistic approach to research design is open to gathering on any number of aspects of the setting under study in order to put together a complete picture of the social dynamic of a particular situation or program.

This approach was appropriate for the topic with this population because much of the current research of women, and Blacks in particular, has imposed external standards, instruments and expectations which are often irrelevant to the Black and/or female experience, and which yield results that are often bound within the framework of the instruments and standards imposed. In addition, it was expected that this approach would allow the perspective which existed to emerge more easily and naturally.

The method selected for this study was the constant comparative method of analysis. This method is a specific form of qualitative analysis which requires that the researcher collect, code and analyze data in one continuous integrated process rather than as three separate procedures. It is concerned with the generation of
of categories that describe a general phenomena. Glaser and Strauss describe the method in four stages: (1) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (2) integrating categories and their properties; (3) delimiting the theory; and (4) writing the theory (1967, p. 105).

**Comparing incidents applicable to each category.** The researcher begins by coding the data that has been collected into as many different categories as possible. These categories should emerge from the data and it is assumed that the researcher will be sensitive enough to create relevant categories from the data as they accumulate. As data collection and coding continue, categories of ideas emerge which lead to further data collection and the process repeats itself. Coding is a simple process consisting of noting categories as they develop. However, the key to this stage of the constant comparative method is that before each new piece of data is coded, it is compared to all other data previously recorded to determine whether or not it fits into a previously established category. This approach not only insures that meaningful categories will be created, but also allows theoretical properties for each to emerge as each category becomes more richly developed.

**Integrating categories and their properties.** As data collection and coding continue, the need to compare each incident or fragment of data with every other piece of data decreases and is replaced with a comparison of each incident with the properties of the categories previously developed. That is, there is a point at which, given the subject of the study, new categories cease to emerge and all new bits
of data serve to develop the properties of each category. Constant comparison of data in an effort to form new categories thus becomes unnecessary, even counterproductive, while constant comparison for the purpose of "fleshing out" properties serves not only to make each category richer in detail, but also more highly integrated with its properties. An important point to re-emphasize is that the collection and analysis of data occurs continuously and not as two separate operations.

**Delimiting the theory.** As data continue to be collected, the researcher begins to delimit the theory. Irrelevant categories can be eliminated, similar categories combined and the data reduced.

**Writing the theory.** When the categories are saturated and the researcher ceases to discover new information, the data is written. This can be in the form of an ongoing, narrative or a set of propositions.

**SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

**The Sample**

**Size and Source of Sample.** The sample of this investigation was comprised of ten (10) Black females employed in administrative positions at both two-year and four-year colleges and universities in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area, including institutions located within the District of Columbia, and the states of Maryland and Northern Virginia. A sample of this size allowed for an in-depth study into the nature of the subject's career development. As noted by Glaser and Strauss, "... the number of cases is not so crucial
... a single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property, a few more cases can confirm the indication."

Method for Obtaining Sample

The sample for this investigation was obtained by utilizing varied referral and networking methods. Names of potential participants were secured from colleagues and personal associates of the investigator. This included faculty, staff and students of colleges and universities in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area, as well as individuals in religious institutions and civic groups. Individuals attending workshops, seminars and professional conferences were asked for referrals.

As names were acquired a list of potential participants was developed. The title and status of each person was checked for her appropriateness for inclusion in the study. Only individuals who were fulltime administrators were considered. If the individuals were not appropriate they were contacted and asked to supply other names. The American Council on Education's Office of Women In Higher Education provided a number of referrals.

Finally, every Affirmative Action officer at two-year and four-year institutions in the area was contacted and asked for the names of Black female administrators in their institution. Generally, names were supplied once it was clear how the information was to be used and that the investigator was affiliated with an institution in the area. In one case however, the Affirmative Action officer refused to provide this information without a written request outlining the research questions and objectives of the study. A number of officers
regretfully indicated that they had no Black females in administrative capacities at their institutions.

A list of fifty-five (55) potential participants was developed prior to initiating any interviews. Ten individuals were selected from this list to be invited to participate. An attempt was made to insure that the sample was comprised of variety of women who could offer insight regarding the career development of Black females. Consequently the final sample contained a mixture of persons with regard to age, type and size of employing institution, and number of years in administration.

**Method of Contacting Sample**

**Initial Letter.** Each individual selected to participate was sent a letter (see Appendix A). This letter had three (3) purposes: (1) to introduce the investigator, and to state the investigator's intent to secure their participation in the study; (2) to briefly describe the significance of the investigation, its scope and its objectives, and; (3) to alert them of the investigator's intent to contact them by telephone on a specified date.

**Initial Call.** Calls were placed one week following the mailing of the initial letter. Reference was made to the initial letter and when appropriate the referral source was mentioned. This call had several purposes: (1) to reiterate the scope of the study and its objectives; (2) to briefly describe the investigator's background and professional experiences; (3) to secure their participation in the study by getting them to verbally commit to two (2) separate interviews. Every attempt was made to schedule a specified time for the first interview.
Follow-up Letter. A follow-up letter was sent to each individual who had agreed to participate in the study (see Appendix B). It thanked them for agreeing to participate; confirmed their interview time and made the request that they be able to meet in a private location where they would not be disturbed for one and one-half hour.

Confirmation Call. Each subject was called the day of their scheduled interview to confirm the meeting.

Characteristics of Sample

Ten administrators participated in this study. No one with the title of President or Vice-President was identified as existing in any of the institutions in the specified geographic area. The following table depicts the position titles represented among the participants in this study.

**TABLE 1**

**POSITION TITLES OF SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position Title</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Vice President</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant to the President</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Provost</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Dean</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants ranged in age from 32-51 years of age, with the mean age of the sample being 39.3 years. Eight of the ten participants held either the Ph.D. or the Ed.D. The two who did not
have the terminal degree were both actively enrolled in school. One was working toward the Ph.D. in Educational Administration and the other was working toward a Juris Doctorate.

Seven of the participants were married and currently living with their spouses. Two were divorced, and one was single. Nine (9) of the ten (10) participants had either one or two children.

Salary range for most of the participants (6), was in the 40-49 K range. Two (2) participants fell within the 30-39 K range, one (1) participant was in the 20-29 K range. One participant made over $50,000.

A summary of the characteristics of the final sample is shown in Table 2.

Nature of Current Positions

The nature and scope of the positions held by the administrators was quite diverse. However, they all had responsibility which required administrative functions of management, supervision and decision-making.

The three administrators who held the title of Dean had very broad management and supervisory responsibilities. Three of the administrators had positions which focused directly on student services. This included the Director of Financial Aid, the Director of Minority Student Services and the Assistant Dean. Both the Assistant Dean and the Director of Minority Students Services had direct responsibility for coordinating specific student activities, and working with students.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Type of Employing Institution</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Years in Educational Administration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M.S.</td>
<td>2 yr. Public</td>
<td>Director Financial Aid</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Public</td>
<td>Assistant Provost</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Historically Black</td>
<td>Dean Graduate School</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>4 yr. Private</td>
<td>Assistant to the President</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>2 yr. Public</td>
<td>Dean Student Services</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.J.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Public</td>
<td>Director, Minority Student Services</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.M.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ed.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Historically Black</td>
<td>Director University Compliance</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Public</td>
<td>Assistant Vice President</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>4 yr. Private</td>
<td>Assistant Dean Student Services</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.T.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>2 yr. Public</td>
<td>Dean of Instruction</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only one administrator held responsibility for primarily Black concerns. This was the Director of Minority Student Services. However, three administrators had positions which were in part, or totally concerned with Affirmative Action Activities. This included those with the titles of Special Assistant to the President, Vice Provost and Director of University Compliance.

All of the administrators described interactions regularly with other administrators who held positions equal to, or higher in level, than their own. Nine of the ten administrators reported to an individual at the Vice President level or higher. The Assistant Dean reported to a Dean.

Budget authority was held by six of the administrators. This included the three administrators who held the title of Dean, and the three administrators who held the title of Director. No budget control was held by the Assistant Dean, the Assistant Provost, the Assistant to the President, nor the Assistant Vice President; which it was noted was the highest ranking title of this sample.

In addition to their full-time administrative positions, six (6) of the administrators mentioned teaching occasionally in departments where they held adjunct faculty status, or in other institutions.

DATA COLLECTION

In keeping with the qualitative methodology of the investigation, the interview was utilized as the primary method of data gathering. The interview is a method that has been utilized by a

Patton (1980) writes "qualitative interviewing provides a framework within which respondents can express their own understanding in their own terms" (p. 205). The assumption which underlies all open-ended interviewing is that the perspectives of the persons under study are meaningful, knowledgeable, and able to be made explicit (Patton, p. 196).

The Interviews

Practice Interviews. As part of the investigator's preparation to conduct the study, she engaged in four practice interviews with two Black female administrators. These interviews were taped and allowed the investigator to refine her interviewing skills and to increase her proficiency in using the tape recording equipment. These tapes were reviewed several times by the investigator to identify weaknesses in interviewing techniques. Suggestions for refinement of the investigator's approach were also made by her advisor.

Interview Format. To achieve the aims of this study, two (2) interviews were conducted with each of the participants. There were several reasons for having two interviews. With a greater number of contacts, both interviews and phone calls, there was greater opportunity for the investigator and the participant to build a rapport. In addition, the time between the first and the second interview allowed the participants an opportunity to reflect and to provide more insight on what they had said during the first interview.
Interview Circumstances. The interviews were conducted in two phases over a period of three months from September through December 1983. During the first phase the investigator conducted all of the unstructured interviews. These occurred over a two week period. The average length of these interviews was approximately one hour and ten minutes.

Approximately one (1) month later, during the second phase, the investigator conducted the semi-structured set of interviews. The length of time between the first phase and the second phase did not seem to affect the rapport between the investigator and the participants. These interviews took place over a three week period. The average length of the semi-structured interview was one hour and fifteen minutes.

The record of time spent with each administrator included the time spent in informal chatting before and after the formal interview. The average total time spent with each administrator was two and one-half hours.

The investigator had developed a facesheet upon which notes were made during and after the interview (see Appendix D). The date of the interview, beginning and ending time along with general observations, impressions and ideas were recorded. This information assisted the investigator in recalling general interview circumstances i.e. distractions, non-verbal behavior, etc.

All interviews took place during regular working hours and occurred in the participants' immediate work area. With one exception, the interview conditions were excellent. The rooms were
quiet and facilitated concentration. The few occasions of noise did not seem to break the administrator's concentration or reflections.

The Unstructured Interview. The first meeting was an unstructured interview. The major aim of this meeting was to develop rapport with the interviewee and to get her to reflect on her career development. The first interview with each administrator began with the following steps: (1) an overview of the purpose and scope of the investigation; (2) an overview of the investigator's background and interests; (3) an assurance of confidentiality, and; (4) a focus on the fact that the participants could give no "right" nor "wrong" answer, and could refuse to respond to any question with which she felt uncomfortable. This interview was informal and was initiated by the following statement, "I am interested in a description of your career development." "I would like you to recall and describe those experiences which led to you becoming an administrator." The purpose of these statements was to elicit responses which would provide a context for a discussion of their career paths. During the first few interviews, however, the investigator found the participants had difficulty in knowing where to start. The opening was amended with the more specific statement, "Possibly you could start with your current position and tell me how you got here." This provided a focus and allowed the participants to more easily pull together the pieces of their career development. The investigator used probes and supportive comments to encourage the administrators to re-experience and recall the characteristics contributing to their development as administrators. The investigator encouraged ruminating and reflection
and thus the conversation focused on those aspects of career development that were most salient to the administrators.

The interview was brought to a close when the investigator sensed that no new observations could be added. The Demographic Data Inventory (DDI), a questionnaire developed by the investigator, was given to the participants to complete (see Appendix C). This questionnaire took approximately 3-5 minutes to complete. In concluding the interview, the investigator expressed her appreciation to the administrator for her time and scheduled the second interview. In addition, the investigator indicated that the next meeting would follow a more structured format and would focus on both the individuals who had impacted their career and on strategies for increasing the participation of Black females in higher education.

The Semistructured Interview. The second interview was conducted approximately one month after the first set of interviews. These interviews followed a semi-structured format, i.e. they consisted of open-ended questions based on the research questions of the study, the review of related literature, and on the content of the first interviews. The order in which the questions were presented was not critical. However, it was important that all of the questions be addressed by each of the respondents. The open-ended format of the questions allowed the respondents to elaborate and expand on their responses. Each respondent was allowed time at the end of the questions to add comments they may have omitted. The following questions formed the basis for the second interview:
1. Tell me about those individuals who stand out as being particularly influential to your career development.
Areas to probe: Relationships to administrator
   During what point in their career
   Nature of relationship
   Characteristics of individual

2. How would you define the term mentor?
Areas to Probe: Functions
   Roles
   Feelings

3. Have you ever had a relationship with the type of person you just described? Tell me about it.
Length
Characteristics

4. Do you view mentoring as a viable concept for the Career Development of Black females?
Areas to probe: Benefits
   Drawbacks

5. Describe some specific strategies you would suggest for increasing the participation of Black women in educational administration.

6. What are some of your concerns regarding the career development of Black females in educational administration?

The Investigator's Behavior. Patton (1980) has indicated that critical to the success of an interview is the establishment of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee. Further, he
states that rapport means that the interviewer respects the individuals being interviewed so they feel that what they say is understood without judgement (p. 231). It conveys to the interviewee that their knowledge, experiences, attitudes and feelings are important and that the context of their responses will engender neither favor nor disfavor.

To that end, the investigator of this study assumed a non-threatening, non-judgemental posture throughout the interviewing process. She sought to demonstrate an "empathetic understanding" with each administrator. The investigator listened attentively maintaining eye contact while each administrator talked. Minimal comments were made following the administrators' responses. However, when a response was called for to reflect understanding and to maintain a conversational flow, the investigator made statements such as, "I see," "Is that right." No response was made when conflicting comments or contradictory statements were made.

The investigator's style of dress was also low-key. For each interview she dressed neatly and professionally but not in an overly sophisticated manner. That is, dresses and jackets or skirt and jacket was worn rather than a formal business suit.

Focus, therefore, was on the administrators throughout the interviewing process, with the investigator in the role of an active listener. Dexter (1970) suggests it is just this sort of attention which serves as an incentive as rarely do persons have the full attention of a listener. The low-key empathy which the investigator
showed throughout the interviews was replaced by active friendliness in pre-interview and post-interview chatting.

Administrators General Reactions To The Interview Process. Mead (1918) and Carlson (1972) have both discussed the advantages of women conducting research on women. They argue that because most women have been reared by women there is an inevitable early sex identification that assist them in more effectively understanding other women. The investigator of this study was both female and Black. Therefore, there was a race, as well as a gender identity. This added a dimension to the study which is not likely to be present in either cross-gender studies or same gender, but different race studies.

The investigator found that all of the administrators responded to her in a positive, warm manner. In every case the administrators seemed to take the interviews seriously and seemed eager to share their thoughts and experiences. In addition, it was clear from direct comments and from inferences made by the administrators that they felt a special tie to the investigator because of their shared cultural heritage. Statements such as, "You know what I mean," or an inclusive use of the word "we," were made repeatedly. Several instances occurred when to make a point or to further embellish a response, a statement was made in the black vernacular. This was done without further explanation indicating an assumption on their part the the investigator understood the subtleties of its meaning.

The tape was not a barrier to conversation. During most of the interviews there was little if any attention given to it. Occasionally, however a comment was made such as "I shouldn't put this on
tape," or "Is the tape running?" In each case, the administrator went on to share what they perceived as a confidential or risky statement without requesting that the tape be turned off. The investigator, at these times, reiterated her commitment to confidentiality of the information.

DATA ANALYSIS

Upon completion of the interviews, the audio-tapes were transcribed verbatim. Each was typed on regular sized paper, yielding a transcript for each interview. These transcripts furnished the data for analysis. Each page of the transcript was labeled with the respondent's initials and a designator as to whether it was the first or second interview. A hanging file was made for each participant. It included copies of the first and second interview, the completed DDI, and all notes made on the particular administrator.

The analysis of these data involved several stages.

Rist (1977) pointed out a qualitative methodology aims at a holistic analysis in order to avoid the distortion resulting from breaking data into discrete parts (p. 47). He suggests the product of the analysis should bring the reader close to the actual phenomena. To this end, it appeared that an appropriate first step, and way to convey holistically the administrators' experiences, was to write a short biography of each administrator. It was felt by the investigator that these biographies would provide for more insight into how each administrator's own career path developed, how their career goals
and education were interwoven and how their particular personality and world view impacted this development.

Each biography focused on the following: Scope and nature of current position, education and employment history, family background and reflections on administration. They have been written in the first person to more accurately reflect the natural phenomena. To insure confidentiality the names of the administrators and their employing institutions were changed. In addition, the geographic location of their employing institution was omitted or changed.

Next, in order to meet the purpose of developing a detailed analytical description of the career development of Black female administrators, the investigator used the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis as previously outlined. First multiple copies were made of all the transcripts. As these were reviewed categories began to form. A file was made for each category. For example, "Self-Knowledge" became a category. Entries which corresponded to that category were removed from the transcript, circled, and placed in the file. As new entries were placed into the file it was compared to other entries in that category and with other categories. Some entries were filed under several categories. Some categories had limited entries. As the investigator compared and contrasted the relationships among the categories and the entries, various themes emerged. These themes provided the general design and framework for the description of the career development of the administrators.
METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

All research investigations, regardless of approach, must address the issue of sound methodological procedures. To that end, the issues of subjectivity, validity, reliability and generalizability are discussed as they pertain to this study.

Subjectivity

Patton (1970) states, one of the frequent attacks on qualitative methodology is that it is inevitably "subjective." He states further, that this label by implication suggests that qualitative methodology is "not objective," the essence of scientific inquiry. Patton argues that the claim of objectivity in quantitative research is not correct and is used to "legitimize, pressure, and protect a single evaluation methodology (p. 27)." All researchers, no matter what their method, bring values, opinions, and perspectives to their research. These values are reflected in the tools that are used, the questions which are asked, and the instruments that are administered.

Rockhill (1982), Darkenwald (1980), Meizerow (1978), are but a few of the researchers and theorists who advocate using qualitative approaches to problem solving. They suggest qualitative methodology, not as a substitute for quantitative methodology, but rather, as an alternate approach for gaining knowledge. Silverman (1983), in a presentation describing the constant comparative method states:

Individuals need to be perceived as actors with multiple dimensions, not simply those few that are the object of a traditional analytical science study. Individuals need to be perceived in relation to their history, and their wholeness, their emotions as well as their cognitions, their deep as well as their surface structures.
This investigation followed a qualitative methodology because it seemed more appropriate given the population and the questions which were asked. The procedures followed were systematic, rigorous, and were based upon the principles of disciplined inquiry.

Validity

The issue of validity is concerned with truthfulness. That is, the correctness of the information given by the administrators about their career development. Several questions or concerns emanate from this issue with regard to this study. First, did the administrators tell the truth or did some deliberately withhold or alter information? Second, were the administrators' perceptions of self accurate? In other words, would most people who had known the administrators over the years agree with what they had said about themselves and their career development? Finally, how well did the administrators recall information related to their career development?

Rockhill (1982), states that integral to the perspective of qualitative research is the emphasis on human consciousness as the definer of reality. She continues, "truth lies not in objective proof . . . but in the experience of existence or non-existence in the minds of men and their mutual affirmation (p. 10)". In other words, perception is reality, and reality is socially constructed and interpreted.

Pelto and Pelto (1978) assert that the essence of research methodology lies in finding "true and useful information," about a particular phenomena in our universe (p. 1)". However, they continue by qualifying the meaning of "true information" stating:
We use the expression 'true and useful information,' in quotation marks in order to indicate that although we generally assume the presence of a concrete, real world, the truth or the facts about the real world are always seen and interpreted by means of our observational equipment, our perceptual categories, and our general theoretical outlook. Hence, we can never establish any final absolute truth.

Further, they state that the truth value of information is best measured by criteria of usefulness. The key, with regards to validity for this study is how the information shared by the administrators can be used to increase understanding of the process of their career development. It is understood that the administrators may have conflicting opinions, values and attitudes, and that they may choose to omit certain aspects of their career development. It is also understood that memory often fails. It is believed, however, that the administrators' present states are more clearly understood when compared to their description of their past, and that the way in which their memory fails, and restructures their past is significant for understanding and describing their career development.

For the purposes of this study, the investigator sought to develop an understanding of the administrators' perceptions regarding their career development. This understanding is not merely true or untrue, inaccurate or accurate, but is evaluated in terms of its usefulness in furthering ideas about the object, and according to whether the understanding is grounded in the data (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973).
Reliability

This issue is concerned with the question of whether this study is replicable, that is, would an independent observer, by duplicating the procedures of this investigation, be able to see and hear the same events, and reach the same conclusions as this investigation.

Because the naturalistic approach to research is interactive, that is both the researcher and the object of the research bring their histories and understandings to bear upon the situation, no two situations can be exactly alike. The method of data gathering has been made explicit and could be duplicated, but it is unlikely that another observer would develop the same schema, conceptual categories, or metaphors as this investigator.

Schatzman and Strauss (1973), state that a more germane question is, would an independent observer make conceptual discoveries that empirically or logically invalidate previous research? Their feeling is if any analysis fails to contradict the original research, it must be regarded as supplementary or complementary (p. 134). Glaser and Strauss (1970) note that it is encumbent upon the reader to judge the credibility of a study by making assessments of the researcher's methodology.

This investigation has fully described the procedures used in both data collection and data analysis so that others have a basis of determining the credibility of the procedures, the credibility of the data and the credibility of the analytical description that was developed for them.
Generalizability

The final methodological issue has to do with the generalizability of the findings. That is, to what extent can the findings be generalized to other Black females in higher education administration? Because random sampling techniques were not used, a case for statistical generalizability cannot be made. However, Glaser and Strauss (1970), express doubts about the applicability of quantitative methodological techniques as proper criteria for judging investigations based on flexible research procedures.

A more germane question with regard to this investigation is, how can the conclusions reached in this study contribute to the understanding of the career development of Black female administrators?

A detailed analytical description of the administrator's career development was presented. This description was based on the accounts of the administrators in their own language. The focus of the study was on "particularization," i.e. the particular aspects of the administrator's career development process. Stake (1978) states that particularization can lead to naturalistic generalizations, and that the knowledge of the particular or particularization, is useful when it is recognized in new and foreign contexts (p. 6).

Both Newman (1982) and Houle (1961) used qualitative research technique without the use of statistical sampling. Both made cases for the inappropriateness of using a more representative sampling technique, and for the significance of their study. The sample for this investigation was selected to represent a variety of Black female administrators, with regard to age, years in administration, title,
and type of employing institution. There appear to be no reasons why their career experiences would not have implications for the career development of other Black female administrators in similar settings. The findings of this study provide a basis for naturalistic generalizations to be made about the career development of other Black female administrators in higher education.

SUMMARY

In Chapter III the rationale for the qualitative methodology was presented along with a detailed description of the procedures and methods used in collecting and analyzing the data. The issues of validity, reliability and generalizability were addressed. Chapter IV presents the findings of this study.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

As noted in Chapter I, the purpose of this investigation was to develop an in-depth analytical description of the career experiences of Black female administrators in higher education. Further, it was hoped that it could be determined the degree to which the presence or lack of a mentor impacted their career development. A review of the literature in Chapter II indicated that there is little that is specifically written about the career development of Black female administrators. The information from several fields was thus brought to bear on the topic. Chapter III described the methodology of the study. A qualitative approach was used in which ten (10) administrators were interviewed in-depth regarding their career development. It is the purpose of Chapter IV to present the information gathered from the administrators and to develop the analytical description of their career development.

During the conversations, the administrators described those aspects of their careers which were of greatest significance to them. Through an analysis and synthesis of those accounts the investigator developed a description of their careers. This description is presented in several ways. First, in order to convey the totality of each administrator's experience, a professional biography of each
was written. Secondly, a constant comparative analysis was done of the
information the administrators shared. The predominate themes of
their career experiences which emerged were presented. Thirdly, the
administrator career experiences were examined in terms of patterns
and the use and effect of mentor. Information from the literature
was brought to bear on this examination. Finally, a descriptive
profile of the "Black Female Administrator" was developed and presented.

PERSONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Following are the personal biographies of each of the ten (10)
administrators. Each account is in their own words, and while they
are each organized to maintain the individuality of the administrators,
all focus on the scope and nature of their current positions, their
education and employment history, their family background and their
comments and feeling about educational administration as a career.
To maintain confidentiality their names have been changed and the
identification and location of their employing institutions omitted.

SANDY ANDERSON  36  Doctoral Student  Community College

"Well, let's see, I am the Director of Financial Aid. In
essence that means I am responsible for applying for federal monies
to be awarded to students at this institution. Responsibility for
coordinating all types of financial assistance that students receive,
whether its federal monies, state monies, or private monies, or
institutional monies, is mine. Then I manage the financial aid pro-
grams themselves and I'm also responsible for making the students on
campus aware of what's available to them. Our program serves over
3,500 students with an operating budget of $100,000.

I've got a very good staff which really helps me do a lot of
things because, I am also involved in a number of professional activi­
ties off of this campus. All together, there are about twelve of us
in the office. I've had very little turnover during the seven years
I've been here.

Prior to coming to this institution I was Director of Financial
Aid at a historically Black institution, which happened to be the same
institution where I received my undergraduate and graduate degrees. I
also had worked in that office as a work study student. That's where
I really learned it all. I always credit them for giving me the
basics.

I'm right from this area. I've been here all my life ten miles
from this institution. There are three of us, my sister, and a
brother who has mental retardation. He lives at home with my Dad.
Mom died about ten years ago. Just a hard-working government worker
that was my Dad, he's retired now.

I try to learn the people that I'm working with. One of the
things I learned very early about organizations is that you have to
learn who to pat on the back to get the job done. I needed data
processing support so I learned how to work with the DP Director.
Now, most of the people on this campus have a hard time with him, he's
older, he's been here a long time and butts into everybody's business,
but I can handle him. We get along just fine. I get more service
out of that department than anybody else on campus. I've got a ter-
minal right in my office!

I do enjoy being an administrator. There are times when I say
to myself, why do I want this grief, why do I subject myself to this
abuse. I guess because deep down I enjoy it. It's been good, it's
been very good."

SUSAN COLES 35 Ph.D. Public Comprehensive University

"This is one of those combination staff/line positions, its
called the Assistant Provost of Student Affairs. That means in terms
of my one hundred percent administrative responsibilities that I am
responsible for all matters involving student academic services. I
get involved in one way or another with recruitment, retention and
graduation of the students both undergraduate and graduate, in this
division. I discipline students, make decisions regarding waivers,
etc.

I also serve as the equity officer for this unit so I'm con-
cerned about the human rights issues of both our faculty and students.
Essentially it means I am responsible for the development, implementa-
tion, and monitoring of our affirmative action plan. I must ensure
that people are not treated unfairly because of their race, gender
or sexual persuasion. This office has the power to investigate, to
arbitrate and to refer to a legal body.

Before this position I was an administrator in a large profes-
sional association for about four years. My last two years there I
directed their accreditation program accrediting institutions offering
doctoral programs in that field. I also served as a liaison to the Department of Education around the training of their professionals. Since I wasn't a part of the old boy network, I could go about changing things without feeling guilty, and I did! I was probably a little immature for that job, but it was a good experience and I did some things.

That was my primary position as soon as I got my doctorate. Now all the while I was doing that and for the five years I have had the position, I have also done some part-time teaching and a little clinical work. My graduate training was at this institution. My master's is in general Psychology and my doctorate is in Clinical Psychology. I went to a large institution very much like this one.

I was raised by my mother in the southwest. I went to segregated schools on the wrong side of the track and I guess I'm the first one to get a degree. I was always competitive, I think I probably wanted to prove it was okay to be from my side of town and that it didn't matter what your family composition was . . .

Ten years of administrative work and I'm not sure I want to stay in higher education. Right now I'm fed up with the system. I'm just not sure about it at all."

ANNA CROWDER 51 Ph.D. Historically Black, Public

"I have been Dean of the Graduate School for almost nine years. I am responsible for all graduate programs. This includes recruitment and admissions, registration, financial aid, certification and development activities."
I grew up right in this area attending public schools right through high school. There were five of us and I'm the second oldest. I was always a good student. I came to this institution as an undergraduate student with an intent of being in research or in teaching.

As one of only a few females in the Chemistry Department I received a lot of attention. You know that can be good and bad. You get a lot of visibility but there is also a lot of pressure on you. I worked very hard and people were impressed that I did well. I was an honor student and graduated with honors. Then I went right to graduate school in the Midwest in the same field of study.

After that I worked at a Research Institute for a year or two. I entered a Doctoral program and began teaching on the faculty in this institution. I was the first female on the Chemistry faculty. That was a challenge working with all those males.

In 1970 I was appointed the Department Chairperson and I did that for five years. I've been in this position since that time. I still have a lot I want to accomplish. There are still things to be done here.

MICHELLE DUMONCEAU 32 Law Student Private University

"My job as Special Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action is focused first on academic. Due to the small numbers of minorities at this institution, most of our Black employees are in staff non-teaching positions. My main thrust is in working with the academic departments to help them identify qualified minority candidates. A second responsibility is in the area of minority
business enterprise and minority economic development. We try to give as much opportunity to minority businesses by allowing a diverse group to bid for contracts in this institution. And my third area of responsibility is in the area of complaints. Typically we don't get many but we do have the power to investigate.

This is a very elitist institution but because of some external pressure that we have been able to bring to bear on situations, we have had some success. You just can't sit back and hope these things will change without taking any action. I'm an advocate, but it's a difficult role because I sit on the President's cabinet.

Not only must I be able to articulate the concerns that minorities, women and other constituent groups have on campus, I also have to be sensitive to the administrative position and recognize that and work effectively with both sides. Sometimes, I feel I'm walking on a tight rope.

I never really considered higher education even though both of my parents were educators. My mother is deceased now but she was a principal of a secondary school in South America, and my father had a position in the Ministry of Education which is like the Department of Education here in the United States. He came to this country to get his Ph.D. and then my mother came to get her Master's degree. When they found jobs they sent for us; my sister and brother.

At my undergraduate institution, I majored in languages and linguistics and started teaching right after I graduated. Then I went back to get my Master's on an assistantship. It was during this time that I got involved in minority concerns. There were only
five Black graduate assistants in the whole institution. I approached the Dean about developing a program to recruit more minorities. He said, 'well, write me a proposal.' He liked the proposal and created a position which I applied for and got. I wrote myself a job and didn't even realize it! I worked there for about five years then I went to a big university in the east as their Affirmative Action Director.

I'm not sure where I'm headed with law school. I'm contemplating being a counsel for an academic institution or maybe going to the private sector. I also have an interest in International Law. I may make a total career change. Because everything I have done in my career has been in the area of Affirmative Action you get pigeonholed in those kinds of positions, it becomes very difficult to move."

DONNA GRANT 39 Ph.D. Community College

A long time ago this job was called Dean of Women or of Men, it moved to Dean of Student Services and now the position has evolved to what they call Dean of Student Development because the educational parts are emphasized more than the systems part. We have the counseling, special services to handicapped students; the activity center and career center, job placement and athletics, i.e. intermural sports. So I see my role in the institution as being an educational administrator," more than an administrator over the system.

I've been here since January, about 10 months, and it's ideal for me. I'm thinking that I've been preparing for this job for some
time. Before, I was Director of Counseling for about two years at a Community College. I was a counselor for 10 years and I was feeling good as a counselor but when I realized I was doing less and less counseling and more management things all the time, I thought I'd get the degree because I realized that's where my skill was. Before that I taught English in a high school; briefly about six months I was a counselor in high school but I had to move with my husband's job.

My own career goal in high school was to go into medicine. I wanted to be a pathologist! We could not afford it and my mother thought I would never marry and have kids and that seemed weird to her. She's not the traditional homemaker mother either but she's very protective of me. She wanted me married and taken care of. Now, I'm the oldest kid who took care of everything. I didn't care I went to this white institution and said I wanted to major in Biology. They put me with this racist advisor who gave me three English classes. Every time I would go for advising he'd give me more English and French. Now, I'm a kid out of the west side of the Chicago ghetto school, with a poor background for that college even though I was high in my graduating class. I realized later he was trying to flunk me out! I didn't get a biology class the three years I was there getting my degree. But looking back it really worked out for the best . . .

I have a sister and a brother. I'm seven years older than my brother and ten years older than my sister. I'm from a divorced family. I lived with my father and took care of my brother, then I lived with my sister and took care of my sister. The family was
poor because of the upheaval. I was never deprived to the extent that it kept me from succeeding.

I have to say I'm pleasantly surprised at where I have arrived at this point. I didn't want to be an administrator, but I'm finding it a good thing for me. I'm also exhausted right now, but I really am excited about what the world holds for me. There's something good out there for me and I can't wait, I can't wait!

PEGGY JONES 32 Ph.D. Public University

"Most of what I do as Director of Minority Student Services is interact with policy makers, directors, deans, vice presidents and on occasion the president around policy regarding policies that impact ethnic minorities on this campus. The other level of my involvement is in terms of helping minority students make sense of this University as a system. Sometimes I think of my role simplistically as that of a consultant. I also am responsible for the orientation of Black students and I also coordinate Black History month.

This is my third year in this position. Before that I was a counseling psychologist in the counseling center here. Before that I was in graduate school. I did a number of things during that time, for example, I worked with a professional association, also in a community health center, and some work at that institution's counseling center.

I decided at about nine or ten years old that I was going to be a psychologist. I also always have known that I would direct something, or at least try to. I think being an administrator allows
you to have a little more control or input. I enjoy autonomy. Although I know as a director I certainly am not without supervision, direction or input from others, I'm certainly accountable but in administration there's a little more opportunity to be creative in problem solving. I like seeing a mess and trying to figure out what's going on. I'm still teaching part-time and it's enjoyable too, combining that with this job makes it interesting.

My father was a machine operator. Most of my life my mother has been a housewife. I have two older sisters and six younger brothers, a big family! You know poor family, but with middle class values . . .

I used to do these five-year plans and I would sit down and write things out. What I discovered was that a lot of that was planning five years in a vacuum. I feel like I'm in a process where I'm looking at where I want to go again and I'm not sure where I want to go. I know that private practice is something that I'll probably move into more seriously in the next year. I'm not sure at this point . . . I think I'm looking at higher education and saying to myself which parts of it do I want? Where can I have the maximum impact? And are there other ways to be effective or do I even have to be in this kind of setting. I'm not sure at this point."

BETTY M. MASON 50 Ed.D. Public Institution, Historically Black

"The scope of this office is very broad. As Director of University Compliance we are responsible for insuring compliance with federal civil laws. That includes responsibility to students,
faculty, staff and applicants, and this institution. I have about eight different focuses. For example, I have to insure that there is no discrimination based on sex, race, or age. We make sure that not only do we not discriminate because of handicapped status but also that classroom facilities at all of our campuses are accessible to handicapped individuals. We have the power to investigate complaints and we also have training responsibility. So we do a lot of what we call portable workshops, taking information to managers and other employees throughout the campus.

This office has continually expanded. Originally, this was the handicapped office. That was when it was a hot issue. You see I've been handicapped for 15 years and I think they thought it would be a good idea to put me over it. You see I was with the old administration in a relatively high position, Executive Assistant to the President. When the new regime came in they really didn't know what to do with me, they couldn't fire me, so they put me over that!

They saw I wasn't going to go away, so it has grown and now I have all of this.

I've always had a lot of health problems. In and out of the hospital. But I always kept going.

I had no plans. I was just enjoying myself in school. Initially, I began working on a degree in business education. I thought I was going to teach. It was during my practicum that I said to myself, I don't want to do this [teach], so I switched to secretarial science. Of course, this put me back but I really didn't mind, I was having a good time. My advisor was so upset, "Secretarial Sciences"? But I
knew I always felt good about my skills in that area, organization, typing.

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

When I was the Assistant to the President in Virginia I was intimidated by everyone's credentials so I began working on my master's again, not certain of what I was going to do with it, just getting better prepared. A Doctorate wasn't even in the picture. When I came up here it was the same thing. I began taking courses in educational administration for the same reason, because I knew I had no background, no know how.

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

BERNICE MORRISON 45 Ph.D. Comprehensive Public University

The office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs has responsibilities which encompass all the campuses of this University
as well as the several research centers we have. My responsibilities are primarily for faculty personnel matters, and coordinating with the Board of Regents. Another thing I do is write a lot of the policy that the University wants to develop. Sometimes when you hear about something that is very controversial it has originated here. Also, I work with salary and the supplemental salary funds we get from the legislature every year. So I work with that, then there are also several other special projects. I do a study on women faculty members, a comparative study of their salaries. So you see it is basically staff to the President, a lot of behind the scene work. I'm going into my fourth year, before that I was the Assistant Provost which I did for five years.

Before I graduated from college I had to do the customary practice teaching, or student teaching or whatever that is, I knew right away that I did not want to teach high school. That was out! That meant of course that I would have to go to graduate school, so I did and I became a college teacher of English.

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

I grew up in the south and went to a small Black undergraduate school. I think it was one of the 1890 land grant institutions. I
got my degree in English Literature. I made a decision to go into that rather than mathematics, sometimes I wish I had gone into mathematics. I got my Master's in the midwest. I saw a notice on the bulletin board for a fellowship so I applied and got it.

My family is big, lots of us. I had four sisters, one died, and three brothers. I'm in the middle. I guess we were a family of achievers, education was important.

I seem to be on five year cycles so I will need to make a change in the next few years. Some mornings I wake up and I'm sure where I want to go, then others I'm not. I don't know whether the opportunities will be there, whether or not I will be able to make the sacrifices that I know will have to be made in order to move into higher levels. I don't know . . ."

MAXINE MITCHELL 36 Ph.D. Private University

My title is Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs, which basically means I am in charge of all of the academic counseling for the total student body. That covers all undergraduate and graduate programs.

This office keeps records on all the students with regard to their curriculum, so we know for example if they are in academic difficulty, if they are eligible for financial aid, whether they can appropriately change their program, etc. Decisions for all exceptions or waivers are made by me.

In addition I develop the Annual Catalogue and am responsible for Placement Examinations and Orientation. This is a highly selective institution so students must compete in order to be accepted.
I was an only child and I started studying this field when I was six. My teacher in my last two years of high school graduated from this institution so that's one reason I applied. They offered me a full scholarship and that's something you don't get too often so you don't turn that down. I was sixteen and did my four years. I graduated cum laude at twenty. I got married at the end of my sophomore year and had my first child at the end of my junior year. My husband should have a degree from here after all he's been through.

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

The Associate Dean that we had a couple of years ago got me into this office. I respected her and I think she respected my ideas so she convinced the administrators to create a counselor position so I became an academic counselor which I did for about three years.

I've had this title almost a year. The one thing that led me to accept it is my interest in students. Not just interest in policy and running things but I am genuinely interested in the students. As the Academic Counselor, I saw so many students coming in not knowing what they were doing. All they needed was a little extra touch of human thinking on someone's part. So that kind of concern led me here and it makes going to meetings and the dealing with
policy not so terrible. It's not policy just for policy sake. In the back of your mind you have the students at heart.

TONI THOMPSON 37 Ph.D. Community College

Okay, this position which I'm getting ready to leave, is Dean for Instructional Services; and that is the CEO for the five campuses of the college. I'm responsible for coordinating the curriculum and the programs of each campus. Each campus tends to have a different academic focus, but all of them have programs that are similar. It's my responsibility to insure that all of the programs that are offered are of the same academic quality. That's the basic responsibility. Naturally, in terms of being a chief academic officer, it means that I am involved with everything related to academic affairs. I don't get into hiring or evaluating faculty per se because of the multi-campus structure. There is a provost at each campus who is responsible for the operations of that campus. However, if there is a question involving the background of a potential employee, I'm often consulted.

The person in this office also chairs the Curriculum Committee along with three of four other committees that serve as staff officers to the President. I'm also on the Administrative Council, which is the President's immediate staff; committee work comes with the territory. I have been in this position for seven years. I was Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs at a private historically black institution for a year; and prior to that I was a doctoral student teaching part-time. Prior to that I was teaching Spanish
in high school. You might say my career has not had a typical pattern because I came right out of my doctoral program into an administrative position in higher education. It wasn't by design... I had gone back to graduate school originally to get some supervision and administration on my certificate that would enable me to be a public school supervisor.

Once I started teaching at the university with my assistantship I decided I liked it. I met some people at a conference who asked me whether I'd be interested in coming to their institution and doing some things in curriculum and instruction. I said, 'What's the salary and what's the title?' It was more than I had been making in public school and it was a b-i-g title. I knew I was lucky to get a title like that! But it really wasn't much money, I could hardly pay my bills (laugh). I did an awful lot, everything under the sun. Nothing was too high and nothing was too low. I got a lot of experience and that experience got me here. It was a southern black college, 'good ole folks.' As I move, and wherever I move, I credit them for my training.

My father is a retired professor. Before he became a professor he was a school principal. My mother was a teacher, she also was a county superintendent. It was a very academic home life, you know educated parents have high expectations for their children. My father felt that each generation should do a little better than the next, so he encouraged me to have top credentials.

I think I would like to combine what I'm doing now, academic administration, with teaching. To be a college president in the
eighties and nineties you will have to give a lot of yourself. I don't know if I have the stamina or energy to go through what I see a lot of presidents go through. I have a three year old who needs my time. If I could find a job teaching full time I think I could enjoy that. I don't know, as you get older your goals change . . .

CAREER THEMES

The salient themes which emerged from the administrators' description of their career histories were organized into three categories: (1) Career Choice and Exploration, (2) Career Issues and Concerns; (3) Career Goals and Expectations. In the following section the administrators' accounts around these areas are explored.

Career Choice and Exploration

Evolving Toward a Career. As the administrators related their career experiences, their perception of the evolutionary nature of their career development emerged as a common theme. It became clear that the administrators did not view their achievements as a result of their efforts toward a defined choice or goal. They expressed some degree of surprise at their career development and in attaining the position they currently hold.

One administrator stated, "My career really wasn't planned, I just didn't sit down and map out a plan for myself or a time line, or anything. My career just evolved almost as if it had a life of its own." And another stated, "I just happened to fall into this business, no plans, it just happened."
Bernice stated with some chagrin:

I'm almost embarrassed to tell you how little attention I paid to my own career growth and about some of the things I thought I wanted to do. None of it was based on any assessment of my skills or talents, or what was even realistic... So whatever I am has probably evolved as a result of not having been satisfied where I was, needing to do something more or something different and needing to be able to take care of my family.

Sandy showed some concern over her lack of clear career goals, remarking, "One of the things that's frustrating to me is my realization at this point that I didn't have clear career goals early on." On the other hand, Toni, viewing her lack of career goals rather humorously stated, "You can't plan these things, if I had tried to design it, (her career) it never would have worked out this well."

Several of the administrators attributed their unclear career goals to a lack of role models. For example, Sandy describes her choice almost in terms of whims of her high school teacher's daughter:

Although I had always gotten A's in math, I did not like math. What I really loved was Biology, but as I looked at the occupational handbooks nothing looked very positive for a Biologist or Zoologist. It just seemed very dull, all that research! I had gotten an award from the state science fair and it was okay, but I couldn't see doing that for a lifetime. My teacher also got recognition for my project so he began advising me. He told me I should be a pediatrician because his daughter was in school to be a pediatrician. So I thought I would do that. Then she changed her major to psychology and he said, 'Maybe you'll like this psychology.' So he gave me my first psychology book. It was the only thing I actually knew a little about because he actually sat down with me and showed me what it would take to get through a psychology program. How much math, how much English. It seemed okay. I thought, well I could be a social worker. You
see when you don't have any role models, which I
didn't, you just . . .

Donna, who had made an early decision to be a pathologist
stated, "I don't know . . . I guess I read something about one
(pathologist) in a book, you know I didn't know any!"

Another administrator remarked:

For a long time I wanted to be a nurse. Then I started
thinking about bedpans and cleaning up other people's
bottoms and I knew I couldn't do that. Then I consid­
ered being a doctor but I thought I would be too old
before I finished. Then I wanted to be a ballerina but
I never got to have ballet classes. You may wonder
where I got all these lofty ideas coming from my environ­
ment. I haven't the foggiest--I didn't know anyone who
did those things. I suppose the one force that was
driving most was I didn't want to do what my mother did.
She was a domestic, . . . (she worked for nice people)
. . . but I didn't want to do what she did.

Environment and Family. As the administrators described their
career development, they discussed the impact of their environment
they were raised in; and secondly, they spoke of the way in which
they related to their parents and siblings within the home.
Although the administrators never stated it specifically, they made
statements that suggested they received the nurturing and support
which encourages career growth.

The administrators perceived their family life as very
ordinary to those around them and repeatedly used terms like "just
regular," or "regular hard working folk." Those administrators who
had parents who were educated and held a somewhat middle class posi­
tion still used similar descriptive terms and emphasized what they
perceived as their commonality with other Black families. A common
point implicit in their descriptions of their family life was the
factor of race, as an equalizer of all Black people. In some way they made a statement which indicated as Black people the norms for upper class status were different. For example, although Toni described a somewhat middle class home environment, she dismissed the notion that her family was somehow different than other Blacks. She stated:

We knew our parents had a lot more education than some we knew, and it was expected that we (siblings) would also go to school and try to achieve but we lived in the south you see, and we saw how Black folks were treated, all Black folks. So we learned early on that it just wasn't the education or the professional job. . .

In a similar vein, Maxine, whose mother had graduated from college and whose father was an elementary school principal, described her family as "poor", but "not dirt poor as they used to say, because we weren't on the dole (welfare), but we really didn't have any money."

Susan, who was raised in an urban lower class neighborhood, spoke with pride about achieving despite the obstacles of her background:

I was raised by my mother and I'm probably the first one to get a college education. I was one of those latchkey kids. I grew up in the projects and fought my way through the bricks on the wrong side of the tracks. I guess I was always very competitive because I was always trying to prove that there was nothing wrong with people who were from my background. We were not stupid, just because we had a certain family composition, we were good as all the rest.

Donna, also the product of an urban environment, stated:

I could write a book about my background. People who work with me have no idea. I mean if it was a movie it would be X-rated. They have no idea what's it like for folks in the ghetto gambling, and fighting and
getting drunk. There are so many different facets. It makes my life so very rich!

Later, Donna spoke with sadness about the impact of the environment to her sister and brother:

... I guess I'm unusual from the neighborhood. My brother and sister are struggling. They did not finish high school, (maybe they have now) but they let our situation hold them back. They had a lot more opportunity than I did, but they didn't have a vision. I always had a vision ... We don't keep in touch, imagine how they feel constantly compared to me, a Ph.D.--a dean at a college... .

In describing their relationship with their parents and the siblings the administrators went into great detail about their birth order, the number and sexes of their siblings and what achievements and occupational choices their siblings had made. A recurring theme throughout this discussion was the importance and value that was placed on education within the home and what impact it had on them and their siblings.

Peggy Jones gives the following account of her family:

I have two older sisters and I grew up with six younger brothers, so I came from a large family. You know, poor family, but with middle class values in terms of education being important, and upward mobility and being clean and upstanding. All that sort of stuff. We talked a lot, even when we argued it was all right, people got over stuff and if they didn't we still loved each other. The bottom line was getting ahead, and getting an education was seen as the way to do it.

And another administrator making a similar point about the value of education in her home stated, "It (education) was seen as the hope or the key that my mother felt would make my life better than hers."

With regard to the value on education in her home, Bernice said:
We were all achievers, we had to be. We learned very early that getting an education was very important. Now, I'm the only one with a Ph.D., but they (siblings) all have professional careers. Two of my sisters are teachers, one is a nurse, my brother is a pharmacist, that kind of thing.

**Relationship with Parents.** The administrators spoke in positive ways about their parents. For example, one administrator stated, "I think my parents really did a lot with the little they had . . . and Maxine stated, "they (parents) worked so hard, they wanted a lot for me."

Most of the administrators reported having a working mother. In discussing this, comments were made that indicated most perceived this to be common among Black women. Susan stated, "My mama worked just like all of the mothers of the kids I knew, it didn't seem to be a big issue. I knew she did what she had to do." And another similar response, "Oh yes, my mother always worked. I don't know if I was really aware of what she did, but she worked. What Black woman didn't."

Three of the administrators related that their mothers were homemakers during their formative years.

One administrator reported her reflection on the issue:

You know my mother never worked. She was a traditional passive quiet homemaker. But in many ways she was a dominate figure. Nobody wanted to upset Momma, or have her look at you funny. I 'supposed' that we were different than the norm because she didn't work. I think that's somewhat of a myth. All Black women didn't work.

Bernice's comments describe the irony of her mother's status with the message she gave to her girls. She stated:
Although my mother was college educated, she was a homemaker. It was interesting, I tell her this too. Even though she was home, she emphasized with the five girls that we would have to be able to make it on our own. So that idea that whatever we do or accomplish had to be for ourselves rather than as someone's helpmate was there very early.

Special relationships with one or both parents were often described. Toni relates how she took her first job:

They (parents) thought it was time I started making my own way. It was; they had been great, put me through undergraduate school and helped me through graduate school and my Daddy said, 'Now you've got to get out here and do something for yourself.' So I was determined to find a job, any job.

Michelle stated, "My father helped me a lot. With his background and having worked at several of these white institutions he had some insight. So I would call him whenever I was uncertain about the next step to take. He always said, 'Now you do what you want but I think...'"

Peggy describes the impact her father had on her development:

When I was growing up my father had the most effect on me in terms of his philosophies about how you tackle a problem and stay with it until you solve the problem, and that being very important. That was a real motivator for me and at some level I say I can't quit, because that's negative, and if I say I quit then I'm a failure. He was a definite influence in terms of striving and trying to achieve.

Donna related a poignant story about how she felt about her father:

My father is a hero. He's the worst man I've ever seen in my life objectively. My father is about 5'7", he's very short. He's a tough guy. He's a small man, but, he's the bravest man I know. He let me know that he was my Dad and no matter what I'd get into nobody would ever harm me because he was there to protect me. That has
always meant so much. Like when I was in college and things would go badly I'd call my mother and she would say, 'Don't bother me, girl, I've got other kids' (laugh) and I knew she loved me. But my Dad would say, 'Honey, you wait right there, I'll take care of it.' Even if he lied, he's say it would be all right. My friends call him Napoleon. He's just a real man in a chauvinistic sense.

In a different light, Betty describes her relationship with her mother and the ambivalence her mother displayed about her career growth. She stated:

She always provided the support but not that extra push. And I think it was because she was so protective and concerned for my health. She would say, 'Hey, you're doing too much, and in the next breath she would show her strength and say, 'I'm so proud of you doing so well.' She's always supported me though. I needed them it then and received it then. I need it now and receive it now.

Summary--Career Choice and Exploration. The early career exploration of the administrators was most often unfocused. Several attributed this unclarity to a lack of role models and environment constraints. Teaching was often an original career goal. The administrators characterize their careers as "evolving," often without their direct control. Career choices and decisions which were made were usually made in response to existing needs rather than on the basis of a master plan. The parents of the administrators and the home life they created emerged as important factors to creating a strong achievement orientation, and a value of education among the administrators. In addition, these women often mentioned a special relationship with their fathers, who played significant roles in their early career growth and development.
Self-Understanding. The importance of "knowing self," or having a specific philosophy or world view, emerged as a salient point from the accounts of the administrators. In one way or another, they all mentioned their self-knowledge and self-understanding as guiding their growth and development, and as impacting those actions in which they were involved on a day to day basis. The administrators made statements such as "know yourself," or "identify your values," as being vital not only to their achievement, but also to maintaining a balance with the other aspects of their lives. Two important points could be concluded from the administrators' accounts: (1) they valued a balanced and full life, and (2) they perceived their world view as having developed from their experiences of being both Black and female. Both Susan and Anna made statements about the necessity of knowing yourself in order not to become pawns of the system. Susan said:

The most important thing is to know yourself and act in a manner that is consistent with your priorities. You have to expect to get used, but, that's okay, as long as you maintain control over how and when you are to be used. You can't do that if you don't have a sense of self.

Anna's similar statement was:

You have to learn how to use the system and not let the system use you. You can still take a stand and be a part of the system. There are problems you must work to solve, yet not make them a crusade, because once you've become tagged an outsider by the management bureaucracy, you've become totally ineffective.

Donna described her values in terms of respect for herself:

I have my highest value as self-respect. I will not do anything that makes me feel like I've lost my integrity. So that means I can do a lot of things
as long as I feel intact. My self-respect is more important than any job or any other person. There are a lot of times that you're asked to compromise, which I can do. I've learned to suck it in, knuckle under and keep quiet since I've been working in these white institutions, but one thing I'll never do is anything that gets into my self-respect.

Two of the administrator's comments summed up the basic feelings of the administrators. One remarking, "All this has got to be put into perspective. You've got to set priorities and decide what you will give and what you will take." Peggy stated:

You know, I really think that its (career) not so much tied to people, or institutions as it is to the philosophy you have about people, yourself, and how you can have impact . . . That's what is really important.

Race and Sex. The administrators' discussions led to their feelings on the impact their race and their sex had to their career progression. Most made strong statements indicating that they believed that their sex and/or their race had impeded their careers. Most of these statements, however, were made in a matter of fact manner, frequently with a tone of resignation to the situation. In addition, the comments tended to focus on race as a factor over sex. One administrator's remark represented the general feeling. She said, "Being Black and being a female is a barrier and will always be." Another comment was, "there are not going to be a lot of Black male or female anything. There are not that many positions at the top and white males are going to take care of themselves first." Donna's concern regarding the impact of her race and sex to her career had to do with what she viewed as stereotypical thinking by former bosses. She said:
I think it had to do with the fact that they were white, and they could not picture me, a Black female in positions comparable or higher than theirs. Their expectation of us is so low. They are surprised when you are capable, professional and so forth. They give you more and more to do, more responsibility and tell you how good you are but never suggest that you step out and do something more. It was like, get really good here cause you're making my job nice and making me look good. But they never imagined I could be them.

Frequently, the administrators struggled with concrete descriptions to support their feelings that their race and sex was a factor to their career. It appeared that the administrators were reluctant to blame or to appear overly sensitive to their sex and race, yet they were certain response to either one or both had played an important part. Several remarks demonstrated this point. Maxine stated, "you know things happen because of it (race and sex); you know it's going on, but its camouflaged in so many ways. Bernice's account was:

The question of our race and sex is something that we grapple with. I suppose I could give you anecdotes that demonstrate that it did or didn't have impact at certain times, but its pretty nebulous. It's not something you can grab and pin down and say here it is...Nebulous isn't the right word, insidious is the word.

Several of the administrators did cite specific instances when their race became a factor in the process of getting a job. Michelle described a telephone call she received prior to an interview for a job:

You know my name is very deceiving, and people can't tell if its French or Irish or what. I got a call from the Provost three days before the interview. I couldn't understand why. He asked me a lot of questions that made absolutely no sense. Then he said, 'What nationality is a name like Michelle Dumonceu?' I knew immediately what he was getting at.
Susan related a similar incident stating, "When I came in for the interview he blurted out, 'Oh, I didn't know you were . . . .' Obviously, it was Black, he couldn't miss Susan."

Donna and Bernice expressed frustration over people assuming that they were hired because of their race. Bernice revealed her feelings about getting her current position:

Technically, I don't think it had anything to do with it. But everyone supposes so, and they say, 'well, they needed a Black'. You can't imagine how many times I have heard that in different ways. I find myself saying no it didn't, there were over 200 applicants. Obviously being Black has something to do with everything that I am and do. But being Black is not enough is what I'm trying to emphasize. I had to have certain credentials that were acceptable. And if you look at my paper credentials and compare them with others who hold similar positions to mine, you will see that mine are stronger.

Another administrator said, "Oh, it was very clear they were looking for a Black person, but they were also looking for someone who could do the job." Donna made a similar statement:

Everytime I'm hired, I know that's why on the one hand (being Black), but I know it has nothing to do with me staying. They don't keep you because you're Black. Black people come and go; you have to be good. If anybody comes to me with that stuff about you were hired because of Affirmative Action, I threaten to quit, because I know I had to be better than them to get the job in the first place.

Sandy indicated in her remarks that she felt that her sex and race had actually assisted her career development. She stated:

I know I would not have been able to get involved in this work early on if I had not been Black. At that point in the early seventies people were saying we need some minorities. It's my feeling that white men are much less threatened by Black females than Black males, so that gave me the choice. I took advantage of it.
Betty, who was at an historically Black institution, made remarks which focused primarily on her sex, and exhibited the most bitterness with regard to its effect on her career:

We are treated so differently than men. The style of communicating is so different from the top down. They communicate with me as they do all females, they feel they have to give to relate to us. 'Oh, you look so nice today.' I resent it and I say it, then I'm touchy, sensitive. But I know they expect more in terms of performance from women on my level than men, and they expect it to be done with less. If I were a male and was over this outfit, I would have more; a bigger staff, better furniture, everything! They don't care. We'll never be treated the same, not in a lifetime.

Balancing Family and Career. Usually, when the administrators discussed their sex, they talked about how the additional responsibilities in their roles as wife and/or mother impacted their careers. The overriding message in this part of the administrators' accounts was, that while they have been confronted with obstacles because of sexism, the real issues of their gender were tied to the additional responsibilities they had. For example, Toni said,

We can say we're equal to men all we want, and that's true intellectually, but if you've got to cook dinner and take care of those children, you can say you're equal all you want, you still have things to do that men don't. Men will be playing golf and having cocktails, making decisions, while we're home with those other responsibilities.

It was clear that the administrators did not see themselves as superwomen. They frequently spoke of the choices they were making because the requirements of their career conflicted with the requirements of being wife and mother. One administrator said, "When I had the baby I knew I was making a decision not to be here seven o'clock or eight
o'clock. I lost something, but as a mother I was not willing to do that anymore." Donna talked about her feelings on the issue:

My husband and son are pretty helpful, but the burden is still on me. I've got to make sure there's food in the house, the clothes are washed, and the birthdays are done. I've talked with some women who say they're not going to do this or do that, or take responsibility for this--that assertive training stuff which says that no one in the house is more responsible than anyone else. I think there is a point there, but the reality in most cases is that we do have more responsibility and feel more responsible. They don't care if the house is dirty, or if the clothes pile up. So what works in my house is to get them to 'help me,' so that I can then function effectively on my job.

Bernice, who was divorced, commented, "It would really be nice to have it all, the family and really pursue the career at the same time, but I don't think it is possible, both areas require so much." Peggy said:

I think we probably take it for granted and think it's going to be easy because the myth is, of course, that Black women have always worked. But it's not easy. It's different being a woman and having a family, as opposed to being a man and having a family. Men are sharing more, but there still are some differences. It's not 50/50 in the family typically, and usually the imbalance in terms of who is responsible leans toward the female. But no one at work is going to say, well I expect less work from her, they don't prorate it.

Relating to Other Women. Subtle but pervasive, was the concern expressed by the administrators regarding their relationships with other professional women. The common theme in this part of the discussion was that women have not provided the necessary support, encouragement, and allegiance to other women that would really assist women as a group in their career progress. For example, Clara stated, "We (women) are so frequently in a defensive posture with one
another, just competing. That is very real, and there's really no need for that." Peggy's comments on this matter centered on the issue of trust:

It's not easy for women to trust women in real ways. We say we will and we say we do, but it's my sense that when it comes down to power and the males that surround institutions . . . , I don't think women trust women enough to move as a group to take it from men. There are still a lot of old issues there.

Another administrator stated:

Sometimes we need to help each other; as women I think we feel comfortable cultivating whatever relationship we want with males, we have learned to do that. With other women it doesn't seem to come easy, it's difficult. I know it is for me.

Several of the administrators expressed some concern with their relationship and lack of support from white women. Clara said, "We say being a woman comes first, but not always. For men, being a man is first, but for women, it doesn't always." Bernice remarked somewhat bitterly, "I've seen white women re-enter academia through a social concoction, or a friend of their husband's and shoot right past me."

The Role of Mentors. As the administrators spoke about the influences to their careers, they began to discuss their thoughts about the role mentors played. Clearly, the administrators had given a lot of thought to this issue and were still struggling with how important they felt a mentor and mentoring was to their career progress. With one exception, they raised the issue on their own. Each administrator was allowed to define the term mentor for herself. These definitions focused primarily on the function of the mentor.
That is, they stated what they felt a mentor should do. Words such as "help," "guide," "listen," and "encourage," were used. Most often it was the mentor who the administrator saw taking the action. Michelle's statement was, "A mentor helps you to go beyond the limitations you have placed on yourself." Similarly, Maxine felt, "he is proficient in your area, and takes you in hand and is responsible for your training, and for developing you in the right direction."

Several of the administrators emphasized the importance of the mentor's unselfish concern for the protege. For example, one administrator demonstrated this view stating, "they have got to be willing to look out for something new that you can do, and not only care for themselves, but also for the person they are nurturing." Bernice felt strongly that supervisors were not likely candidates for mentors, "they always have a selfish motive, to get the job done." In her mind there was a distinction between encouragement and advice of a sponsor and the total commitment to another's advancement given by a true mentor . . . "not having a personal stake in it is crucial because it means that the advice can be trusted," she said.

**Mentoring Relationships.** All of the administrators viewed mentors as individuals with special qualities who created a unique relationship. Although several of the administrators indicated that they had initiated the relationship because of what they saw in the mentor, they all spoke in ways which put the responsibility for the development of the relationship with the mentor.
In addition, they agreed that the relationship between a mentor and his or her protege had a unique component or quality that was difficult to pinpoint. As those administrators who reported having mentors described their relationships, it appeared that the combination of a professional and a personal affiliation provided some of this uniqueness. Betty's account of her relationship with her mentor was:

We had an excellent relationship, a personal one as well as a professional one. I knew him prior to working with him, primarily on a social basis. He was always so candid with me in terms of sharing and suggesting to me some things I should do and could do to improve myself and my performance. I think because of the other part of the relationship it was easy for him to do that and easy for me to receive it. I don't know what it was, I think he liked me as a person.

As Sandy described her relationship with her mentors, she also spoke of the professional and personal aspects of the affiliation. She said, "He was not only a mentor, he was also a friend. I confided in him about professional things, as well as things that were going on in my personal life." Later she said of another mentor, "it (the relationship) began when we started talking and sharing things." Clara commented that she thought husbands and wives could probably be very good mentors; precisely because of the personal involvement, as well as their interest in the mentee's professional development.

Value of Mentors. The significance or the value of mentors to the career development of themselves and other Black women was discussed by the administrators. While all of the administrators spoke positively about the concept, some exhibited reservation about
whether mentoring had or would have a significant impact to their career, or in increasing the number of Black women in administration. This reservation was strongest among those administrators who did not report having a mentor. Susan began her discussion by saying:

I know a lot of people say the way for women to make it is you've got to have a mentor or a sponsor. I don't think you necessarily need someone who's a lifelong sponsor, rather you need to have impressed a few significant people in order to get the ball rolling.

Clara made a similar comment:

Somehow I don't see (maybe because I haven't had one) that (having mentors) being critical. When I look at myself and other Black women; I don't believe they studied under or worked with any particular person to develop their style. I have heard them speak of individuals who they have worked with and whose styles they have observed, and have taken the good things from this and the good things from that. But they develop their own style.

Another administrator stated, "Theoretically, I know that is the way it's suppose to work and it seems to work for white women, but frankly, I'm a little leery about putting my future in some of these people's hands."

As the administrators who reported not having had mentors talked further, they displayed conflicting feeling of a desire for a mentor, and a disbelief that they would ever have one. An example was Peggy who talked about how mentoring could effect the careers of Black women. She said:

[mentoring] it would be a much more efficient way of learning . . . You're not reinventing the wheel so to speak. Somebody's coming along and saying this is
what I've done and you might benefit from this. That kind of assistance would make things go faster. If we're always learning it from scratch then we're only learning the same things.

Later in the discussion she stated:

You know, I used to really want to have a mentor. I went through a period when I really felt I had to have one and I was praying for one, and thinking one was going to come out of the sky. Now, I don't think about it any more, I decided I was wasting my time looking for one. I don't really think it's that important, and I'm not looking for one of those anymore.

Ambivalence surrounding the issue of mentors and mentoring was also displayed by those administrators who reported that they had had a mentor. These administrators talked about how the mentor had assisted in improving their skills or in raising new, growth-producing issues, but they seemed to have reservations in giving the mentor total credit for the direction their careers had taken. While there was recognition and acknowledgement of the mentor's input, there were also statements which discounted or minimized the impact this individual had. Michelle's comments are an example: "Well, he was helpful and provided a lot of assistance, but, I knew what I wanted and what I needed and had decided where I was headed."

Likewise, Betty displayed mixed emotions in describing her mentor. Her relationship was the closest to the classical model as described by Levinson, Kanter. Twice in her career she had been called by this individual to accept positions which required her to move. Her account follows:

He definitely made an attempt to bring me along. I didn't have the credentials at that time of many of the individuals I had to interact with. He would say gently,
'hey, it might be a good idea if you knew something about this or that.' I took classes, attended seminars, and he supported those activities. He was the one who was influential in my getting the doctorate. Pointing me in a direction, he'd say, 'now you need to represent me on a faculty senate and you'd probably be better received if you had certain credentials.

Later she discounted the individual as a mentor. She said:

I don't think the concept of mentor is viable to Black females. You see in addition to the support I got, I still had to bring something to that .... a determination, and the realization of a need. What he provided was the mechanism. I looked around and I said, hey lady, you did this on your own. So therefore, I don't really think a mentor is the criteria for Black women to move forward. When I look at other Black women it was no mentor. It was determining what it was that they needed to do to survive; and then going full speed ahead. I think it's the strength of Black women, the perception by them that they can work to have a better life for themselves and their children. I think a mentor may be helpful, but I don't think its required not from where I sit.

After a moment of silent reflection, Betty said, "I know it sounds like I'm contradicting what I said."

Summary—Career Issues and Concerns. The accounts of the administrators revealed that there were a number of career issues with which they were concerned. The administrators indicated that their experiences as Black females had shaped their philosophies or world view. Knowing themselves and adhering to the values and priorities that came from their philosophy was important to the administrators and provided them with the ability to deal with other issues.

Other issues included the impact their race and sex had to their career, and the added responsibilities that were associated with them being both wives and mothers. They were also concerned about the interaction of women with other women.
The role of mentor and mentoring to their career process, was also a salient issue. The administrators exhibited some ambivalence around this issue. Those who reported that they had not had a mentor questioned the need for one, yet made statements which indicated that they had desired one. Those administrators who did report they had a mentor, displayed some conflict over the importance the mentor had in their career growth and development.

Career Goals and Expectations

The administrators reflected on their goals for the future. Betty was the only administrator who stated that she envisioned making no changes and would retire from her current position. The rest of the administrators indicated that they expected to make position changes in the future. However, as they talked further, they were unclear as to what direction they wanted their careers to take. The lack of clarity did not seem to be in terms of knowing their options. For several of the administrators the next appropriate step was a Vice Presidency or a Presidency, and they expressed little concern about lacking the skills to handle such positions. Instead, they were unclear about what it was they really wanted to accomplish. Their statements demonstrated conflict between their obvious desire to assume higher positions in educational administration, and their uncertainty about the sacrifices they perceived it was necessary to make. Bernice's comments demonstrate this point:

I'm really struggling with what I want to do in my career. Some mornings I wake up and I'm sure; and then others I'm not. I'm torn between whether I really want to pursue this career more or stay at the level I am. If I stay where I am, I know what
I can do. I can juggle, do a little research, work, and still have a little social life. But if I go on to a Vice Presidency and then to a President of a college . . . there are only two or three Black women who are presidents. But that's what I want, that's what I really want, but I'm torn. Maybe in your follow-up study you will be interviewing me as a college President, or maybe as someone who has decided to have a family sort of life . . . .

Toni's statements exhibited the same kinds of concerns. She said:

To be a college President for anybody in the eighties and nineties will require giving a lot of yourself. You've got to do fundraising, politicing, etc., the academic side is so minimal. You have to really want to do that and have the energy and freedom. I don't know if American society is ready for a Black female at a major institution . . . I don't know if I have the energy and the stamina I know is required. I have a three year old who needs my time. I'm just not sure. On the other hand, I didn't spend time getting all this education to get sectioned off and categorized. If a college Presidency came along that I could work with and that could work with me, I might consider it . . . .

Both Donna and Maxine expressed uncertainty about moving into a Presidency because of how they perceived the position. Donna stated, "the role models I see have no way to be creative. They are so restrained and restricted by policies. I'm not saying it won't happen because I wasn't interested in being a Dean, but it doesn't seem to be what I need for my enrichment." Maxine said, "I doubt if I want to be the President of anybody's institution, but I'm saying that now, I have a lot more years out here."

Several of the administrators talked about an interest in combining both teaching and administrative responsibilities, or with assuming full-time teaching responsibilities. This correlated with comments they had made about being "teachers at heart," or "still
enjoying the instructor role," and with their concerns about the additional responsibilities they had because of additional roles. College teaching seemed to offer flexibility and not require as much commitment. Peggy stated, "I'm seriously thinking about a faculty slot," and similarly Toni said, "I think if I could find a full-time job teaching, I could even be satisfied with that." Clara indicated that she still had a lot she wanted to do in administration but that it was not inconceivable that she would return to being a faculty member.

Two administrators expected that they would leave the field of academia. Neither was sure in what capacity. Donna said, "I don't know where I'm headed, but I know I'm not doing all of this growing, preparing and learning for the next step in education." Michelle commented, "I'm hoping this law degree will provide me with a lot of opportunities, but I'm not sure where." Susan expressed dissatisfaction with academe and uncertainty about her future. She said, "Right now I'm fed up with the system of higher education. It's not serious about some of its claims . . . I have ten years of experience and I know I'm not just going to sit and wait to be moved up. There are a lot of direction and contingencies, we'll see."

Summary--Career Goals and Expectations. The administrators exhibited mixed emotions relative to their career goals and expectations. Clearly they wanted to move into higher levels, and perceived themselves as having the skills and abilities to do so, but they had misgivings about what it would require in terms of sacrifice of in terms of the other parts of their lives. There was also conflict
exhibited between their obvious desire for greater achievement and their desire to maintain a balanced and full life. Some combination of administration and college level teaching or full-time teaching seem a desirable goal to the administrators. Several expressed an expectation to leave the field of higher education.

CAREER PATHS AND USE OF MENTORS

This investigation has sought to describe the career development of Black females and in so doing determine the extent to which the presence or lack of mentor has effected their careers. This section of the investigation first analyzes the career paths of the administrators, and then examines what part mentors have played in this developmental process.

Career Paths

The literature indicates that the career histories of professional men are most often characterized by continuous employment. In addition, the literature has suggested that for academic administrators, and by implication, academic men, there is usually a direct or linear progression leading from the faculty through department chair, to dean, to provost and then the presidency (Moore, 1980). It is suggested that this pattern is often preceded by graduate study, with an assistantship, and the influence and guidance of a strong mentor.

A review of the career histories and experiences of the administrators who participated in this study indicates that they have followed many paths to get to their current administrative posts, and that no one pattern emerges as primary.
If we look at career paths as beginning at the point of graduation from undergraduate education, we see that half (5) of the administrators went directly into a graduate program at the completion of their Bachelors degree. These administrators were Peggy, Maxine, Donna, Anna, and Bernice. They all completed their graduate degree within two years. Sandy and Toni took positions teaching in secondary school following their graduation. Susan took a position outside of academia in the federal government and Michelle took an entry level administrative post in higher education. Betty was the only administrator who had an interrupted undergraduate experience. During this time she took a position as a manager in an office.

Those administrators who did not go directly to graduate school usually entered graduate school during or following their second year of employment and completed this degree in one to three years. Following completion of the master's degree, all of the administrators were employed in full-time positions except Peggy and Susan who both went directly into doctoral programs. For Sandy, Michelle and Betty, these positions were administrative posts in higher education; for Donna and Toni they were teaching positions in high school; for Clara, Maxine and Bernice the positions were as instructors in college.

Of the eight (8) administrators who held the terminal degree, six (6) entered a doctoral program after five to ten years of full-time employment. This included Betty, Clara, Maxine, Donna, Toni and Bernice. Peggy, the only administrator to go straight through school, completed the doctorate within six years of her undergraduate degree.
It took most of the administrators between ten and fifteen years to complete the terminal degree.

The administrators listed the type of institutions where they received their degrees as either predominately white or historically black. Five of the administrators completed their undergraduate degree in a white institution, and five completed their undergraduate degree at an historically black institution. Only three of the administrators received their Master degree from a black institution. All of the administrators either completed, or were currently enrolled in a white institution for their terminal degree. Table 3 contains this information in summary form.

TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Bachelor</th>
<th>Master</th>
<th>Doctorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White (enrolled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.J.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.M.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.T.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White (enrolled)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The administrators had held various positions prior to their current position. Five of the administrators listed only two
previous administrative positions. Three mentioned only one administrative position prior to the one which they currently held. Two, Michelle and Betty, listed three or more previous administrative positions. Two of the administrators with the job title of Director had held that title previously.

Common Career Experiences. Despite these divergent paths, there are several commonalities which are reflected in the career experiences of the administrators. First, similarly to administrative males, all of the administrators have maintained a continuous work history. In spite of expanding life roles, and varied routes into academia, the administrators have consistently worked, and in so doing have developed not only tenure in the work world, but concomitantly, skills of leadership and professionalism; along with a strong work ethic. Further, the seeds which fostered their work ethic were planted early among the administrators, as they each had experienced either work study employment or part-time employment during undergraduate school, and assistantships or part-time employment in graduate school.

The literature strongly supports trial work experiences and experiential learning opportunities as beneficial to the career development process. In the cases of the administrators, these were sought because of financial need, however, they provided the opportunity for them to develop administrative and leadership skills, and a link to higher education. Both Donna and Sandy, who had worked in the dean's office and in the financial aid office respectively,
are now directing similar types of units. Clara, who had worked in the Chemistry Department, later became its chair.

Another common experience was that not one of the administrators held an expectation to be an educational administrator in the early part of her career exploration. In most cases, circumstances and opportunities arose where the administrator moved into a career in higher education administration. For example, one person stated, "they called me up and said, 'how about coming back and directing this program?' I saw it paid more than I was making teaching so I took it!" Another remarked, "I was putting in full-time teaching and at the same time working on this project, straddling the fence so to speak, and he said (supervisor) you can't keep this up, you must decide teaching or administration,' I chose administration."

Also, the administrators exhibited a common identification with teaching as a career. This was not always manifested at the same time, nor maintained, but each administrator either mentioned an early intention to teach or did in fact spend time as a teacher or an instructor. In the case of Betty and Bernice, student teaching experiences altered their interest in teaching. Bernice stated, "after that (student teaching) I knew I didn't want to teach in high school, so I knew I would need graduate school if I was going to teach college."

Sandy, Clara, Toni, Maxine, Donna and Peggy had teaching experiences in either secondary school or college. Neither Michelle nor Susan had a teaching experience, however, Michelle's career goal throughout her undergraduate schooling was to teach. Susan, stated during her conversation, "I really haven't paid my dues. Instead of
going into administration, I should have spent some time teaching, and it's something I am seriously considering doing now."

Historically, this identification with teaching as a career goal has been common among Blacks in general, and Black women in particular. This can be attributed primarily to the role that education and educators have played in the history of Black Americans and in the fact that teaching at one time, was the only professional position to which a Black woman could realistically aspire.

**Common Personal Characteristics.** In addition to several common experiences among the administrators, they also exhibited several common attributes or personal characteristics. The most salient of these was a strong achievement motivation. McClenden (1975) has researched achievement among women and has found that women more frequently than men seek vicarious achievement. This is to say, in many instances women are gratified by associating with individuals they perceived have achieved rather than achieve for themselves. The notion that it's better to marry a doctor than to be one, is not an uncommon feeling among women.

This was not evident among the administrators who participated in this study. Epstein (1970) in her research of Black female professionals, made a similar observation, stating that Black women have not had the opportunity to display dependency as part of their role description and thus historically have worked toward being their own person, depending on their own resources.

It was also evident that the administrators quest for achievement was tied to a desire to influence, not in the sense of having
power, but rather in terms of making people's lives better. They described the authority of their positions in very altruistic ways. For instance, Bernice said, "I see myself as more than my job title. I'm here to make a difference." Another said, "I really got into this business so I could have an impact on people's lives."

Another common characteristic was a strong self concept. It was very easy for the administrators to describe themselves. They talked about themselves in terms of their roles but also in terms of the skills and traits of character that made them unique. They used positive and action words such as "mover," "hard worker," and one administrator said, "I know how to make things happen, I'm a catalyst.

Another said, "I'm competent. It's something I value and I work hard to be that ... I'm also smart, I don't get involved in things I don't think I can do well (laugh)!

In several instances their descriptions of themselves took on a spiritual quality. Donna's remark is an example:

I've found that part of me that is really special. It's a real love of people. When things go wrong, I reach in and tap into that specialness--it gives me strength, and it's something I can bring to every new challenge.

Finally, the administrators exhibited an ability to solve problems creatively, finding ways around many obstacles, and turning many negative situations to positive ones. A sense of humor and a very pragmatic approach to life helped them to achieve this. Toni's comment was:

Now, I know I'm not going to get invited to the cocktail parties and the bars where a lot of these decisions are made. But, I see my challenge as
figuring out what went on at these places where I wasn't present. It's not too hard either (laugh).

In summary, the career paths of the administrators have been varied. However, there are several commonalities that emerge. This includes a continuous work history, a strong achievement motivation, and early work experiences; many of which were in academic units and departments while they were undergraduate and graduate students. In addition, they displayed several common personal characteristics. This included a strong self-concept, a sense of humor and a pragmatic approach to life which helped them to find good in many situations. The words of one administrator reflects the positive attitude, the spirit, and character of all of the administrators who participated in this study. She said:

If you have a lot of stick-to-itiveness, some know-how, that you use with compassion, tact and sincerity; regardless of the circumstances, the lack of support, the obstacles; you've got to go up, you've just got to go up!

Use of Mentors

Black female Administrators with Mentors. Central to the development of the description of the administrators' career experiences was the impact of the presence or absence of a mentor to their career development process. Of the ten (10) administrators who participated in this study, four (4) reported having had one or more mentors. The four administrators who reported they experienced one or more mentor relationships included Sandy, Betty, Michelle and Maxine.
In light of the fact that the literature has no singular definition of the term, and in keeping with the qualitative framework and the assumptions of this study, the investigator allowed each participant to define the concept of mentor for herself. Thus, reporting having had a mentor reflects the administrator's understanding of what a mentor is or is not. Of the four who reported having had a mentor, three had more than one. Multiple mentoring relationships seem to be a common occurrence in the literature. For the purpose of analysis, the investigator categorized mentor as either "academic," or "career." This was done for more clarity of interpretation and was based on the time period of the influence of the mentor, rather than the stated function(s) of the mentor. That is, an academic mentor was an individual who influenced the administrator while she was either an undergraduate or a graduate student and interfaced with her from that setting. A career mentor was an individual who was an influence while the administrator was employed and interfaced with her from a work setting. Three of the four administrators who reported having had a mentor, had both types, academic and career (see Table 4).

Career Mentors. The four administrators who reported having had a mentor, Sandy, Michelle, Betty, and Maxine, were identified by this investigator as having one or more career mentors. In each case these career mentors were supervisors of the administrator in a work setting. Most often, these career mentors were males, and were only six to eight years older than the administrator. In addition, it was noted that these career mentors were in positions that were
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Reported Having A Mentor</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Described a Support Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>ACADEMIC -1</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CAREER -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>ACADEMIC -1</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CAREER -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.J.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.M.</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>CAREER</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ACADEMIC -1</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CAREER -1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.T.</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
only one step removed from the level that the administrator held.
For example, one of Michelle's mentors had the title of Director
when she was an Assistant Director, Sandy's mentor had the title of
Dean when she was a Director.

The literature describes the true mentoring relationship as an
intense interaction in which there is a strong ego involvement of
both the mentor and the protege. For the most part, the administra-
tors' descriptions of their career mentors and the relationship they
had, lacked this strong emotional attachment or aura, evident in
other descriptions of mentors found in the literature. The adminis-
trators' relationship with these mentors clearly had personal
qualities--the aspect of friendship was mentioned frequently, however,
the administrators did not use a number of feeling or emotional words
when they discussed these individuals. The administrators focused
primarily on the function or utility of the relationship and made no
statements which suggested that they perceived these administrators
as playing a major role in the shaping of their career. Words such
as "helped," "played a part," were used.

Another observation was that the administrators perceived that
they were also assisting their identified career mentor. While the
literature supports the notion that the mentor derives benefits from
mentoring, it is usually indicated that these benefits are indirect,
or of a psychological nature, i.e., the pleasure that is derived from
assisting another's growth and development. However, the

*The classical model of the mentor is a male 10-15 years older
than the protege who is firmly established in his career, with the
administrators' comments suggested that they felt that they had pro-
vided more direct assistance to their career mentors. The following
remarks demonstrate this point:

He was very supportive. We often spoke of my career
goals and aspirations; he encouraged me. I also was
able to share information with him that could affect
him because of some of the committees I sat on.
Sometimes, I think I was helping him as much as he
was helping me.

We would bounce things off of one another . . .
listen to each others speeches. He taught me how to
effectively control meetings. I taught him how to
use visual aids. We just enjoyed learning together.

You have to give to get . . . and I saw he had some
ego needs that needed to be met. Because I did
things to meet those needs, he was willing to do some
things for me.

To reiterate, the administrators who reported having had a
mentor did not display the depth of feeling for their career mentors
that is usually displayed in a mentoring relationship. nor did they
display the dependency that is often described. Several possibilities
emerge when one speculates on the reasons why the administrators'
description of their mentoring relationships lacked this intensity.
First, as has been mentioned by Epstein (1970), Swann and Witty (1974)
among others, have discussed Black professional women often bring
self-sufficiency and confidence to the world of work. This has
evolved historically from seeing their mothers, grandmothers and

freedom to risk developing a mentoring relationship. Therefore,
experiencially, and age-wise mentors fitting this model would be
more likely to fall into the stage of development that Erickson
has called Generativity. A period when nurturing of others tends
to be a reward in and of itself.
other Black women function in the world of work. Black women, states Simpson (1974) have already nurtured, without much fanfare; the realism, stamina, toughness and commitment white females now proclaim as virtues. This sense of self would not seem to foster the level of dependency found in many mentoring relationships.

Secondly, it was noted that most of these career mentors were closer in age and in level of position than those in the classical mentor model. Therefore, in the case of these relationships, it seems safe to assume that frequently the mentors were dealing with the same or similar career and life-stage issues as the administrators.

Another factor may have been the issue of race and sex. Since white men hold the majority of the top level positions in academe, they would be the ones most likely to mentor. Typically, when individuals of a particular group or system reach out to socialize newcomers to the group, they reach out to those who are most like them. Since Black females share neither a racial nor a sexual identity with white males they are the farthest away from that group's norms. This may also impact on the relationship that would form between a white male and a Black female—tending to keep it from being as close as it might be in a situation where the protege and the mentors are alike.

*Aspects of the administrators definition of the concept of mentor and the mentoring relationship were different than the actual nature of their relationship with their career mentors. Their descriptions of an ideal mentor placed most of the control for the relationship with the mentor. In the actual relationships they maintained a good bit of the control.*
The sexual issue also discourages a strongly intense relationship between white males and Black females. While this is an issue in any male/female relationship, it has more implications and ramifications when race is an added component. The norms of this society still cause individuals to look with disfavor upon a close relationship between a white male and a Black woman. Several of the administrators mentioned this as a factor in their career development.

**Academic Mentors.** The literature presents the primary model of the academic mentor as a professor who takes a special undergraduate or graduate student under his wing, helps the student set goals and standards, develops skills and tests options. In many cases, particularly if the student is in graduate school, the mentor allows the protege to join him on special projects such as consulting, grant activities, and publishing. This relationship is often lifelong, with the mentor passing on his work to the protege.

Three administrators reported having mentors during their undergraduate experience. These were Sandy, Maxine and Michelle. The administrators' descriptions of their academic mentors suggested that the mentors acted as consultants, confidants and counselors to the administrators as they met obstacles and explored options. The mentors of both Maxine and Michelle were professors with whom they had taken classes. The mentor of Sandy was an administrator whose friendship she cultivated because, "he seemed so wise." Each of these academic mentors was at least 10 years older than the administrator. Both Michelle's and Sandy's mentor was Black.
Very noticeable was the depth of warmth and feeling that the administrators showed for these academic mentors in their conversations. A softness in their tone of voice and body language was very apparent as they spoke of these individuals. Additionally, they are given a great deal of credit for the direction or choices relative to the careers of the administrators. The following comments were made on their academic mentor by the administrators:

He was such a fantastic person, and he was such a good listener. If I felt depressed, I could always call and say, 'I need to talk.' I respected him and I loved him just like a father.

She seemed to really care about me, she was a real mentor. She was always there to listen. She challenged my aspirations and gave me confidence to apply to graduate school and to look beyond teaching.

I listened to him a whole lot. Without his encouragement, his sense of direction and the contacts he had I would not have continued. I had no intention of getting a Doctorate, but because of him I kept moving.

Several interrelated factors were present which appeared to allow these relationships to be perceived differently by the administrators than the relationships they had with their career mentors. First, these academic mentors were a number of years older than the administrators. This age differential allowed the mentors to assume aspects of the parent role which Levinson states is a part of the traditional mentoring relationship. Secondly, because of the experience that accompanied this age, there was not likely any conflict of life issues between the administrator and the academic mentor. In addition, during this time the administrators were young adults whose confidence had not been firmly rooted by achievements in jobs and
whose "dream," that is, their perception of the ideal self had not been totally formulated. Because these academic mentors were so removed from the administrators, socially, academically, educationally, etc., they could easily be viewed as exemplary professionals to be emulated and revered.

Black Female Administrators who did not Report having had a Mentor. Six (6) of the administrators who participated in this study reported they did not have a mentor. Given the importance of mentors in the literature, one would expect that these women's career experiences would be markedly different from the women who reported they had a mentor. However, this was not the case. As was previously mentioned in Chapter IV, while the respondents followed various paths to their positions as key administrators, they shared common experiences such as: early development of achievement motivation, early work experiences, and continuous work histories. In addition, they also displayed similar attributes of character which included a strong self-concept, strong adherence to professionalism and competency, and a pragmatic or realistic approach to life and work.

The literature has provided no definitive definition of the term mentor. An analysis of the literature indicates that the concept in its traditional or classical sense is but one of a number of different kinds of support relationships. Further, research on academic men indicates that they have historically benefited from a traditional mentor as well as a number of support relationships in which different individuals provided various kinds of support.
Shapiro, Hazeltine and Rowe (1978) have developed a continuum which shows various types of support relationships.

**Supportive Relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(low)</th>
<th>(high)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peer</td>
<td>Guide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1. Continuum of Supportive Relationships**

This conceptual model, along with the writing of others, suggests that mentors and mentoring cannot be thought of in a narrow sense and that different persons can fulfill different functions of the traditional mentor's role.

Using a broad interpretation of the mentor concept to encompass all types of support relationships, this investigator re-examined the discussions of the administrators who reported that they did not have a mentor. This closer examination revealed that while these administrators did not "report" having a mentor, they did "describe" multiple help relationships in which they received one or more mentoring functions. In other words, the administrators talked about interactions with supervisors and colleagues who, on a short term basis, gave them the guidance or provided feedback that was helpful to their overall career process. Thus, an additional category was developed entitled, "Described Mentor or Support Relationship." It was determined that every administrator in the study described some type of support relationship. The following comments reflect some of the administrators' feelings about these sponsors and the relationship
they had with them:

She just kept giving more and more responsibility, more things to do, although she never said I was good and she never connected me with anybody, but I guess she did help me indirectly because she got the best, because she just pushed, pushed, pushed.

It was not long after I arrived that we talked about what it was I thought I wanted to do. He advised me I should not work solely with desegregation issues. So he allowed me to try my hand at a number of things, budget, committee work, things like that.

My boss has been supportive. He is very political, and lets you do what you want if you do it well and don't make waves for him. He recommended me to a number of committees and supported additional training.

The difference then, was not in the career experiences of the two groups, nor in the presence of support relationships, but, rather, in how they labeled their support or help provider. Misserian (1980) in her research identified three essential elements of a true mentoring relationship. These were power, identification and emotional involvement. She asserts that the degree to which these elements are present determines how close the relationship is to the traditional mentor/protege relationship.

It was noted that, except for those identified as academic mentors, the administrators' descriptions of their support relationships were very similar. That is, the administrators described mutually beneficial relationships in which there was more parity, in terms of age, and power, and less identification, dependence, and emotional involvement, than the classic mentor relationship.
At the same time, however, the administrators described ideal mentors and mentoring relationships that were much like the classical model yet, very different from the ones they had experienced. That is, they viewed the ideal mentor as an individual who developed an intense relationship in which s/he assumes primary responsibility for grooming and shaping the career of another, assuming multiple interactive roles, such as teacher, coach, confidant, role model, and door opener. In most of the descriptions of the administrators' support relationships, they cited only one or two roles that the sponsor or mentor assumed. A role or function that was lacking in all instances was that of door opener. No administrator stated that her sponsor or mentor had actively sought to introduce or connect her to influential people in the field.

The attention that has surrounded the mentor concept in the research literature and the popular press has done little to dispel the notion of the all-purpose mentor, owing in part, no doubt, to the strong impact it does have on those individuals who have experienced the phenomena in the traditional sense, and to the attractiveness of the idea to those who have not. However, since women as a group continue to have the benefit of a mentor less than men, and the additional factor of race for Black females, it is questionable how viable an expectation it is. More realistic may be a conscious effort on the part of Black females to develop multiple support relationships in which they actively secure elements of mentoring from various persons.
THE BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATOR--A DESCRIPTIVE PROFILE

"A descriptive profile of the "Black female administrator," has been developed from an analysis of the accounts of the participants of this study.

The information gathered from the respondents indicates that the Black female administrator is approximately 38 years of age and holds a mid to upper level position in the two year and four year educational institutions in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area. Her undergraduate degree was most often in the Humanities or Social Sciences and her early career choice was to teach. She holds the doctorate, most often the Ph.D. She is married or has been married, and has a small family of one or two children.

Family Life

The accounts of the Black female administrator represented in this study reveal that her family life was characterized by a nurturing, warm, stable home environment, where emotional support was provided. In most instances the administrator was raised by two parents who were very protective of her, and she tended to come from a family of three or more siblings. In those instances where the administrator was raised by one parent, that parent was the mother, and the administrator was the only child.

The parents of the administrator were hard working individuals. The father had an occupation that fell into one of two broad categories. First, "Blue Collar Worker," which included job titles of mechanic, cab driver, and postal worker; and the category of "Educator" which included titles of teacher, principle and administrator.
The father of the Black female administrator played a significant role in her development. Often she has a special relationship with him and he is credited with providing on-going guidance, direction and support to the administrator.

In some instances, the mother of the administrator worked and held a non-professional position.* Regardless of the nature of the work of the parents, the administrator was raised in a home which expoused middle class values of respectability, responsibility and achievement.

Education was viewed as vital in the home of the administrator. Thus, expectations for scholastic achievement were high. That the administrator would attend college was a generally held assumption by the parents. This was an expectation even when it was not clear how this education would be financed.

**Educational Background**

The administrator attended public institutions for her primary and secondary schooling. For the most part, these were segregated schools which helped to foster an early race identity in the administrator. This racial identity was stronger than the socio-economic class identity.

During the early years the administrator met her parents expectations by working hard and excelling in school. Her potential was noticed by teachers who provided her with additional support and

*Three (3) of the administrators reported having a non-working mother but described the mother as being a dominant figure in the home.*
encouragement. She was also active in community activities, particularly church related, and was viewed as "special," and "talented," by individuals in her immediate community. By high school the administrator considered herself bright and intended to go to college to further her study.

Undergraduate School. The undergraduate education of the administrator was financed by scholarships and part-time employment in offices on the campus. It was during this period that the leadership qualities of the administrator began to develop. She was very active in college groups and organizations, often emerging as a leader during the era of campus activism. This was done, however, well within the bounds of established rules and regulations of the institution. These activities, along with the administrator's part-time position, often served as the forum for her to test her skills and abilities. Her competency and confidence increased as she accepted more responsibility and acted in capacities beyond her prescribed roles.

Graduate School. A master's degree was pursued usually two to three years following the undergraduate degree. This was most often at a predominately white, comprehensive state university. Despite success achieved by gaining an undergraduate degree and in work situations, the administrator was apprehensive and concerned about attending graduate school. The major concern in going to graduate school had to do with her uncertainty about achieving scholastically. In addition, if she had attended a historically Black institution for an undergraduate degree, there was the added concern of being in an
all white environment. Unlike her undergraduate attendance where the Black administrator was involved with numerous activities, her graduate tenure was focused primarily on her studies. Often she had an assistantship in which she assumed teaching responsibilities.

The doctorate was pursued after three to five years of working and was begun after the administrator had made a commitment to be in higher education administration. It was viewed not as a luxury, but as a necessary credential to be prepared for her chosen field. It was pursued at a large white institution and was completed ten to twelve years after completing the undergraduate degree.

Work History

Following the undergraduate degree the administrator secured a position. This was coupled with marriage and the beginning of a family. After the second year of work, the administrator entered graduate school and worked in a part-time capacity. Essentially, from the point of graduation to the present, the administrator had a continuous work history and an expectation to work. This expectation was constant despite the administrator assuming additional roles. Time off to have children was minimal, and the administrator was often balancing the roles of student, worker, wife and mother simultaneously.

The husband shared in this expectation and consequently there was little if any conflict over his wife working. While the husband assisted the administrator with the responsibilities of home and

*It should be noted that three (3) did not fit this norm and went directly to graduate school.
family, it was also clear that the administrator felt that she assumed most of the burden of maintaining the home and family. In two instances marriages did not work out. In the cases where the marriages remained intact, the husband is given a good deal of credit for the administrator's achievements.

Following the master's degree the administrator devoted full time to work and home. She quickly is recognized by her colleagues and superiors as a leader and she is given additional responsibilities. These include acting as a team leader, serving on special projects or committees, writing reports, etc. The administrator enjoys the challenge and takes on these duties as extensions of her regular job. She feels satisfied with her role and does not envision changing it.

However, circumstances and opportunities arise where the administrator begins to move into a career in higher education administration. For the most part, it was not a deliberate decision, but rather a response to an opportunity or an exigency which was present.

Mentors

As the administrator matures, she sharpens her leadership skills and develops the confidence that accompanies achievement. More often than not, she does not have what she feels is a true mentor, and she exhibits mixed feelings about the value of mentors to the career development of Black women. However, throughout her career she has attracted the attention of supervisors and colleagues and has received encouragement, support and sponsorship from them.
The Black female administrator has developed a style of management and leadership that is modeled after those she respects and admires, and that is based upon her commitment to competency and professionalism. If she has what she calls a mentor, she had had more than one. The affiliation with this person is of both a professional and a personal nature. The mentor usually functioned as a role model and a consultant, who was a good listener to the administrator's concerns, but also, who used the administrator as a sounding board and to meet some of his career needs.

Whether she has, or has not had, one traditional mentor seems to have little impact on the career development of the Black female administrator. Her progress in academe has come as a result of her strong achievement motivation, her personal qualities, and the support and encouragement she received from various persons who fulfilled different functions of the traditional mentor's role.

Perceptions of Self

The administrators perceived herself in a very positive, self-assured manner. She describes herself as "competent," "good," "catalyst," "able to get the job done." She is out-spoken with her feelings and opinions but she manages herself in a non-threatening manner which makes her acceptable to her male colleagues and supervisors.

Her view of the world is very pragmatic. She neither expects nor strives toward the goal of having everyone like her. However, she does expect to be taken seriously, respected and treated as a professional. She believes that sex and race are, and will continue
to be factors in her career progression, and that because of her race it has taken her longer to reach higher levels of administration than either her female counterparts or white males. She does not see this changing in the near future. This realization, however, has not embittered her since she is very positive and has a sense of humor. She considers herself lucky and uses situations to her advantage when appropriate. Her role as a professional, and an administrator is very important to her self identity, but it is not more important to her self identity, but it is no more important than the other roles that she has.

Perceptions on Administration as a Career

The Black female administrator is pleased, and somewhat surprised at where she has come in the field of educational administration. She is comfortable with her position and feels valued at work. She enjoys the autonomy and prestige that her level of position affords her, and feels empowered to make a difference in her working environment, and in people's lives.

She acknowledges that being an administrator is very hard, often gruelling work, that requires special skills and talents. She identifies knowing how to work with, and motivate people as the key skill she possesses, and points to a well developed philosophy or world view as helping her function effectively.

As the Black female administrator looks forward she is unclear as to where she is headed. While she has become much more proactive in terms of her career, she is ambivalent about the choices she will make. Realizing her skills and abilities, she is confident that she
can assume a top post in an academic institution. However, she is experiencing conflict over her ability, or perhaps her desire, to give the time and make the sacrifices from the other areas of her life that she feels would be required. She continues to perceive herself as a teacher at heart and occasionally teaches at her institution or in other organizations. She toys with the idea of college teaching on a full-time basis as a future possibility.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this final chapter is (1) to summarize the study; (2) to answer the general research questions and to draw conclusions which may enhance the understanding of Black women's career development and the effect of mentor; and (3) to make recommendations for further research.

SUMMARY

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to develop an analytical description of the career development of Black female administrators and to determine the extent to which the presence or lack of a mentor impacted this development. The research questions were as follows:

1. What patterns of career development can be identified for Black female administrators in higher education?

2. To what extent did Black female administrators attribute their career development to the presence or absence of a mentor relationship?

3. Were there identifiable and understandable conditions under which a mentor relationship was more likely to occur?

4. What was the nature of the relationship between the Black female administrator and her mentor?
5. Were the strategies to facilitate and enhance career development different for Black female administrators with mentors from the strategies used by Black female administrators without mentors.

6. What were the issues and concerns most significant to Black female administrators?

**Theoretical Background**

Because there was no body of literature which dealt specifically with Black female's career development and use of mentor, the literature review focused on several related areas including the following: (1) Mentoring: A concept and a function; (2) Women's participation in higher education administration; (3) Black's participation in higher education administration; and (4) Black women's participation in higher education administration.

From the review of the literature it was learned that it is a widely held assumption that the presence of a mentor can enhance the development of one's career. However, it was also learned that there is no precise definition of the term mentor and that there are a number of roles or functions that a mentor can assume. In business and in industry the primary model of the mentor has been a high level male manager or executive who identifies a younger male as having the potential to rise within the organization and who guides, teaches, and sponsors this person into the inner circle of the organization. The primary model of the mentor in academia has been the relationship that develops between an undergraduate or graduate
student and a professor. The research indicates that in both settings women have experienced mentoring relationships to a lesser degree than males.

A further review of the literature revealed that little information exists on the career experiences of Black females in academe. Additionally, the extent to which Black women have or have not benefited from a mentor has not been addressed. However, it was found that Black females are significantly impacted by their status of being both Black and female, and, despite the gains of a decade of affirmative action, they remain a very small percentage of the total number of academic administrators in higher education.

The experiences of those Black women who have developed a career in academic administration were the focus of this study. It was expected that an exploration into this process would provide insight into the commonalities and differences of their career development, and thereby add to the understanding of how Black women achieve in academia.

Methodology

Of those studies found that dealt with Black females in higher education, most were quantitative in nature and either focused on demographic data and/or assessed Black women's status as compared to other groups. In order to develop a detailed description of the career development of Black females from their perceptions; a flexible research approach was in order. A qualitative research approach was taken because its methods and techniques yield insight into the rich values, perceptions, and motivations of Black female
administrators in higher education not found in quantitative studies. An inductive line of inquiry was followed. The study did not seek to verify any given theory or set of a priori assumptions, but, rather sought to understand the values, perspectives, and motivations of the administrators under study and to examine how they have made meaning of their career experiences.

Data Collection and Analysis

The sample for this study was ten (10) Black females employed in administrative positions at both two-year and four-year colleges and universities in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area; including institutions located within the District of Columbia, and the states of Maryland and Virginia (northern).

The composition of the sample included women of varied ages, position titles, and years in the field of educational administration. With regard to their ages, they ranged from thirty-two (32) years of age, to fifty-one (51) years of age. Positions were all full-time and administrative in nature and included the titles of Assistant Vice President (1); Assistant to the President (1); Assistant Provost (1); Dean (3); Assistant Dean (1); and Director (3). Length of their administrative experience ranged from two (2) to twelve (12) years.

The data were collected through in-depth interviews with the ten (10) respondents. Each person was interviewed twice. The interviews were tape recorded; transcripts of the interviews were made. The transcripts were then analyzed according to the constant comparative method of analysis. A biography of each administrator
was written. The salient themes emerging from the administrators' career experiences were presented. Next, the investigator analyzed and presented the administrators' career paths and use of mentor, based on issues from the literature. Finally, a profile of the Black female administrator was presented.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions of this investigation are organized around the research questions.

The Patterns of Career Development of Black Female Administrators

The findings of this study indicate that the career development of Black female administrators is not characterized by any single linear path, or primary model. These Black females have had various work experiences prior to assuming administrative positions, several had experience in either teaching or a counseling capacity in the secondary school, and several had taught in colleges and universities. In addition, except for one administrator who went straight through an undergraduate program and completed a doctoral program, the administrators were all employed in a full-time capacity following the completion of their master's degree. All of the administrators had career histories which included periods when they were combining the roles of student, parent and spouse.

While the paths vary, central to the paths were several common career experiences. These included (1) a strong achievement motivation and a value of education, which were fostered very early in the home; (2) a continuous work history, which began with varied
part-time and work study experiences in undergraduate school, and was maintained in spite of expanding life roles; and (3) a strong identification with education, specifically teaching. Although none of the administrators had an expectation to be an administrator, they all had an early expectation or goal to teach. Thus, it can be concluded that Black female administrators in higher education have followed varying paths to reach key administrative positions, but have had common experiences which has fostered a strong achievement motivation, and a value of work and education.

The Extent to Which Black Female Administrators Attribute Their Career Development to the Presence or Absence of a Mentor

The data gathered from this investigation indicated that the Black females did not give a great deal of credit for their career development to the presence of a mentor. Likewise, the administrators did not express blame when there was an absence of mentor in their career development. Several did indicate that they thought that their career progress would have gone faster with a mentor. The most impact to their careers, as perceived by the administrators, was by the three identified "academic" mentors who were given a good deal of credit for shaping their early career direction.

The administrators felt that their achievement had come about because of their hard work, by being prepared and competent; by being willing to take advantage of opportunities as they arose and because of luck. Several, also mentioned that affirmative action activities also assisted them. Primarily, the administrators did not make statements which indicated a sponsor or a mentor played a critical
role in their careers. Thus, it is concluded that Black female administrators do not attribute their career development to the presence or absence of a mentor.

**Conditions Under Which a Mentor Relationship Was More Likely to Occur**

The Black female administrators who participated in this investigation reported relationships with mentors and sponsors with whom they worked in close contact on a daily basis. These individuals, in most cases, were the supervisors of the administrators, who saw their potential, and either began to actively cultivate and groom them, or who at least gave the administrators more opportunities to demonstrate their skills and talents. In addition, it was noted that in every case where a close relationship developed, there were common values or philosophy, which allowed the administrator and the mentor to develop both a professional and a personal relationship. The administrators described their closest support relationships with individuals with whom they shared a racial, and/or a sexual identity. That is to say, those relationships that were closest to traditional mentoring relationships were those that were with a Black individual or a female. A construct by Rogers adds insight to this occurrence.

Missirian (1980) discussed Carl Rogers' concept of congruence as a basic to the mentor relationship. In this construct Roger defines congruence as an accurate matching of experience, awareness, and communication. Basically, this principle suggests that the bonding or closeness of a relationship will be intensified the more congruence there is between the two parties, and conversely, the less
congruence between the two parties the less intensity there will be in the relationship.

Thus, it can be concluded that a mentor relationship is more likely to occur when:

1. There is similarity of work focus, i.e., the potential mentor and the potential protege are both involved in the same kinds of activities, e.g., student services, academic affairs, etc.

2. There is ease of accessibility between the potential mentor and the potential protege. They must be able to make contact on a regular basis.

3. There is a strong degree of congruence between the mentor and the protege. That is, they share a common philosophy, work style, values and interests.

The Nature of the Relationship Between Black Female Administrators and Their Mentors

Four administrators who participated in this investigation indicated that they had experienced a mentor relationship. These identified mentors were categorized as either career or academic mentors. The relationship between the administrator and her career mentor was one in which the career mentor functioned as confidant, role model, teacher and advisor. Unlike the experience of many key male administrators and their mentors, the mentoring relationship between Black female administrators and their mentors was not characterized by the degree of emotional involvement, identification or power that is part of a traditional mentoring relationship. While the administrators always mentioned a personal aspect to these relationships which they identified as friendship, there still was a greater level of parity and collegiality than is found in the traditional mentoring model.
The relationship between the administrator and her "academic" mentor was characterized by a greater depth of ego involvement than the relationship the administrators had with their "career" mentors. In these instances the mentor functioned primarily as a confidant, advice giver and friend. Because of the age and status differential between the academic mentor and the administrator they could be characterized as functioning as a "wise old sage."

It was also noted that those administrators who did not report having had a mentor actually did experience a support or help relationship. This was most often with an immediate supervisor or boss who provided encouragement and gave the administrator additional responsibilities and arenas in which to test her skills. These were short-term collaborative relationships that included some elements of a true mentoring relationship. Thus, it can be concluded that in most cases, the nature of the relationship between the Black female administrator and her mentor or sponsor is one of utility, in which there is mutual sharing, interdependence and mutual respect, but also limited emotional involvement and identification and power.

Alternate Strategies used by Black Female Administrators to Enhance their Careers when They Did Not Experience a Mentor Relationship

As has been discussed, there were few differences between those administrators who reported not having had a mentor, and those who did. This was in large part due to the fact that all of the administrators did experience what the investigator identified as a help relationship from which they received varying levels of mentoring functions. All of the administrators were employing a number of
strategies to enhance their careers. The difference between the two groups was in terms of the degree of emphasis that was placed on other strategies when no mentor was perceived to be present. The most frequently mentioned strategy was preparedness. The administrators clearly felt that they had to have the right credentials and educational training to be "ready" to move into positions with more status and responsibility and to interact effectively with their peers and superiors. Along these same lines competency or doing a job well was a strategy perceived as critical to advancement by the administrators. They worked very hard to learn the nature of their positions and to adequately fulfill expectations of their superiors so as to be perceived as competent. Communicating effectively with peers, subordinates, and bosses was also a strategy. The administrators were proud of their skill in working with people and viewed this skill as having been instrumental in assisting them to reach their career goals. One of the skills that Blacks as a group have historically developed, yet have paid little attention to, has been their ability to observe and model behaviors and values. Clearly, the administrators in this study had used this as a career enhancement technique in developing administrative skills.

**Issues and Concerns Most Significant to Black Female Administrators**

The findings of this investigation indicate that Black female administrators had a number of interrelated career concerns. Hennig and Jardin (1977) stated that there was basic conflicts between a woman's ability to build a successful career and to be a successful mother and wife. The administrators expressed concern with their
ability to effectively balance a career with the responsibilities of the other parts of their lives. These women viewed themselves as professionals involved in a career rather than a job, but they were uncertain as to how they were going to remain true to their desire for upward mobility and be good mothers and spouses.

The administrators also expressed concern over the lack of strong ties and relationships with other women. Few felt that another woman had given them support and encouragement. Of particular concern was the lack of support from white professional women. While the Black female administrator is not overly concerned about the impact of her race and sex, it is an issue with which she is faced regularly. Intellectually she had made race and sex "non-issues," but emotionally she is confronted with them, and believes that they have been factors in her career development.

Black female administrators are also concerned about maintaining a world view or philosophy that is in keeping with their strong racial identity. They perceive the academic world as often manifesting values that are not in line with theirs. While they are willing to make compromises, they expressed some concern about how much and when they will have to do this and what it would mean in terms of their values as Black women.

IMPLICATIONS

Progressing through the ranks of academic administration will continue to be a challenge for the Black female. While the responsibility for maximizing career development should not rest solely with
the administrator, this investigation has yielded information that can be used by Black females to facilitate their own career growth. The following generic propositions are put forth:

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

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

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

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

In addition, it is suggested that academic institutions realize and assume their responsibility for enhancing the career growth of Black female administrators. Failure of institutions to address this issue will undoubtedly lead to a loss of qualified Black females to private industry and entreprenialship. Therefore, it is suggested that vigorous recruitment, retention and promotion of Black women should be an institutional goal. Specific plans, time lines and strategies for realizing this goal should be developed.
Tapping into the established Black network of sororities, churches, and other social groups to reach and identify candidates is strongly encouraged.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has analyzed the career histories of Black female administrators in higher education and provided insight into how their careers have evolved and the effect of mentor to this process. The exploratory nature of this study suggests that further research be done to provide more in-depth information on the career process of Black women. This investigation followed a qualitative method of inquiry using the interview as the primary mode of data gathering. This was both the strength and the limitation of this study. To further expand the knowledge base on the career process of Black females and to provide additional perspectives, and a clearer picture of the total phenomenon, it is suggested that various methods be employed such as a case study ethnographic study. These qualitative methods can be used alone or be combined with more traditional quantitative modes of inquiry.

In addition, if the interview is used, several modifications may prove profitable. First, the length and depth of the interviews may be expanded allowing for more structured and unstructured conversation. Secondly, the administrators were the only source of data on themselves. Future investigations might use other sources such as old diaries, letters, or autobiographies which might provide additional information about their career experiences. Also, identified
mentors or sponsors could also provide useful information from their perspectives.

The following suggestions are made for further research:

1. It is recommended that a replication be made of this study with administrators at other institutions in other parts of the country to determine if their experiences are similar or dissimilar to this study's sample.

2. The evolutionary nature of the careers of the administrators in this study indicate that the career process is developmental in nature, thus it is recommended that a follow-up study and/or longitudinal study be done to ascertain what changes in career behavior, values, interest choice, etc., occur over time.

3. To determine the extent to which organizational norms and culture effect Black females career experiences, it is suggested that the career experiences of Black females in key managerial positions outside of academia be investigated to determine their career development and use of mentor.

4. The findings of this study suggest that personal characteristics play a role in the career process, and in the type of sponsor/mentor relationship that is formed. It is recommended that further research be done to ascertain the personality types of Black females and their sponsors/mentors. The Myers Briggs Type Indicator may be a useful tool.

5. It is recommended that further research be done which compares the career experiences of Black male administrator in higher education with those of Black female administrators.
APPENDIX A

INITIAL LETTER

14000 Eagle Court
Rockville, Md. 20853

(date)

Dear

The presence of Black women in administrative positions in higher education has grown over the last two decades. Despite this increase, however, their number continue to be relatively small. In addition, there has been little attention in the literature focused on the participation of Black women in higher education.

As a Black woman aspiring to develop a career in higher education administration, I have chosen this area of study for my doctoral dissertation. It is hoped that the information gleaned from this research will not only add to the limited body of literature, but will also provide strategies for career development to be used by other Black women who seek to hold administrative positions in higher education.

To complete this investigation, I need the assistance of a number of Black women administrators in higher education. You have been referred to me as someone who might assist me in this endeavor. I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to more fully explain my research to you and to secure your participation in this study. I will telephone you next week to discuss this possibility.

Very truly yours,

Brenda Neumon Lewis
Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study of Black women administrators in higher education. As I briefly mentioned to you during our recent conversation, a study of this nature may provide useful insights into the commonalities and differences that have characterized the career paths of Black women administrators.

Your participation in this investigation will be in the form of two (2) interviews in which you will describe your career experiences. There are no right nor wrong answers and your identity will be kept confidential.

So that we may communicate easily, I ask that we meet in a private location where we will not be disturbed for approximately one and one-half hours. Your first interview is scheduled for:

(Date) at (Time)

If for any reason you need to contact me, please feel free to call (301) 454-5112 or (301) 460-4034. I look forward to talking with you.

Very truly yours,

Brenda Neumon Lewis
APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA INVENTORY

Please complete the following questions.

1. OFFICIAL POSITION TITLE

2. TYPE OF EMPLOYING INSTITUTION:
   - Private ______
   - Public ______
   - Community College ______
   - Historically Black ______
   - Technical/Trade School ______
   - Other ______

3. SIZE OF EMPLOYING INSTITUTION:
   - less than 1,000 ______
   - 1,000 - 3,999 ______
   - 4,000 - 6,999 ______
   - 7,000 - 9,999 ______
   - 10,000 - 12,999 ______
   - 13,000 - 15,999 ______
   - 16,000 - 18,999 ______
   - 19,000 and above ______

4. AGE:
   - (21-29) ______
   - (30-39) ______
   - (40-49) ______
   - (50-59) ______
   - (60+) ______

5. HIGHEST DEGREE HELD:
   - None ______
   - AA ______
   - Bachelors ______
   - Masters ______
   - 15 - 30 Hours Past Masters ______
   - ABD ______
   - Doctorate ______
   - Other (please specify) ______
9. **TYPE OF INSTITUTION WHERE EDUCATION WAS COMPLETED:**

- **Undergraduate Degree**
  - Predominately White Institution ____
  - Predominately Black Institution ____

- **Masters**
  - Predominately White Institution ____
  - Predominately Black Institution ____

- **Doctorate**
  - Predominately White Institution ____
  - Predominately Black Institution ____

10. **PLEASE LIST TITLES AND DATES OF ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS YOU HAVE HELD.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>DATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D
FACESHEET

Respondent ________________________________

Title ________________________________

Date ____________________________ Interview 1 2

Beginning Time _____________ Ending Time ________________

154
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Rockhill, Kathleen. "Researching Participation in Adult Education: The Potential of the Qualitative Perspective". Adult Education. 23 (1) (Fall 1982) pp. 3-19.


Swann, Ruth N. and Witty, Elaine P. "Black Women Administrators at Traditional Black Colleges and Universities: Attitudes, Perceptions and Potentials".


