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SPECIAL ISSUE

Diversifying
Student Affairs:
Engaging, Retaining,
and Advancing
African Americans
in the Profession

Jerlando F. L. Jackson, Ph.D.

Guest Editor

Melvin C. Terrell, Ph.D.

Editor

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of Student Affairs Professionals

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF STUDENT AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS**

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Engaging, Retaining, and Advancing African Americans in Student Affairs Administration: An Analysis of Employment Status

Jerlando F. L. Jackson, Ph.D.

Abstract

As the higher and postsecondary education enterprise has expanded, there has been increased scrutiny of the effect of policies on full access and equal treatment for people of color; more specific to this investigation - African Americans. Decision makers at colleges and universities have developed policies and programs to increase diversity, while making substantial progress with African American students; access into student affairs administration is still limited. Decisions to include African Americans into student affairs administration, particularly in senior-level positions, appear to have far-reaching effects on the experiences of African American students at institutions of higher and postsecondary education. This article calls for a stronger research agenda explicitly focusing on the engagement, retention, and advancement of African Americans in the student affairs profession.

American colleges and universities have been transformed in the past generation from a racially and gendered homogenous population to a fairly diverse one, although not yet in proportion to the general population (Cohen, 1998). The enrollment for African American students has soared since the 1950s, and institutional affirmative action policies have reflected, in turn, both the liberal tendencies of the 1960s and the conservative movement of the 1980s (Nettles & Perna 1997). College access for African Americans expanded greatly from the

Jerlando F. L. Jackson is an Assistant Professor of Higher and Postsecondary Education in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The development of this article was supported in part by the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Graduate School and the Institute on Race and Ethnicity. He would like to thank the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators for the use of the salary survey data and Consuelo Contreras for helping with the preparation of data for this article.

1960s through the 1990s, and presently colleges and universities are becoming less accessible (Harvey, 2002). This phenomenon has resulted in more African American students attending predominantly White institutions (PWIs) rather than historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) (Allen, 1992; Harvey, 2002).

The relationship between student experiences and contact hours with professionals on campus (faculty and administrators) has been a fundamental concept developed in the literature on college student development (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). African American college student experiences in relation to engagement with faculty have been more fully addressed in the literature. To provide a comprehensive view of African American student engagement this inquiry focused on the connection with college administrators (Davis, 1994). Toward that end, the articles in this special theme issue were solicited from researchers with a wide variety of disciplinary orientations, institutional affiliations, and ideologies that collectively address the growing need to increase the diversity of student affairs administrators and service providers.

Each makes an important contribution to the challenge of engaging, retaining, and advancing African Americans in student affairs administration. The differences of emphasis and interpretation reflect both the complexity of the overall situation and the less-than-settled nature of the research. This collection is intended to advance the quality and rigor of research associated with African Americans in student affairs. Given the paucity and problems with the extent research, it is difficult to address directly many of the major issues and challenges. In spite of the diversity of perspectives and complexities, important common themes are apparent in these studies and other recent research:

1. African American student affairs professionals are playing an important role in the lives of college students.
2. Institutional policies are reflecting rather than altering societal norms of disparate treatment of African Americans.
3. Some institutional policies have made a difference, but if colleges and universities are to be instruments for expanding opportunity; substantially stronger policies will be needed.
4. There has been a general trend toward policies that diminish access for African Americans to top-level positions in student affairs.
5. There are serious questions about the success of predominantly White institutions in solving the dilemmas of administrative diversity.

This introductory article offers a broad interpretation of the issues and suggests how the various papers, other research, and official reports contribute to a better understanding of the benefit for engaging, retaining, and advancing African American student affairs professionals.

Policy Cycles for Achieving Diversity in Higher and Postsecondary Education

Since the desegregation of higher and postsecondary education, individual institutions have employed a vast array of techniques to achieve diversity (Jackson, 2001). Of particular concern for this article, are institutional policies used to increase the number of people of color employed in higher and postsecondary education institutions (e.g., faculty, staff, and administrators). As such, this section of the article will report the most widely used approaches. One of the highly visible and hotly debated policies for achieving diversity is affirmative action (Myers, 1997). The use of affirmative action since its inception has been controversial, because for many it has been synonymous with quotas. Ironically, affirmative action has never been about quotas, but it has been misinterpreted by institutions in the form of quotas (Kaplin & Lee, 1995). Unfortunately, this misinterpretation was not characterized as a mistake by those implementing affirmative action, but interpreted as a flaw of the policy (Washington & Harvey, 1989). The goal of affirmative action is not to advantage people of color, or disadvantage Whites, but to give equal opportunities and access to government funded initiatives (Kaplin & Lee, 1995). Therefore, when implemented at colleges and universities, it was deemed appropriate to consider race as a viable criterion, along with the many other criteria used to make hiring and admissions decisions.

Some institutions of higher and postsecondary education elected to set aside money for the development or creation of positions if they found a qualified minority candidate (Booth, 1987). Critics have looked at this policy from two perspectives. First, institutions committed to diversity may want to have the flexibility to bring a person of color to campus even if they do not have an open position (Powell, 1992). Therefore, this policy would help to address the concern that in most cases, in order to hire a new person, one must have an open position (Tucker, 1980). Second, institutions could potentially abuse such a policy to track people of color in diversity related positions. Opposed to relinquishing some of the mainstream responsibilities of these institutions, positions are created for qualified minority candidates to assume only diversity related responsibilities (Brown & Globetti, 1991). In this case, the institution would create the position, hire the person of color; this in turn, causes others at the institution to question the credibility of the administrator of color.

When faced with the challenges of small pools of minority candidates, institutions committed to the precepts of diversity developed policies for long-term effects, “grow your own” programs (Booth, 1987). At these institutions, people of color with great potential for working in academe would be identified. In most cases, recent graduates or new professionals would be selected to participate (Powell, 1992). In a few cases, institutions would survey the undergraduate leadership to attract potential candidates. Through these programs, institutions would commit to ensuring success and retention of these individuals at the institution. The attractiveness of these programs is that all parties are familiar with each other. Key decision-makers at the institution would be familiar with the past success of the person of color. Conversely, the person of color would be familiar with the academic, social, and cultural climate of the institution (Danley-Heggins, Jackson, & Parks, 2001).

A key aspect of many institutional diversity plans is to retain staff members who have previously been employed or who have taken on professional positions following graduation. Frequently, these plans include the development of policies to retain people of color at the institution (Jackson, 2002). One such policy focuses on building the capacity to “promote from within” the institution people of color who demonstrate potential for upward mobility (Davis, 1994). Some institutions have developed guidelines that do not prevent internal candidates from being considered for upper-level positions. This is very important because sometimes institutions may want to use an open position as an opportunity to bring a new person to campus. If the flexibility is not in place to consider an internal candidate of color, the applicant pool may not be diverse. Further, the institution jeopardizes losing the person of color to another institution that offers the opportunity for career advancement.

Mentoring programs can also be used to help retain people of color by providing needed social interactions that promote a deeper personal and professional affiliation with the institution. Previous research has consistently identified mentoring as critical to retaining and promoting people of color in academe (Bridges, 1996; Crase, 1994; Johnson, 1998). Well-developed mentoring programs provide the opportunity for people of color to grow professionally, through interactions with committed individuals in senior level positions (Jackson, 2002). Mentoring interactions provide insight into both the written and un-written institutional expectations. Further, with appropriate mentors, staff have opportunities to take on additional responsibilities and a safe space to ask unfettered questions. Ultimately, the sum of these activities promotes a sense of belonging for the person of color as well as engagement with and commitment to the institution (Davis, 1994). The next section of this article will show to what degree these institutional policies have impacted the representation of African Americans in student affairs administrative positions.

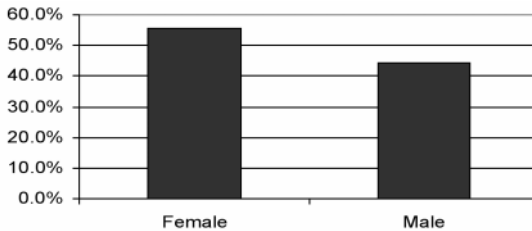
An Analysis of the Employment Status for African American Student Affairs Administrators

The discussion for the following section of this article was derived from an analysis of the 1999 National Association for Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) Salary Survey. The research division for NASPA surveyed 419 student affairs administrators in 1998, which were deemed representative of their member institutions (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). Further, NASPA differentiates their focus population from student services, by focusing on 15 positions they define as student affairs administrators.¹ Traditionally, the NASPA Salary Survey has been used to inform discussions of salary equity; however, the database contains other important variables to inform broader student affairs issues. As such, this analysis focused on the representation of African Americans in student affairs, examining individual and institutional characteristics. African Americans constitute approximately 8.4% of student affairs administrators. What follows is a descriptive analysis of the African American student affairs administrators surveyed.

Individual-Level Characteristics

Diversity by Gender. As it relates to gender representation, African American females outnumbered males in student affairs administrative positions. Approximately, fifty-five and a half percent of African Americans in student affairs administrative positions were female, and forty-four and a half percent were males. This disparity between African Americans is not uncommon; it is representative of the gender gap throughout higher education for this ethnic group (Harvey, 2002). As college students, both as undergraduates and graduates, African American females outnumber males. African American females are represented more in the professoriate and general college and university staff as well.

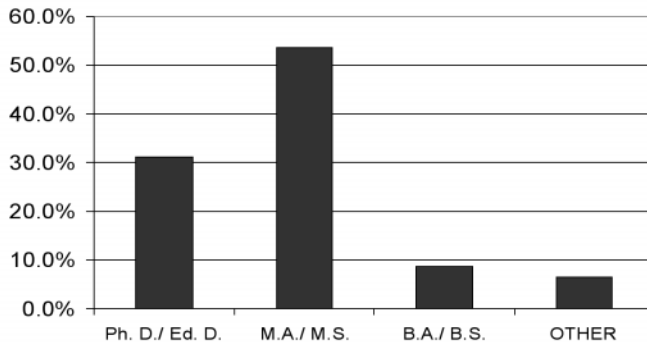
Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Gender



¹ The NASPA Salary Survey includes the following positions: senior student affairs administrator, associate senior student affairs administrator, assistant senior student affairs administrator, and directors of counseling, financial aid, career counseling, health, union, security, admissions, registration, and housing.

Diversity by Degree. Of the African Americans in student affairs administration, 31.1% held a doctorate degree (Ph.D. and Ed.D.). Master degree holders for African American student affairs administrators consisted of 63.6% of the sample. Within the group of African Americans holding student affairs positions, 8.6% had bachelors degrees. African Americans holding “other”² degrees constituted 6.6% of those surveyed. This educational profile is quite similar to student affairs administrators in general. The majority of student affairs administrators possess a master’s degree (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002).

Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Degree

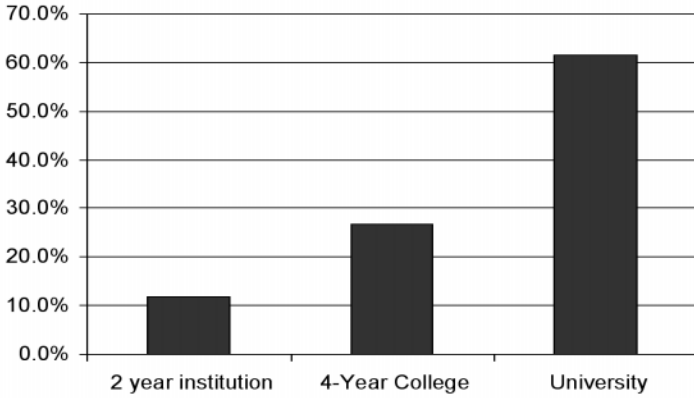


Institutional-Level Characteristics

Diversity by Institutional Classification. The NASPA database did not contain variables aligned with Carnegie’s Institutional Classification, but did use a modified classification system. NASPA used the following categories to classify institutions: (1) two-year institutions; (2) four-year colleges; and (3) four-year universities. Of the 8.4% African Americans working in student affairs administration, 11.7% are employed at two-year institutions. Four-year colleges employed 26.7% of the African American student affairs administrative sample. As it relates to four-year universities, African Americans constituted 61.6% of the student affairs administrators. These figures suggest that the majority of African Americans in student affairs administrative positions are at four-year institutions, precisely 88.3%.

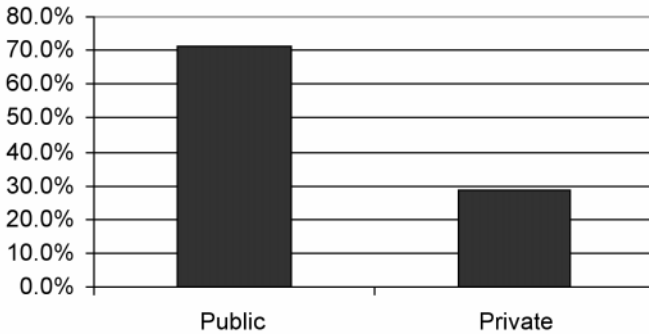
² “Other” consisted of professional degrees, associate degrees, and certificates.

Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Institutional Classification



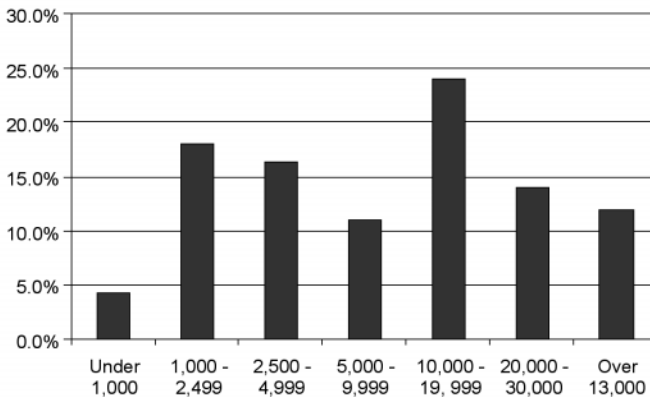
Diversity by Institutional Control. In discussions of institutional characteristics, it is always of interest to examine the public versus private question. Overall, African Americans are under-represented at private institutions throughout higher education (Harvey, 2002). This is an area of concern because issues of institutional prestige and salary equity are associated with the public versus private debate (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). Public institutions employed 71.4% of African Americans in student affairs administrative positions, while 28.6% were at private institutions. The percentage distribution of African Americans in student affairs positions at public institutions versus private institutions is similar to the disparity of African Americans represented at private and public institutions in other roles (Harvey, 2002).

Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Institutional Control



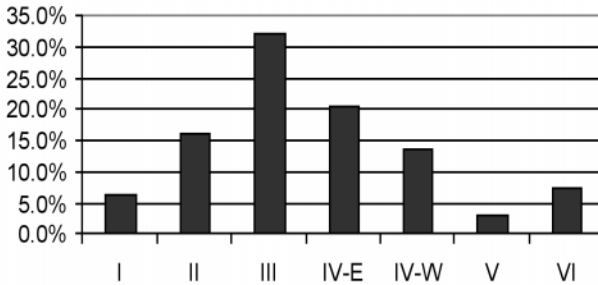
Diversity by Institutional Enrollment. African Americans employed at institutions with less than 1,000 students represented 4.3% of the sample. Approximately 18% of the African Americans surveyed worked at institutions enrolling between 1,000 and 2,499 students. Institutions with student enrollments between 2,500 and 4,999 students employed 16.4% of the African Americans holding student affairs positions. Eleven percent of the African Americans surveyed work at institutions with between 5,000 and 9,999 students. Institutions with between 10,000 and 19,999 students employed 24.1% of the African American student affairs administrators. Fourteen percent of African Americans in student affairs worked at institutions that had between 20,000 and 30,000 students. Lastly, 12% were employed at institutions with over 31,000 students. The largest percentage of African Americans in student affairs positions was employed at institutions that enrolled between 10,000 and 19,999 students. The group of institutions that employed the second largest percentage of African Americans enrolled between 1,000 and 2,500 students.

Figure 5. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Institutional Enrollment



Diversity by Region. The region that employed the largest percentage of African American student affairs administrators was Region III (see Appendix for full description of Regions). Region IV-East employed the second largest percentage with 20.7%. Approximately 16.3% of the African American sample was employed in Region II. Region IV-West had 13.9% of the African American sample. Seven and a half percent of the African American sample worked in Region VI. African Americans in Region I constituted 6.4% of the sample. The region that employed the lowest percentage of African Americans was Region V.

Figure 6. Percentage Distribution of African American Student Affairs Administrators by Region



Diversity by Position. The analysis of diversity by position showed that senior student affairs officers had the largest percentage of African Americans holding this single position. However, the majority (65.1%) of African Americans were located in positions lower than the dean of students. Collectively, 27.3% of these African Americans worked in the senior student affairs office (i.e., SSOA, Associate SSOA, and Assistant SSOA). Within the dean of student’s office, the assistant dean of students was 11% of the African American sample, followed by the dean of students position (7.5%), and 5.5% were associate dean of students. Approximately, 48.6% of the African Americans sampled held director level positions. Of the director’s positions, the top three positions for African Americans were: counseling, union, and housing. The position that employed the lowest percentage of African Americans was director of registration.

Table 1. The Distribution of African American in Student Affairs Positions

Position	Percentage
SSOA	14.0%
Associate SSOA	7.1%
Assistant SSOA	6.2%
Dean of Students	7.5%
Associate Dean of Students	5.5%
Assistant Dean of Students	11.0%
Director of the Counseling Center	9.1%
Director of Financial Aid	4.5%
Director of Career Counseling	5.8%
Director of the Health Center	4.9%
Director of the Student Union	7.5%
Director of Security	4.9%
Director of Admissions	4.5%
Director of Registration	0.6%
Director of Housing	6.8%

Basic Questions about African Americans in Student Affairs Administration

There are several critical questions that should guide any assessment of the changing patterns of opportunity for African Americans in student affairs administration. Who will be employed? What kinds of institutions employ African Americans? Who decides on access, and are the grounds for the decision fair? Are institutions funded similarly for student affairs activities? Are salaries equitable for those performing similar positions? Are African American student affairs administrators represented in areas that serve a high percentage of the African American student population? All of these are part of the larger question surrounding the engagement, retention, and advancement of administrators of color in higher and postsecondary education. Institutional policies that have changed the answers to these questions are very important targets of research.

Institutional Appropriation for Student Affairs

The disparity of funding for HBCUs has been a long standing problem since their inception (Kim, 2002). HBCUs have typically lagged behind their White counterpart institutions as it relates to resource allocation. Nonetheless, HBCUs have been quite successful with training some of the best leaders in the African American community (Freedman, 1999). These institutions have surmounted the financial challenges to operate along side their White counterpart institutions. As such, arguments have been made to suggest that HBCUs are able to do a lot with less. Recently, HBCUs have come under attack in the popular press (i.e., *Black Issues in Higher Education* and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*) for improper spending habits. Therefore, these debates invite a closer examination on what HBCUs are spending their financial resources. Consequently, John H. Schuh in his article examines three questions: (1) how much do HBCUs spend on student services; (2) do expenditures vary by institutional type; and (3) to what extent do HBCUs and PWIs differ in their financial allocations to student services.

The Impact of Representation for African Americans in Student Affairs Administration

Since the birth of the student affairs profession, there have been questions of what role its professionals play in the development of students (American Council on Education, 1937). These questions were posed by the higher education community in response to what appeared on the surface to be marginal involvement in the “true work” of the academy. In responding to their academic administrative counterparts, the student affairs profession drafted legislation and performed

empirical research to demonstrate the importance of the profession as it relates to the overall development of students (e.g., *The Student Learning Imperative and Principles of Good Practice*). The aforementioned documents provided evidence that contact with faculty and the presence of student affairs professionals increase the likelihood that students would learn and graduate. Later, researchers re-examined these findings for implications with women to find that the presence of women in these roles increase the levels of success for female students (McEwen, Engstrom, & Williams, 1990, 1991). All of these works alluded to the potential applicability to students of color, but did not provide empirical evidence for this group of students. Lamont A. Flowers in his article uses the theory of representative bureaucracy to begin to answer the question: does the presence of African American student affairs administrators impact the African American student population?

The Intersection between Race and Gender in Student Affairs Administration

For the most part, the current literature places consideration of African American women within one of two contexts: (1) Women; and (2) African Americans. To some degree, African American women were included in the women's studies movement and the study of feminism (Collins, 1990). In studies on the experiences of African Americans at multiple levels in society, African American women's struggles were masked with those of African American men. Neither one of these approaches gave appropriate attention to the African American woman experience. One ignored the gender related issues, while the other did not consider elements of racism (hooks, 1984). African American women differ from the aforementioned groups, because African American women contend simultaneously with both racism and sexism (Wilson, 1989) - two very important social constructs that are rooted in discrimination. As such, these bodies of literature do not give expression to the experiences of African American women. Therefore, there is very little surprise to find that this voice is often over-looked when examining the experiences of student affairs administrators. Sharon L. Holmes' article gives expression to the experiences of African American women in the student affairs profession. The article provides the much needed intersection between race and gender for the student affairs literature base.

Is Equal Work, Equally Compensated?

There are always questions when differences in salaries exist for individuals who perform the same job (Marx Ferree & McQuillan, 1998). Generally these questions are framed within the context of discrimination which leads to job dissatisfaction (Blackhurst, 2000). Women and people of color have tended to

bare the brunt of these discussions (Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991). Furthermore, student affairs' salaries have lagged behind those of other higher education professionals, more specifically academic affairs. Robert D. Reason in his paper examines salary differences related to gender for African American senior student affairs officers. His article provides an intra-group comparison that suggests that institutions need to continue to develop policies to address salary equity.

Athletic Administration: Working to Put the Student in "Student-Athlete"

An important aspect of college life and continued connection to the institution for alumni is athletics. In an environment where academic rigor is chief, the importance of physical talent is diminished (Clark, 1987). For most alumni; however, athletics is the only form of connection with their alma mater that they maintain. Further, we cannot ignore that many students come in contact or develop interest in a particular institution through athletics. For these reasons, it is important to know what happens in athletic administration, since a large number of student-athletes are African American. Who is serving these students in academic support, student services, coaching, and general administration? These are very important questions, since these unique individuals are not only students, but athletes. To help provide answers to these questions, Joy L. Gaston performs a trend analysis of NCAA data on the employment status for athletic administrators. She provides comparisons of race and gender by position attainment. In explaining the results, Gaston uses Title IX as a benchmark for success for achieving diversity in athletic administration.

African American Student Affairs Administrators in Two-Year Colleges

Two year institutions have been a point of entry for a large number of African Americans accessing higher and postsecondary education (Harvey, 2002). In fact, most African Americans begin their college careers in two year settings (Nettles & Perna, 1997). However, as noted earlier in this article most (88.3%) of the African American student affairs professionals are at four year institutions. Concurrently, we know little about the student service administrators at two year institutions. As such, relatively little is known about the student affairs staff serving the majority of the African American college population. Are these individuals equally or better trained than their four year counterparts? What do they know about working with diverse populations? Accordingly, Eboni M. Zamani provides a commentary on African Americans in student affairs at two year institutions. The commentary does an excellent job of taking what we know about this topic, and proffering advice for future research.

Handling Major Campus Crises as an African American in Senior Level Administration

Handling a major campus crisis is difficult for any administrator in student affairs. It is particularly challenging for African Americans in senior level administrative positions to handle a race related event on campus without their race becoming a factor. It may be less an issue for the administrator him or herself, but may become a focal point for the local media and the campus community. African American student affairs practitioners are hard pressed to find guidance (other than personal experience) to help disentangle their race from the performance of their jobs. Tara C. Scales and M. Christopher Brown II provide a commentary for practice that walks practitioners through a campus level race-based student protest. This is achieved through a case study that interviews two top level African American administrators who handled the crisis on this particular campus.

Possible Policy Implications and Research Agenda

Americans have supported higher and postsecondary education with the belief that it is a vital opportunity for their children's future and critical to sustaining democracy and enhancing economic growth. However, colleges and universities often reflect or transmit rather than change underlying social and economic dispositions. The research in this issue indicates that the substantial expansion of colleges and universities has produced very different opportunities for African Americans in student affairs related positions. These opportunities may be allocated not by ability but race or gender. Mirroring the changing demographics of society in general, the undergraduate and graduate student population is becoming more ethnically and racially diverse each year. Colleges and universities are no longer operating in a period of homogenous student representation; clearly, they are in an era where a highly diverse faculty, staff, and administrative team is essential for maintaining institutional integrity with legislators, parents, employers, and most importantly students.

Some of the most difficult research and policy challenges concern achieving administrative diversity in student affairs administration. Key targets for research, for instance, should include demonstrating the impact of institutions with diverse leaders versus those who do not have voices from culturally diverse backgrounds represented in decision-making roles. Another research and policy goal is to determine the most effective combination of activities that enable African American administration to be engaged, retained, and advanced to senior level student affairs administrative positions. Of universal interest, is the need to explain whether the measures used by institutions to achieve diversity in

student affairs are most effective from various stakeholder perspectives. There are many partial and preliminary findings in the literature but no comprehensive solutions or strategies. Solid data documenting the effects of administrative diversity in student affairs on increasing campus-wide (e.g., students, faculty, and staff) diversity would be invaluable. These collective inquiries would lead to an overall understanding of what institutional factors and staffing plans maximize the graduation outcomes for minority students. Authors of the articles in this issue have made significant contributions to the systematic investigation of important issues related to African Americans in the student affairs profession. However, much essential work remains to be done.

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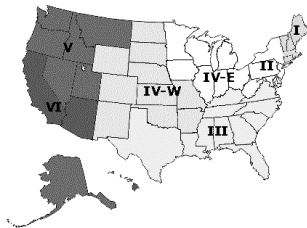
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Appendix

NASPA Regional Communities



Canada

- Alberta - 5
- British Columbia - 5
- Manitoba - 4W
- New Brunswick - 1
- Newfoundland - 1
- Nova Scotia - 1
- Ontario - 4E
- Quebec - 1

Other

- Australia - 6
- Bermuda - 3
- Bulgaria - 3
- England - 1
- France - 1
- Germany - 2
- Greece - 2
- Hong Kong - 6
- Ireland - 1
- Jamaica - 3
- Malaysia - 6
- Mexico - 3
- Nigeria - 3
- Singapore - 6
- Spain - 1
- South Africa - 3
- United Arab Emirates - 3

Funding Provided by Historically Black Colleges and Universities for Student Affairs: A Comparison with Counterpart Historically White Colleges and Universities

John H. Schuh, Ph.D.

Abstract

Funding for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) typically has lagged behind their traditionally White counterparts. This study compared spending per student for student affairs at HBCUs with their traditionally White counterparts. The results of the study indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in spending between the two types of institutions. Notably, spending on student affairs per student was affected by the institution's Carnegie type.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were "founded and developed in an environment unlike that of other colleges---one of legal segregation and isolation from the rest of higher education" (Hill, 1985, p. xii). During segregation, these institutions "trained the majority of professionals, educators and leaders in many Black communities" (Hill, 1985, p. xiv). Freeman (1999) offered a similar conclusion: "These institutions have been extraordinary in producing an overwhelming percentage of African American leaders..." (p. 93).

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These achievements have been accomplished despite modest financial resources (Lucas, 1994). For example, HBCUs have had to contend with a fiscal environment in which their resources did not compare favorably with their White counterparts (Lucas, 1994). In spite of this relative financial disadvantage, Redd (2000) indicated "in general, African American HBCU graduates had very similar experiences after college as their peers from non-HBCU institutions" (p. 2). Redd also concluded, "the results of this study demonstrate that HBCUs continue to contribute greatly to the successes of African Americans" (2000, p. 4).

HBCUs "have operated on small budgets, limited by their students' ability to pay tuition and, for public institutions, by small State appropriations" (Hill, 1985, p. xvii). For example, in 1993-94, "educational and general expenditure per student at HBCU(s) was \$9782, or about 88 percent of the average for all public colleges and universities" (Hoffman, 1996, p. vii). A similar situation existed at private HBCUs. In 1993-94 private HBCUs "spent about 14 percent less per student than all private colleges and universities" (p. vii)

As a consequence of their historically modest fiscal circumstance, HBCUs have had to be efficient with their resources. Kim (2002, p. 403) concluded that HBCUs "are as cost effective as HWCUs" (historically White colleges and universities) in spite of their lack of academic resources. Kim added that "further studies should investigate how they (HBCUs) manage to produce the same level of outcomes as HWCUs in spite of poorer academic resources" (p. 403).

To build on the work of Kim (2002), this study was undertaken to determine if HBCUs devote resources similar to their White counterparts to student services. Spending on student services has been asserted as having a number of positive cognitive and affective outcomes (Astin, 1993). One positive outcome of such spending could be the extent to which students develop social connections, an important element in Tinto's theory of institutional departure (1987, 1998). According to this theory, students will persist to the extent that they are connected to their institution in an academic and social sense. Spending on student activities and programs can reflect institutional priorities (Schuh & Shelley, 2001), in this case, the extent to which efforts are made to help students connect with each other in a social sense is an important aspect of student persistence (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

This study, then, had three purposes. The first was to determine how much HBCUs spend on student services. The second was to ascertain whether expenditures varied by institutional type using the Carnegie classification system. The third was to compare HBCUs with historically White institutions in the amount of funds spent on student services.

Theoretical Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks informed this study. First, resource dependency theory posits that organizations are dependent on financial resources to engage in certain behaviors (Pfeffer, 1982; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). In the case of this study, appropriate resources are necessary for the institutions to engage in activities categorized as "student services."

Second, external constraint, as described by Sporn (1999), could limit the extent to which the institutions of interest could engage in student services functions. External constraints, such as reductions in state appropriations or enrollment shortfalls, could limit spending on student services.

PROCEDURE

This study was conducted to investigate how funding for HBCUs compared with funding for historically White institutions from a statistical standpoint. Therefore, quantitative methods were used.

Sampling

This study employed census sampling to eliminate the potential for sampling bias. That means that all of the institutions of interest were included in the study. Using the Carnegie classification system that was in place at the time these data were collected, all four-year, degree-granting HBCUs were selected for inclusion in the study using the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). A total of 77 HBCUs that submitted data to the IPEDS database met the criteria for inclusion in the study. After the HBCUs were identified, all historically White four-year institutions that were from the same Carnegie classifications as the HBCUs also were identified from the same database. A total of 1,071 historically White institutions were included in the study.

Instrumentation

The instrument that was used to collect data for this study was the on-line data collection process for public and private institutions utilized by IPEDS. Data are provided on an annual basis through this instrument to the National Center for Education Statistics and then are made available for analysis through the IPEDS World Wide Web site at <http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/>. These data that were included were from Survey Year 2000, the most current data available at the time this study was conducted. The data categories of interest included institutional enrollment (official headcount enrollment) and total funds spent on student services. Student services was defined as:

[E]xpenses for admissions, registrar activities and activities whose primary purpose is to contribute to students emotional and physical well-being and to their intellectual, cultural and social development outside the context of the formal instructional program. Examples are career guidance, counseling, financial aid administration, student records, athletics, and student health services, except when operated as a self-supporting auxiliary enterprise (2000 Private Not-For-Profit institutions using FASB Reporting Standards, <http://165.224.221.121/spring2001/Help/Instructions.Asp?type=FP&FormId=XX01>).

The definition for student services for public institutions using GASB reporting standards was identical.

Data Collection

Data were downloaded initially from the IPEDS web site for the institutions that met the stated criteria: they were four-year degree-granting institutions and were classified as a historically Black college or university. After these institutions were identified, their current Carnegie classification was determined. Then, counterpart historically White institutions that met the same criteria including Carnegie classification were identified for comparison purposes.

Data Analysis

After these data were collected, they were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences version 10.0. Frequency distributions and measures of central tendency were computed for each Carnegie classification. Data were analyzed using the univariate analysis of variance procedure. The level of significance chosen was .01.

RESULTS

Eight modified Carnegie types emerged from the analysis of the HBCUs that met the criteria for the study. These included four public institutional types: (1) Doctoral Intensive; (2) Master's I; (3) Master's II; and (4) Baccalaureate II. Four private institutional types also emerged: (1) Doctoral degree-granting institutions; (2) Master's I; (3) Baccalaureate I; and (4) Baccalaureate II. The category "Private doctoral degree granting institutions" included one private doctoral intensive institution and one private doctoral extensive institution, for a total of two institutions. Having two categories with one institution each was deemed too small to produce cells sizes for analysis, so these two doctoral institutions were included in one category.

As mentioned before, this study had three purposes. This first was to determine the level of expenditures for student services spent at HBCUs. Mean funding and standard deviations are reported in Table 1 for HBCUs and historically White institutions. Private HBCU institutions spent more on student services than their public HBCU counterparts. Private HBCU Baccalaureate I institutions spent the most per student on student services, while public Master's I institutions spent the least. The range in expenditures was from just over \$1,000 per student to more than \$2,800. These data are depicted in Table 1.

Table 1			
Comparison of Funding at HBCU and non-HBCU Institutions for Student Affairs by Modified Carnegie Type			
Institutional Type	HBCU	N	Mean Funding Per Student
Public			
Doctoral Intensive	No	62	792.63
Doctoral Intensive	Yes	4	1,122.01
Master's I	No	225	746.66
Master's I	Yes	23	1,004.37
Master's II	No	19	962.79
Master's II	Yes	4	1,211.45
Baccalaureate II	No	41	698.55
Baccalaureate II	Yes	8	1,080.12
Private			
Doctoral Intensive and Extensive	No	86	2,026.88
Doctoral Intensive and Extensive	Yes	2	1,831.25
Master's I	No	232	1,510.84
Master's I	Yes	3	1,652.41
Baccalaureate I	No	180	3,538.35
Baccalaureate I	Yes	11	2,835.31
Baccalaureate II	No	226	1,962.98
Baccalaureate II	Yes	22	1,710.20

The second purpose of this study was to determine if expenditures on student services varied by institutional type. Using the modified Carnegie classification type as an independent variable, expenditures per student were found to be influenced by institutional type at a significant level ($df=7, F=5.154, sig<.001$).

When all the institutions selected for the study were included in the analysis, Carnegie type accounted for .355 of the variance in expenditures for student services. For HBCUs alone, Carnegie type accounted for .222 of the variance. For historically White institutions, Carnegie type accounted for .361 of the variance. These results are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2			
Variance Explained by Carnegie Type			
Institutional Type	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared	Observed Power
HBCU	.222	.143	.890
Historically White	.361	.356	1.000
All	.355	.346	.998

The third purpose of this study was to compare HBCUs with historically White institutions in the amount of funds spent on student services per student. The results of the analysis indicated that a significant difference was not determined using HBCU/historically White as an independent variable. As table 1 indicates public HBCU institutions spent more on student services for each institutional type than their White counterparts. For the private institutions, historically White institutions spent more per student on student affairs than HBCUs except for Master's I universities. A summary of these data is provided in Table 3.

Table 3			
Comparison of Funding Per Student for Student Services by HBCU and Historically White Institutions			
Institutional Type	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Public HBCU	39	1,053.22	569.10
Public historically White	347	761.02	354.23
Private HBCU	38	2,037.70	1632.56
Private historically White	724	2,267.71	1668.73

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

This study was undertaken to determine how much four-year degree-granting HBCUs spent per student on student services for the IPEDS reporting year 2000. It also sought to compare HBCU and historically White institutional expenditures on a per student basis for student services. In addition, the study sought to determine if institutional type had an influence on per student expenditures for student services. Using the IPEDS database, 1,148 institutions were included in the study, 77 of which were HBCUs. The balance, 1,071 institutions, were historically White institutions.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this inquiry. First, expenditures by HBCUs were similar to those of historically White institutions, but private institutions spent more on student services per student than their public counterparts. Expenditures for student services for the HBCUs ranged from \$1,004.37 per student to \$2,835.31. These results are consistent with the findings of Alexander (2001) who concluded that faculty salaries at public research universities are substantially less than the salaries for faculty at their private counterparts. Private institutions simply spend more money per student than public institutions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002).

Second, in comparing the institutions, Carnegie type was the only significant variable. It accounted for somewhere between .22 and .36 of the variance between institutions, depending on the set of institutions being compared. The influence of Carnegie type has been examined (Schuh & Shelley, 2001) on spending for student affairs with the same results. Carnegie type appears to be related to institutional expenditures on student affairs.

Third, HBCU and historically White institutions did not differ to a statistically significant degree in the amount of funding per student for student services according to the results of this study. Obviously, for some of the institutional types, HBCUs either spent more or less than their historically White counterparts. Taken in the aggregate, however, spending by HBCUs and historically White institutions did not differ significantly in a statistical sense. Watson and Kuh (1996) suggested that "historically Black institutions provide Black students with a developmentally powerful educational environment. For example, a college marked by supportive relationships among peers, faculty, and administrators is almost as influential as student effort in terms of personal and social development for all students" (p. 421). That observation may be explained, in part, by the spending that HBCUs have committed to student services. That is, HBCUs appear to value student services by committing precious resources to student services as a manifestation of the value with which students are held at these institutions.

This study had several limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, from a data analysis perspective, several of the HBCU institutional type categories were very small. That simply reflected reality. Nevertheless, this phenomenon limited the kinds of analysis that could be conducted. Unless the HBCUs were to change so as to be aggregated in fewer Carnegie categories, this problem cannot be overcome.

Second, since these data were collected from just one year, the reader should not infer any long-term trends from this report. While institutional patterns typically do not change dramatically from one year to the next, a single year's spending patterns should not be interpreted as a historic trend. Obviously, a multi-year study could be conducted to address this limitation.

Third, this study examined spending per student for student services only. Student services typically reflect less than 10% of the total expenditures of institutions of higher education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002), and as a consequence, other significant categories of expenditures, such as expenditures for instruction and institutional support, were omitted from this study. A more comprehensive study of all expenditures that comprise the general category of current fund expenditures would provide a thorough examination of expenditures for the institutions included in this study.

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Investigating the Representation of African American Student Affairs Administrators: A Preliminary Study

Lamont A. Flowers, Ph.D.

Abstract

This exploratory study applied the theory of representative bureaucracy to examine the representation of African American student affairs administrators in postsecondary institutions. Descriptive statistical results showed that African American student affairs administrators were underrepresented among student affairs administrators. Specifically, data from the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) Salary Survey and National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS) revealed that the percentage of African American student affairs administrators was lower than the percentage of African American undergraduate students attending colleges and universities.

In light of increasing diversity among college students, there is a continual need to better understand the demographic characteristics of individuals who make up the student affairs profession (Hamrick & Carlisle, 1990; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). This contention, while subject to debate, has also been considered in the student affairs literature. McEwen, Engstrom, and Williams (1990) explored the topic of gender diversity within the student affairs profession and found that women were entering the profession to a greater extent than men. In a follow-up study, conducted by the same researchers, they sought to discover the influence of such a gender imbalance on the student affairs profession, the work environment, and college students (McEwen, Engstrom, & Williams, 1991). In reference to the latter group, McEwen, Williams, and Engstrom (1991) stated:

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Particularly within the student affairs profession where it is of great importance for the profession to reflect the increasing diversity of our student populations, we must consider the degree to which the profession's reflection of Anglo, Euro-American values promotes a cultural environment that is not responsive to visible racial and ethnic group members of the student affairs profession. Thus, in addition to gender, we must systematically examine conditions within the profession that are not supportive of visible racial and ethnic group persons. Careful analyses and consideration of these issues of race, culture, and gender are in order. (p. 445)

Toward that end, the purpose of this study was to investigate the representation of African American student affairs administrators in postsecondary institutions.

Theory of Representative Bureaucracy

The theory of representative bureaucracy explains the importance of having leaders or policymakers that represent the demographic composition of a constituency group (Krislov, 1974; McCabe & Stream, 2000; Meier, 1975, 1993a, 1993b; Meier & Stewart, 1992). Meier and Nigro (1976), defining the essential elements of representative bureaucracy, stated "The fundamental axiom/proposition underlying the concept of representative bureaucracy is: if the attitudes of administrators are similar to the attitudes held by the general public, the decisions administrators make will in general be responsive to the desires of the public" (p. 458). Thus, representative bureaucracy provides a conceptual framework by which to consider, measure, and evaluate the composition of staff and professionals who make decisions on behalf of others. Riccucci and Saidel (1997) also made the point that, "According to the theory of representative bureaucracy, the demographic composition of the bureaucracy should mirror the demographic composition of the public. In this way, the preferences of a heterogeneous population will be represented in bureaucratic decision making" (p. 423).

The theory of representative bureaucracy delineates two types of representation: (1) passive representation; and (2) active representation (Mosher, 1982). Passive representation refers to the situation "where the bureaucracy has the same demographic origins as the population it serves" (Riccucci & Saidel, 1997, p. 423). Active representation refers to the situation "where bureaucrats act on behalf of their counterparts in the general population" (Riccucci & Saidel, 1997, p. 423). This study was concerned with both types of representation. Since passive representation refers to the extent to which the demographic representation (e. g., ethnicity) among the leaders and the constituent group is propor-

tional (Meier & Bohte, 2001), this study highlighted the percentage of African American student affairs administrators to determine if the percentage was proportional to that of African American students enrolled in colleges and universities. Since active representation refers to the extent to which leaders or decision makers make decisions and initiate programs on behalf of a constituent group (Meier, 1993a), this study was guided by the contention that the diversity of the leaders in the student affairs profession might also influence the types of programs and services offered at colleges and universities and impact educational outcomes for African American students.

Data Sources

Data from the 2000 National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) Salary Survey and the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study: 1999-2000 (NPSAS:2000) were used in this study. Both data sources are described in the next sections.

National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) Salary Survey

The NASPA Salary Survey is a comprehensive survey designed to collect information on student affairs officers in the student affairs division. The results in this preliminary study are based on data from the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey, which included salary data, demographic data, and institutional characteristics data from more than four hundred institutional participants (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). In the present study, student affairs administrators were defined as persons who had one of the following titles: senior student affairs officer, assistant senior student affairs officer, associate senior student affairs officer, dean of students, assistant dean of students, associate dean of students, financial aid director, registrar director, housing director, counseling services director, career planning office director, security office director, student union director, student health office director, and admissions director (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). Employing data from the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey, Jackson (2003) found that African Americans accounted for approximately 8.4% of all student affairs administrators [See Jackson (2003) for additional information regarding the nature and composition of the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey].

National Postsecondary Student Aid Study: 1999-2000

The NPSAS: 000 is a cross-sectional study of 2-year and 4-year college students who attended college during the 1999-2000 academic year (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). A central purpose of NPSAS:2000 is to inform policymakers regarding issues of access, transition, and financial aid (National

Center for Education Statistics, 2001b). The NPSAS:2000 is comprised of a national student sample that represented more than 16 million undergraduate students and approximately 2 million graduate and first-professional students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). According to the NPSAS:2000 data, African American students accounted for approximately 12% of the total undergraduate student enrollment.

Method and Results

To measure the representation of African American student affairs administrators, the percentage of African American student affairs administrators was compared to the percentage of African American undergraduate students. A representation ratio (the percentage of African American student affairs administrators divided by the percentage of African American college students) was then calculated [see Cayer and Sigleman (1980) for another application of the representation ratio formula applied to minorities in state and local government]. A higher representation ratio indicated a greater level of passive representation among African American student affairs administrators. Cayer and Sigleman (1980) added, "A lower ratio signifies numerical underrepresentation, and a higher ratio overrepresentation" (p. 445). The representation ratio of African American student affairs administrators, employing African American college students as the constituency group, was $.084 / .12$, which translated into a representation quotient of 0.70.

DISCUSSION

Based on the theory of representative bureaucracy, the more diverse the constituent group is, the greater the diversity required of the leaders or persons making policy decisions on behalf of the constituent group. While the theory of representative bureaucracy has been largely used in political science and public administration research, this theory has wide applicability and applies to many situations in which there is considerable diversity among a group and a lack of diversity among the individuals who are making decisions on behalf of the group. This study sought to apply the theory of representative bureaucracy to determine if the percentage of African American student affairs administrators was representative of the African American student enrollment in colleges and universities. Since African American students account for approximately 12% of the total undergraduate student enrollment, this figure was used as an indicator to determine if African Americans were underrepresented among student affairs administrators.

The present study provided preliminary evidence in support of the contention that we need additional African American student affairs administrators in insti-

tutions of higher education. While student affairs entry-level practitioners are more likely to work closely with students on a daily basis, student affairs administrators procure and manage financial resources and serve as the primary advocates for student affairs and related services and programs on campus. Additionally, since student affairs administrators develop and implement policy and are responsible for managing and training entry-level student affairs practitioners, their decisions and leadership styles indirectly impact students' academic and social development in college. Thus, in light of the data reported in this study, additional African American student affairs administrators are needed to ensure that the concerns of African American students are being fully considered, understood, and acted upon by university leaders and administrators.

This study is significant in that it represents the first attempt to provide a clear and measurable goal of progress in terms of increasing the numbers of African American student affairs administrators. The representation quotient further provides a relatively straightforward way of explaining and understanding the underrepresentation of African American student affairs administrators. Taken as a whole, this study suggests that focused attention is required to bring the representation quotient closer to 1.00.

Implications for Practice

In light of the findings in this exploratory study, three implications for practice should be considered. First, since this study indicated that African American student affairs administrators were not completely represented when compared to the total percentage of African American students attending 2-year and 4-year colleges, we need additional African American student affairs administrators to rectify this numerical imbalance. Second, student affairs preparation programs that offer doctoral degrees should continue to actively recruit African American doctoral students who might be interested in becoming student affairs administrators. Also, historically Black colleges and universities can develop educational programs by modeling existing educational leadership programs such as the higher education program developed by Morgan State University (Brotherton, 2002), to train African Americans to become student affairs administrators. Third, individual colleges and universities should compute representation ratios for African American student affairs administrators (using African American students on their campus as the reference group) to measure the degree and extent of their representation on campus. Senior-level university administrators should then use this information to aid in hiring and promotion decisions.

Implications for Future Research

This study raises important questions that should lead to additional research on this topic. First, research is needed at the institutional level and national level to study the effects of passive representation of African American student affairs administrators on African American undergraduate student learning and social outcomes. Additional research is also needed to test the theory of representative bureaucracy in the student affairs profession on other ethnic and cultural groups. Based on existing research (Brudney, Hebert, & Wright, 2000), we might expect that greater representation of African American student affairs administrators at colleges and universities will lead to better university conditions for African American students. Related research conducted that either formally or informally applied the theory of representative bureaucracy (Darden, Kamel, & Jacobs, 1988; Meier, 1993a; Meier & Bohte, 2001; Meier & Stewart, 1992) suggests that we might even expect African American students' academic achievement to increase in situations where more African American student affairs administrators were present. Current research (Allen, 1987, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Flowers & Pascarella, 1999; Jackson, 2002; Watson & Kuh, 1996) supports this hypothesis and suggests this result might follow due to the increased presence of African American student affairs administrators on campus. Ultimately, this might lead to increased attention to policies, programs, and issues that directly impact African American students' ability to perform well academically.

Second, research is needed to examine the impact of African American faculty on African American students (Darden, Kamel, & Jacobs, 1988). Currently, African Americans account for approximately 5% of the nation's full-time instructional faculty and staff (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001a). Thus, future research should consider the effects of this level of representation on the promotion or detraction of African American students' growth and development in college. The representation of African American faculty may also be assessed at the institutional level using student data obtained from individual campuses. If the representation quotient is not equal to one, this may suggest that work needs to be done at the university level in terms of hiring and retaining African American faculty. If the representation quotient is equal to or greater than one, this may indicate the need for further study. In either case, the theory of representative bureaucracy supports the need to better understand the demographic characteristics of the leaders on campus in relation to the constituent groups that are being served.

Third, future research should be conducted to address a major limitation of this study that was introduced with the use of the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey data.

The 2000 NASPA Salary Survey data contains a comprehensive list of variables; however, the response rate for this survey was marginal (35%). While the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey was deemed representative in previous research (Jackson, 2003; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002), perhaps additional data is needed to more accurately measure the percentage of African American student affairs administrators. The decision to employ the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey might have introduced a limitation, in that, perhaps institutions that chose to complete the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey were fundamentally different from institutions that did not choose to complete the 2000 NASPA Salary Survey. This data limitation could have resulted in overestimating or underestimating the percentage of African American student affairs administrators. Thus, future research should be conducted that uses national-level data of student affairs administrators at 2-year and 4-year colleges and universities.

It should also be noted that increasing passive representation does not guarantee that the issues, interests, and experiences of African American students will be considered, advocated, or used to revise university policies and programs. However, as the theory of representative bureaucracy suggests, passive representation (which is based on demographic representation) may lead to active representation or significant educational outcomes for African American students. Toward that end, it might be a worthwhile endeavor for all colleges and universities to achieve proportional representation of African American student affairs administrators and African American students because the potential returns are great (i.e., increased academic achievement, enhanced student involvement, etc.) and are at the foundation of all institutional mission statements and strategic plans in the new millennium.

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Black Female Administrators Speak Out: Narratives on Race and Gender in Higher Education

Sharon L. Holmes, Ph.D.

Abstract

This article presents the findings of a qualitative study that investigated the experiences of mid- through senior-level Black student affairs females employed by predominantly White institutions in the Midwest. Through narratives the women provide candid discussion on what it is like to be a Black female administrator in a majority setting and how race and gender independently and collectively influence their academic roles and relationships.

The reports are disconcerting for the 21st century – Black female administrators in institutions of higher education still have not reached parity with their White female counterparts, or Black or White males. According to Wolfman (1997), Black women in American higher education constitute less than 5% of the overall managerial group even though they are an integral part of American society and often outnumber Black men as heads of public institutions. Similarly, Moses (1997) found that the majority of Black female administrators tend to be employed at historically Black colleges and universities in positions below the dean level, are in student affairs and other specialized positions, or most often in two-year institutions rather than four-year, and they generally earn 15% less than their male counterparts.

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These data are particularly disturbing considering the increasing number of Black females who have enrolled and graduated from colleges and universities since 1978 compared to the number of Black males (Atwater, 1995; Harvey, 2001). For example, Perna and Sheftall (1999) found that 57% of all first-time undergraduates enrolled in four-year institutions in 1989 completed a bachelor's degree within five years. While Black women showed a lower completion rate than White women (49% compared to 61%), their rate of completion was higher than Black males (49% compared to 38%). Furthermore, the researchers indicated that the completion rate of Black females graduating in five years with bachelors' degree was also similar to "women who did (46%) and did not (50%) attend an HBCU" (p. 4). The ratios are also similar for Black women attending and graduating from programs with master's, professional, and doctorate degrees (Perna & Sheftall, 1999). Yet, the number of Black women ascending to mid- through senior-level administrative positions remains comparably disproportionate relative to their degree obtainment.

Historically, issues related to gender were the most prevalent roadblocks standing in the path of women desiring access to educational and employment opportunities in higher education.

Rudolph's (1990) well-regarded study on American colleges and universities during the colonial period stated that at the onset of the postsecondary movement women were thought to be "intellectually inferior-incapable, merely by reason of being a woman, of great thought. Her faculties were not worth training [and] her place was in the home, where man had assigned her a number of useful functions" (p. 308). Brubacher and Rudy's (1997) research on education initiatives during this period indicates that it was a widely held belief that education was the domain of men, who were assumed to be more capable of making religious, social, and political decisions for society. They contended that popular sentiment was that it was "far better to teach young ladies to be correct in their manners, respectable in their families, and agreeable in society than waste time preparing them for public administration" (p. 65). As a result of these patriarchal views, most women were denied access to educational and employment opportunities altogether. At best, they experienced discrimination in the types of positions they were allowed to hold. As late as the early 1970s, women rarely held positions where public policy was established and their decision-making activities were confined to the more private spheres (e.g., home and family) of American society (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997; Rudolph, 1990; Solomon, 1985). In the case of Black women, gender intersected with race and class to create multiple roadblocks that not only prescribed the types of positions they could hold in both the public and private spheres of their life, but also con-

structed for them a public image that would eventually define their relationships, as well as shape their overall experiences, especially in predominantly White public and social institutions (Collins, 1990; Holmes, 1999).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the experiences of mid- through senior-level Black female administrators employed by predominantly White public research institutions located in the Midwest. I was particularly interested in understanding how race and gender shaped their academic roles and what if any issues and/or concerns they may have experienced as Black female administrators in a predominantly White setting.

Contrived Images of Black Womanhood

To justify their insidious treatment of Black women during slavery, White male power brokers contrived public images for Black women that have had long-term consequences affecting every aspect of their lives – including their work in the academy. The Black woman was constructed as a person who had no sensibilities, someone who lacked Christian values or morals, and a person with an insatiable sexual appetite who preyed on the lascivious shortcomings of "respectable" White men in the community (Amott & Matthaehi, 1996; Giddings, 1984; Jordan, 1976; Lerner, 1981; Mama, 1995; Vaz, 1995). Collins (1990) contends that these images were primarily "designed to make racism, sexism, and poverty appear to be natural, normal, and an inevitable part of everyday life" (p. 68). Further, Collins explains that, "even when the political and economic conditions that originally generated controlling images disappear such images prove remarkably tenacious because...they are key to maintaining interlocking systems of race, class, and gender oppression" (p. 68).

Vaz (1995) agrees and concludes that the inability to "control images of Black womanhood stemming from the White imagination have very real consequences in the lives of Black women" today (p. 13). In her book, *Black Women in America*, Vaz provided the following excerpt from the autobiography of Jill Nelson (1993), a former employee of *The Washington Post*. Ms. Nelson was having a discussion with her therapist regarding the strain that working with White people at *The Post* was causing her. She indicated that they had been interacting with her not based on who she was but on their image of what she represented to them. Nelson indicated that she experienced daily assaults on her integrity and sense of self by the group who felt themselves superior to her simply because of her skin color. "I spend half my time trying to make myself [appear] non-threatening, even though I'm not really threatening, so the Caucasians can deal with

me" (p. 231). Nelson's experience is not an isolated incident. A number of Black women have reported ill-treatment because of distorted images that White colleagues have of them in the work place. Speaking on her experiences as a senior-level Black administrator in a White public research institution, Johnson (1997) said, "I find myself in an environment where people have developed some attitude about people of color based on their personal experience in the 1960s and 1970s and on what the system has taught them about people of color" (p. 282). These comments suggests that Black women have unfavorable experiences in many areas of their lives as a result of prevailing images rooted in the vestiges of race, class, and gender oppression.

Yet, there are some who contend that such roadblocks of the past have been removed and now the road to higher education is barrier-free and wide enough to allow everyone equal access to educational and employment opportunities (Wilson, 1995). And some would say that proof of equal access and opportunity can be verified from a cursory glance around many college campuses in the United States. From a quick glance one could get the impression that women, Blacks, and other disenfranchised groups in society now have full participation in all areas of the academic community. However, a closer look reveals that even with the gains made in minority student enrollment since the 1960s, there is still a disproportionately low number of Black females and other students of color attending predominantly White institutions relative to their percentage in the total U. S. population (Nettles & Perna, 1997).

Furthermore, an even closer look also reveals that while the number of White female administrators and faculty has increased steadily at almost all levels and ranks of the academy, the gains of Black female administrators and faculty, particularly at predominantly White institutions, have remained relatively minuscule (McKay, 1997). According to a report by the American Council on Education, the percentage of African American women in administrative positions in two- and four-year colleges and universities increased from 2.9 percent in 1979 to 4.2 percent in 1989. Because this figure reflects a ten-year change in the status of African American females in administration it represents a dismal picture of the advances being made by Black women in the academy.

Coupled with the low representation of Black women in administrative positions in higher education are mounting reports that record unfavorable experiences that they are having in academe (Holmes, 1999; McKay, 1997). There have been numerous reports of limited advancement opportunities, feelings of powerlessness, tokenism, isolation and alienation, chilly and inhospitable working environments, wage inequities, unrealistic role expectations, subtle and overt forms of race and sex discrimination, and lack of mentorship and networking

opportunities (Burgess, 1997; Gregory, 1995; Holmes, 1999; Moses, 1997; Phelps, 1995; Sandler, 1993; Turner, Myers, Creswell, 1999; Warner & DeFluer, 1993; Watson, 2001).

If the roadblocks preventing Black women from full participation in all areas of the academy have been removed, why is there still such a disproportionate gap between Black women and other members of the academy? Why does the percentage of White female administrators still outnumber the percentage of Black women (Moses, 1997; Wolfman, 1997)? Why do many Black women have tales of frustration (Johnson, 1997; McKay, 1997)? Why do they often experience alienation, isolation and despair in our academic communities (Davis, 1994; McKay, 1997; Thompson, & Dey, 1998; Turner, & Myers, 2000)? And lastly, why are more and more Black women deciding to leave the academy altogether (Gregory, 1995)?

A Framework for Understanding the Experiences of Black Women

Research regarding the experiences of Black female administrators in traditionally White institutions is growing, but there still remains a relatively small body of literature compared to studies that investigate the overall experiences of women in higher education. In much of the current literature, women are treated as a singular group without much consideration given to how race and gender shapes their personal and professional experiences (Kuk, 1994; Warner & DeFluer, 1993). While Black women do not share a homogeneous existence, they do share a common struggle that is not shared by White women and Black men, which is to rise above the ideological hegemony that has silenced their voices and prevented their full participation in all facets of society and education in the United States (Collins, 1990; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Giddings, 1984; Mama, 1995; Jordan, 1976).

Theoretical frameworks used in the past to examine and provide evidence of their experiences have not allowed them to "speak out" directly regarding their status in higher education. However, more recent scholars have begun to empower Black women by allowing their voices through narrative to dismantle inappropriate frameworks that have long-attempted to explain their social, emotional, political, and intellectual viewpoints (Collins, 1990; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Holmes, 1999; Watson, 2001). One such body of literature is Black feminist thought standpoint theory and its resulting epistemology (Collins, 1990, 1998; Davis, 1983; Giddings, 1984; Gilkes, 1980, 1994; hooks, 1984, 1993; Ilhe, 1992; Lerner, 1981; Etter-Lewis, 1993, 1997; McKay, 1997). Black feminist thought has its roots in Afro-centric philosophy, feminist standpoint theory, sociocul-

tural theory, critical race theory, as well as postmodernism and the sociology of knowledge. It illustrates the everyday experiences of Black women and seeks to address issues of race, class, and gender as it affects the everyday lives of Black women.

Black feminist thought standpoint theory allows the researcher to resist the urge to ground the experiences of Black women into any single theoretical tradition. And in so doing it recognizes the totality of experience and provides an opportunity to examine individual experiences from a multitude of perspectives. It takes into consideration that experience, behavior, actions and events do not occur in a vacuum, but are influenced as we interact with our social environment. I believe these perspectives are especially important for examining the experiences of Black women in academe. Thus, this theoretical framework was used as the lens to understand the women's experiences. As Collins (1990) explicates, even though these evolving theories have their own flaws, they widen educational discourse to include explanations of the complexities of experience that would not normally be considered within traditional theoretical frameworks.

RESEARCH METHODS

Construction of a research design is based largely upon the particular phenomenon under investigation, the questions guiding the inquiry, as well as the philosophical and epistemological assumptions of the researcher. This study was attentive to all three of these areas. From the perspective of Black feminist thought people's realities are shaped by their experiences and whatever interpretation they ascribe to the experience is their reality. A person's reality is shaped within a cultural, social, political, and economic landscape that influences how they perceive themselves as well as the individual events that occur that shape and define their reality. I selected qualitative research methods to guide the study because I concur with Whitt (1991) and others that this paradigm permits the researcher to examine both internal and external influences that construct and shape experiences of people in cultured spaces.

Participants

The sample selection for the study was purposeful (Patton, 1990). However, sampling was conducted to achieve maximum variation in the women's roles and potential experiences (Crowson, 1987). An invitation was extended to 20 Black female administrators employed by predominantly White institutions throughout the Midwest. Of the 12 that agreed to share their experiences, their positions included one vice president for student affairs, two deans of students, and nine directors in various offices in student services. Each of the women had

been in their position for at least three years at the time of the study. In order to ensure their confidentiality, names will not be used nor references to their specific institutions.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection and analysis was conducted simultaneously in order to use the existing data to inform collection and interpretation of additional data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Each woman was interviewed on three separate occasions with interviews ranging from 60 to 120 minutes. An open-ended interview guide was used to elicit responses to primary questions regarding what it was like being female and Black at a predominantly White institution, but deviations were allowed to explore questions and other issues raised by the participants that I felt were useful to the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). At the beginning of each interview the participant was given an opportunity to read and comment on her personal profile that was forming. All interviews were tape-recorded, then transcribed verbatim for use in the data analysis process. Data analysis focused concurrently on the women's individual experiences as well as their combined experiences to determine where similarities and differences existed. I started the analysis by reading over each of the participant's interview transcripts to familiar myself with the data. The second time I read the transcripts I started the coding process. Then composites of individual cases were developed from the interview data while using the constant comparative method to segregate the data into broader categories and themes (Strauss, & Corbin, 1990).

Limitations of the Study

To explain the experiences of all Black women administrators in predominantly White institutions of higher education is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, I sought to examine the academic experiences of the women participating in this study alone. Furthermore, while their narratives may provide insight into the academic experiences of other Black women administrators in similar settings, they should not be perceived to represent or explain the experiences of all Black women in predominantly White institutions.

BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS SPEAK OUT

The women in this study were very different in terms of their physical characteristics, family backgrounds, relational styles, thoughts on what it means to be a Black female administrator on a predominantly White campus, and how they managed the psychological stress that is sometimes associated with being the "other" in a majority setting. Despite these differences, there were a number of similarities in their experiences that can provide a general understanding of the

overall experiences of some African American female administrators. A number of reasons could explain the similarities in their experiences however it could simply be attributed to the common struggle shared by Black women in a socially political environment that does not often regard their contributions (Collins, 1990). The categories presented below will not reflect the experiences of each female administrator who participated in the study. Strauss and Corbin (1990) contend that, "occasionally one comes across a prototypical case, one that fits the pattern exactly. However, usually there isn't a perfect fit. One tries to place cases in the most appropriate context, using criteria of best rather than exact fit" (p. 139). As such, in the categories presented the narratives from individual women are used to illustrate how race and gender influence their academic experiences in the "best" way possible. Some narratives may not speak (e.g., fit) specifically to the issue of race or gender, but can be used nevertheless to provide a broad understanding of the women's experience.

The Burden of Being a Black Female in a White Institution

Wolfman (1997) indicates that "too little is known about the ways in which institutional racism finds expression in the everyday lives of African American women" (p. 163). What is known however is that working in a White institution often takes a mental toll on Black women who must continuously brace themselves against possible attacks predicated largely on race translated by the color of their skin. Furthermore, Wolfman (1997) contends "the debilitating effects of conscious and unconscious bigoted acts tend to sap the intellectual potency and undermine the professional expertise of minority managers" (p. 163). To get a better idea of how the women in this study experienced their "race" at their respective institutions I asked them to describe what it means to be a Black in a White institution:

Sometimes when I get home at night I am physically exhausted from having to be "up" or "on" all day. "Like a Black cupid doll."

At times it's a real burden to be Black in a White institution because whether it is true or not you feel like your White colleagues are always questioning your creditability and your right to be here; largely because race relations in American permeates everything we do.

The women in this study described being Black in White institutions with words like "tiring," "exhausting," "hard," and "burden" because of the constant need to validate their presence and existence to White colleagues who they felt held negative perceptions of them predicated on race. They also felt that the issue of race permeated their actions both in- and outside of the university. Thus, they were always consciously aware of how they presented or "represented" them-

selves to others in an attempt to refute racial stereotypes, and in doing so sometimes imposed extra burdens on themselves as well.

It's so tiring because every day I have to be alert. I mean, I am always conscious of what I wear, what I say, how I say it, and my body language because the slightest thing could be taken out of context and I could be perceived as overly-aggressive and intimidating.

Sometimes I have to tell myself to just "cool out" because in my trying to debunk their perceptions of Black people, I can go overboard. Like, I won't allow myself to dress casual when I come on campus even though I don't have a scheduled meeting or when I intend to work in my office for the day. And when I am at home and need to run to the store to pick something up, I don't just go out of the house looking any kind of way because there is always the possibility in a small town that I will run into the president of the university or another administrator. So, I am always very conscious of how I present myself. And sometimes I take it too far.

Taken together their comments reveal the conscious struggle these women encountered on a regular basis as they attempted to carve out legitimate spaces for themselves in the academy. Watson (2001) in a similar study on Black female administrators indicated that his respondents "all believed that their racial status add[ed] a burden that they [had to] shoulder everyday" (p. 11). The researcher indicated that the social context his respondents operated in to be successful in the academy required them to be constantly aware "of cognitive processing when communicating with others" (p. 11). Having to be conscious and on alert and having to constantly educate White colleagues of the importance of inclusion can be both psychologically draining as well as physically exhausting, which is evidenced by the comments expressed by the women in the study.

One of the women also alluded to what it must be like for her male colleague who became upset with her in the planning meeting to not have to be consciously aware of race on a regular basis because of his White skin color. In the United States, White males and females have occupied taken-for-granted spaces in society as well as the academy and have been afforded certain rights, privileges, and positions that non-White groups have not had access too because the White race was presumed to be superior to all other races. As a result of "White privilege," White Americans have not had to consciously consider the implications of race and how it affects every aspect of our everyday lives. Peggy McIntosh (1999), a White woman provided these thoughts after she became aware of the privileges she and other members of her race received based on their Whiteness:

"I think Whites [sic] are carefully taught not to recognize White privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. I have come to see White privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks" (p. 358).

On a whole, the Black women in this study as well as other non-White groups in society in general, and predominantly White institutions in particular, do not share these special perks and privileges. In fact, being a member of the Black race is oftentimes an automatic passport to the worst housing districts, grocery stores, health care facilities, educational systems, and employment options that America has to offer.

Black Female Hires

Some of the women in the study felt that race also played a role in their being hired for their current positions. They indicated that while the law no longer mandated affirmative action, their institutions seemed to continue to make "good faith efforts" as stipulated in its guidelines. They also indicated that even when their qualifications suggested they were the best candidates for the position, their race was sometimes perceived by White colleagues as the determining factor in their being selected for the position.

I believe my university really tries to operate by that statement they put at the bottom of ads that says African American women and other minorities are encouraged to apply. After I started I learned that two White candidates, a man and a woman, one who I knew had just as much experience as me was not offered the position. I really believe they wanted a Black person, and I'm okay with that because it shows they're trying at some levels.

Right now it seems en-vogue to have Black people in senior-level administrative positions. Now does that always translate into our having the same type of power and authority that say a White guy might have, no it does not.

Some of the women being hired at their respective institutions because of their Black status is consistent with other Black women who were hired by predominantly White institutions for reasons related to race as opposed to their qualifications through affirmative action mandates (Moses, 1997). For many years Black females were considered "two-for-one" hires because they allowed White

institutions to fulfill two categories under affirmative action – gender and race. However, it is questionable whether their status at the institution permitted them the same participation rights as their majority colleagues (Washington & Harvey, 1989). It is also questionable whether Black women and other minorities actually received the benefits of affirmative action because their current numbers in senior-level faculty and administrative positions do not support the supposedly large number who entered higher education via these executive orders (Wilson, 1995). Kawewe (1997) says that an equal concern associated with Black women being perceived as affirmative action hires is that it devalues their "credentials, past experiences, or potential for meeting high academic standards" (p. 264). Thus, when Black women in the academy are acknowledged, promoted, or rewarded for their accomplishments it is sometimes assumed by their White colleagues that the accolades are a result of her being Black and not because of her significant achievements as would be the case with her White counterparts. On a more personal level, having years of experience and hard work negated by White colleagues who perceive Black women as less qualified than themselves simply because of race takes an emotional toll that eventually impacts their job performance and satisfaction, and ultimately retention.

Black Females Situated in Tokenism

Extant literature indicates that when there is a small number of Black females or other ethnic minorities among the majority group there is a high probability that the minority will become a "showcased centerpiece" (Daniel, 1997; Moses, 1997). In essence, the Black woman becomes a glorified token. Daniel (1997) posits oftentimes because "she is shown off like a trophy even before she has familiarized herself with the institution and her newly acquired position" (p. 175). There is also a greater likelihood that she will fail in the position, which many observers perceive as evidence that she could not perform the job in the first place. I asked the women if there were times when they felt as though their status at their institution was in name only. Most of them laughed and indicated in various ways that what I really should have asked was did they ever feel like a "token" at their institution.

You're asking me in a nice way, do I ever feel like a token here at my university. You don't have to be coy, yes I do.

Sometimes my meeting starts at 7:00 a.m. and ends with a program and dinner around 9:00 and often later. Honestly, it's wearing me out. But there are not that many of us here, so I am always invited to be a keynote speaker or something like that.

Tokenism can be described as a perfunctory effort or symbolic gesture toward racial integration (Kanter, 1977). While the women's institutions may have made "good faith efforts" to diversify their academic communities, the lack of a critical mass takes a toll on the few Black women currently on campus. Thus, there is a potential that the women will lose their individuality and be perceived as the spokesperson for a race of people. Moses (1997) contends that any time there is a small number of ethnic or racial minorities among a majority group there is high likelihood that they will be viewed by members of the dominant group as "tokens, and thus, treated as representatives of their group or as symbols rather than individuals" (p. 26).

Another way the women felt they were used as tokens by their institutions was that they were often asked to act as spokespersons for their race. Some of them felt that because of their small numbers on campus, they were asked to advise members of the academic community on all Black-related programming, events, and to help resolve various crises that arose, as though their White colleagues lacked knowledge of how to proceed in these areas.

When I first started I guess I as much as them was responsible for me being the department token, but I kind of liked the attention. But that played out real fast. Then I started telling them no, I could not participate in this or that, or no, I did not understand something either, or when they would ask me what I thought about some Black thing, I would say, I don't know, what do you think? I could tell they had a hard time accepting that at first.

In some ways these comments indicate that members of the dominant culture at these predominantly White institutions realize they need the Black female administrators in their campus communities. They understand that they alone are not equipped to meet the needs and challenges that an increasingly diverse student population brings. Baraka (1997) indicates that they are now openly acknowledging that differences exist in worldviews, cultures, communication styles, attitudes, values, belief, and how emotions are expressed. In essence, the Black women were treated as tokens in that they were asked to represent the voice of all Black people and provide counsel on Black-related activities, especially since the institutions have not taken steps to fully integrate. But could this also be a small undercover acknowledgement that they need help? Only time will tell, but as one administrator indicated, "I wonder if they ever think about what these changing demographics we keep hearing about really will mean for higher education one day."

Academic Service and the Black Female Administrator

The lack of a critical mass of persons of color in administrative positions has serious implications for the Black female administrators in this study. Their institutions relied heavily upon them to provide high visibility for the university on- and off-campus, which often translated into high service and low task completion unless they forfeited more of their personal time.

Sometimes I feel like whole weeks go by without me being able to clean off things needing attention on my desk because of the committee work and community activities. I knew this would be a significant part of my position, but I had no idea that it would require this level of a personal time commitment.

I may bring some of this [service commitments] on myself, but I feel a sense of responsibility to participate in minority-related activities on campus, especially student events. The literature regarding the needs of Black students and the importance of role models in the lives of students of color on White campuses comes out of my field. So I feel a sense of obligation to be accessible to them because it aids in their persistence.

Turner and Myers' (2000) extensive study on faculty of color in academe support these administrators' concerns regarding heavy service commitments and conclude that faculty of color are often in "Catch-22" position because their White institutions needs their high visibility on committee assignments, but high visibility often detracts from the others expectations of employment, which could prove to be detrimental during performance reviews. While the participants in the Turner and Myer's study represented faculty of color it would stand to reason that other people of color in similar institutional environments may have some of the same experiences regardless of the specific positions they hold because of the issue of race and the lack of a critical mass of persons of color in the academy.

Intercultural Relationships of Black Females in the Academy

Several of the administrators in the study indicated that over the years they had established cordial relationships with their White colleagues and direct reports, but as one dean of students put it "a true sense of collegiality and support" does not exist.

When I first started in my position, I had the most difficult time developing a working relationship with my administrative assistant. She would

forget to give me messages, schedule two meetings at one time, or she would be just plain rude in her interactions with me. I finally had to seat her down and talk about her behavior. She indicated that she had never worked for a "Black" woman before and found it difficult because she did not know what to expect. I asked her had she ever worked for a human being before be it male or female. When she said yes, I told her let's just operate from the standpoint that I'm a human being first, and all that other stuff after that. She finally came around, but my life was hell the first 6 to 9 months.

I would say that I have better relationships with some of the guys more so than the White women. There seems to be this underlying tension going on that I think has to do with my being in a position over them. I won't over-generalize it because I have had some issues with a Black female and some Black and White males too, but I think some White women have a problem taking direction from a Black woman. I don't know what would you call that, a social class issue maybe?

Relationships are largely formed upon mutual respect, validation and support, a bending of individual differences and similarities, coupled with open and honest communication about the needs and expectations of all persons involved. In a work setting, Moses (1997) suggests that relationships fall under the banner of "collegiality" wherein a sense of community and an atmosphere of creativity is fostered, that benefits people both personally and professionally often eludes many Black women in predominantly White institutions. According to Baraka (1997) this dilemma is created primarily because of racist stereotypes, sexist ideology, and superior v. inferior thinking held by some White Americans preventing the possibility of intercultural relationships with Black Americans on our college and university campuses. The narratives of the women in this study seem to support Baraka's (1997) hypothesis. The women's relationships with colleagues and subordinates at their universities were mostly shaped by long-held perceptions and assumptions as opposed to current interactions.

Furthermore, while the literature is steadily growing regarding issues confronting Black and other women of color at predominantly White institutions, rarely does it address the issue of race relations between Black and White women in the academy (Amott & Matthaai, 1996; McKay, 1997; Mulqueen, 1992). Normally the perception is given that woman come in the academy, feminist women that is, for the sake of eradicating sexism in all of our lives. But some of the women's narratives indicate that there is reason for concern about how women of different ethnicities relate to each other in the workplace. These narratives also dispel the myth of there being a presumed "sisterhood" out there that brings

all women together, because it does not exist when race is acknowledged (Davis, 1983; hooks, 1984). With regard to the latter, hooks (1984) noted, "We are taught that our relationships with one another diminish rather than enrich our experiences. We are taught that women are 'natural' enemies, that solidarity will never exist between us because we cannot, should not, and do not bond with one another" (p. 43).

Gender Issues of Black Women in the Academy

In the academy, issues surrounding gender have long been a site of frustration for women that seemingly crossed color lines. Blocking women's access to senior-level administrative and faculty positions appears to be where men join forces because Black, White, and other women of color have all expressed woes and grief perpetrated by male colleagues who have been adamant that the women would not become significant players in higher education (Jones, 1993; Turner, et al., 1999). I asked the women to describe their experiences with their male colleagues. Several of them indicated that "ALL" men, Black and White sometimes have difficulty taking direction from female supervisors as well as seeing women as competent and equal to them in the work place.

One of my greatest challenges was when I outlined the new direction for the department. There was this older guy who it seemed came by my office at least twice a week to ask me about some aspect of the plan or "your vision" as he would call it. He would ask me had I considered this, or had I considered that because he knew that this was probably the first time I had ever been responsible for anything quite this large, so he wanted me to know that I could come to him for help if I needed too. He told me that it could be just between him and me. I finally told him, in the best way I could that I did not need his assistance in establishing "my vision," but if he had any suggestions for implementing aspects of "my vision" in his specific area of responsibility he should feel free to put them in writing. The minute I said that, he stopped coming by so I assumed that his motives were not entirely pure. I am almost certain that he would not have done this if I had been a man.

To really be fair, I would have to say that Black guys in the academy sometimes have just as much issue with Black women as White guys. Sometimes even more so because I think they buy into all this discussion about our being here at their expense.

The experiences the women described with their Black and White male colleagues is supported by other female administrators and faculty alike who have indicated that men in the academic work place do not value women's contribu-

tions, especially Black women who they cannot see as being capable decision-makers, serious scholars, and strong leaders (Kawewe, 1997; Moses, 1997). According to Moses (1997) "it is generally accepted in our culture that men can be powerful, assertive, ambitious, and achieving. Many people, however, are uncomfortable when Black [sic] women exhibit these traits" (p. 28). Particularly since viewing Black women with these traits puts them in the same category as White males, which in essence, debunks the negatives images contrived for them in the popular press (Collins, 1990; Giddings, 1984; hooks, 1983; Mama, 1995; Vaz, 1995). It also calls into question the superiority of all men, but especially White men who are generally considered the primarily leaders in American society. If it becomes accepted that Black women can possess traits akin to White men, than must we re-examine other long-held assumptions and ideologies that separate the sexes.

The Double Whammy: Black and Female in the Academy

One administrator defined being Black and female on a predominantly White campus as a "double whammy." She said it means that, "by the time they finish putting it on you because you are Black they stick it to you for being a female too." I shared her definition with other women in the study and asked them to respond.

Yes, I agree. It's a double whammy. Generally speaking, women are not respected in the academy as decision-makers. But I think it's more than my being a female, I think it's also the fact that I'm a Black female decision-maker that is problematic. From what I have observed, some White Americans, and I stress Americans because other countries don't deal with these racial issues, but they don't believe you should be on the same par [or] the same level as them and certainly not over them.

Don't let anyone tell you that Black women don't have a harder time in the academy than Black men because it's not true. We not only have to struggle to live down this false image that men have of women in general, we have to do it in Black skin, which in itself conjures up all sorts of negative images and stereotypes for White people.

Somehow I would incorporate in that definition that whammy implies you are struck with a series of blows that come at you from all sides, blows that have the potential to knock you off your feet because while they may be anticipated, you don't always see them coming. Wham, they hit you with a bag of marbles because you are a female attempting to play in a game reserved for men. Then wham, at the same time you're taking hits, not only are you trying to play in a reserved game, you wore

the wrong color. You wore Black and all the supposedly serious players wore White. See what I mean, you can't win.

These narratives indicate that race and gender at times converged to create double sources of tension and obstacles for the women. They also indicate that the women were not naïve in thinking the academy offered a level playing field. They were prepared to encounter opposition, and accepted it as a normal feature of employment in a predominantly White institution. As one administrator indicated, "Even though I may be qualified for this position, my evaluation will be based on my being Black first, female second, and qualified last."

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The narratives of the Black female administrators in this study indicated that race and gender were significant in determining the overall experiences the women had in their respective institutions. If the academy is a microcosm of the larger society, then the women's academic experiences also provide a glimpse of how they experience aspects of their private lives in a White male-dominated, gender-stratified society that as a general rule, denigrates Black womanhood (McKay, 1997). In America, racist and sexist acts against Black women occur routinely (Collins, 1990). In most cases, the perpetrator may not even be aware of his or her actions because discriminatory practices have become so ingrained in the infrastructure of our social institutions, including the academy. However since the days of slavery, Black women, like the women in this study have always been aware of and anticipated these prejudicial acts against them (Collins, 1990).

What have we learned from the narratives of the women in this study? We learned that these Black administrators are courageous women. They exposed themselves to critique in hopes that others would become more knowledgeable of the challenges some Black women encounter in higher education and join the fight to eradicate racism and sexism against women in general, and especially Black women who have not fared well in some predominantly White institutions. With regard to how their experiences were shaped by race and gender, we learned that a number of the women were hired by their respective institutions primarily because of their race and/or gender, not necessarily because of their qualifications to perform the job. We learned that as a result of issues related to race and gender, some of the women were not able to establish strong relationships with White colleagues, experienced alienation and isolation, performed unusual amounts of service often at a personal expense, and sometimes imposed unnecessary rules and restrictions upon themselves in an attempt to debunk negative stereotypes and images. Unfortunately, we also learned that the

women in this study had unpleasant academic experiences similar to those that other Black women have reported in earlier studies (Holmes, 1999; McKay, 1997; Watson, 2001; Wolfman, 1997).

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Gender-Based Salary Differences in African American Senior Student Affairs Officers

Robert D. Reason, Ph.D.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the representation and salary differences related to gender for African American Senior Student Affairs Officers (SSAOs). An examination of salary data from a national survey revealed that gender and institutional size significantly affect mean SSAO salary for African American respondents. African American women SSAOs make significantly less than African American men. Further, women tend to work at smaller institutions, which pay significantly lower salaries than larger institutions.

People of color, especially women of color, in high-level administrative positions face multiple challenges (Johnson, 1998). Richards (1994), in a powerfully written essay, detailed her mother's admonition: "Blacks had to be 'five times as competent as Whites to progress half as far'" (p. 38). Beyond proving themselves competent, African Americans often must function as mentors and role models for younger African American administrators (Jackson, 2002) and students (Bridges, 1996; Brown & Globetti, 1991; Jackson & Flowers, in press; Johnson, 1998).

African American women in administrative positions are expected to perform double duty as role models on college campuses (Johnson, 1998). Johnson concluded that African American women were obliged to "reach across racial and gender boundaries" (p. 55) to serve as mentors to all women including people of color. According to Drummond (1995), administrators of color positively affect the recruitment and retention of students of color. Further, Konrad and Pfeffer (1991) indicated that representation of women and people of color in college and university administration was positively correlated with the educational

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outcomes of female students and students of color. Jackson and Flowers (in press) questioned whether the compensation for administrators of color was commensurate with the extra expectations and increased educational benefits.

The purpose of this study was to examine the representation and salary differences related to gender for African American Senior Student Affairs Officers (SSAOs). As the most senior administrators in student affairs, SSAOs are highly visible leaders on college campuses and tacitly understood to perform the "extra" functions described above. The question of whether African American women SSAOs are represented at proportional levels and compensated at equitable rates drove this inquiry. To achieve the stated purpose, this inquiry attempted to answer the following questions: (a) to what degree are African Americans represented as SSOAs, controlling for gender; and (b) does gender influence salary levels for African American SSAOs?

LITERATURE REVIEW

An understanding of previous research on representation and salary equity for SSAOs is important to conceptualizing this current inquiry. The literature reviewed for this study therefore relates to two major areas. First, the current understanding of gender and racial representation in student affairs administration is reviewed followed by research related to salary equity in higher education administration, focusing mainly, but not exclusively on SSAOs. Of particular note is the paucity of recent empirical research that examines salary issues for African American women administrators.

Representation in Leadership Positions

Women do not assume senior leadership positions in student affairs at proportional rates as men (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). In a recent survey by the National Association for Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) (2000), women accounted for the majority of directors in student health (78.4%), career development (61%), financial aid (59.8%), and registrars (55.5%). Women also were more likely to be Assistant SSAOs (62.9%) or to be Assistant Dean of Students (61%). However, women account for only approximately 40% of SSAOs and Deans of Students. Although strides have been made in representation since the lack of women in student affairs leadership first was discussed (Hamrick & Carlisle, 1990; McEwen, Engstrom, & Williams, 1990), gender equity does not yet exist. Several authors (Blackhurst, 2000; Blackhurst, Brandt, & Kalinouski, 1998; Earwood-Smith, Jordan-Cox, Hudson, & Smith, 1990; Kulis, 1997) have discussed what Hamrick and Carlisle (1990) deemed the "feminization" of student affairs. Feminization occurs when student affairs positions are devalued concurrent with a rise in the number of women assuming those positions. The

feminization appears to have the structural effect of segregating positions by gender with the lower-power, lower-paying positions designated for women. SSAO positions, as higher-power, higher-paying positions, are tacitly reserved for men. Recent research has validated this understanding (Walker, Reason, & Robinson, in press).

Trends in African American representation in higher education administration seem to parallel the trends of women discussed above. Despite claims to the contrary (Bridges, 1996), little progress has been made for African American administrators in higher education (Drummond, 1995; Harvey, 2001). According to Drummond, any increase in African American representation made over the last decade came in "positions which were created for them, or in positions into which they are attracted by service motives which enable them to assist their minority peers in some manner" (p. 45). This phenomenon may serve to further segregate student affairs positions into those for professionals of color and positions earmarked for White professionals (Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991). Further, this finding suggests professionals of color may not be entering the senior levels at rates proportional to their representation elsewhere in student affairs. According to the 2000 NASPA survey, African American administrators comprised only 8.4% of all student affairs leaders at the Director-level, Dean-level, or SSAO-level. Of the 3,645 student affairs administrators accounted for in the overall survey, only 308 were identified as African American, compared with 3,133 (86%) identified as White.

The NASPA (2000) numbers were even more discouraging when considering only SSAOs in the sample. Only 43 of the 411 SSAOs (10.5%) in the sample self-identified as African American. This represented a decrease from Drummond's (1995) findings, in which 15.6% of SSAOs were African American. In fact, the 10.5% reported in the NASPA survey was lower than the 12.6% in 1986, as reported by Drummond. This is obviously a discouraging trend that must be addressed.

Salary Equity

Student affairs administrators' salaries continue to lag behind salaries of other higher education professionals (Kellogg, 2001; Livey, 2000). With more women and people of color entering the student affairs profession (Hamrick & Carlisle, 1990; McEwen, Engstrom, & Williams, 1990), the inequity in salaries gives rise to concern about discrimination (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). Respondents in Blackhurst's (2000) study also raised concerns about gender and racial discrimination related to salary inequity. The empirical evidence regarding salary for SSAOs of color may not fully support the conclusion that salary dis-

crimination exists. Recent research (Reason Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Walker, Reason, & Robinson, in press) indicated that SSAOs of color, specifically African American males (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002), earned significantly higher salaries than their White counterparts. A more appropriate conclusion might be that, once African Americans achieve SSAO levels, they appear to be compensated relatively fairly. However, as noted earlier, many obstacles still exist to the ascension of African Americans to senior levels of administration.

The mere perception of discrimination; however, negatively affects job satisfaction for SSAOs. Blackhurst (2000) in a study of 307 women student affairs professionals, found that while overall career satisfaction was relatively high, women of color reported significantly less satisfaction. This was especially true for African American and Latina women. Women of color also perceived more sex discrimination than White women in the study. Finally, perceived discrimination, especially related to salary equity, was linked to attrition from the profession. Student affairs researchers and policy makers concerned with maintaining diverse leadership in student affairs must fully understand the effects of racial and gender discrimination. Blackhurst (2000) concluded that "educational efforts [must] emphasize the relationship between racial and gender stereotypes and how they may combine to create unsupportive work environments for women of color" (p. 411). The current study attempts to inform these educational efforts by examining the gender-based salary inequity among African American SSAOs.

Method

This study utilized both descriptive and inferential statistics to analyze these data. Simple frequency analyses were computed to understand the distribution of all variables of interest. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) model was estimated to examine mean SSAOs salary differences based on the independent variables described below.

Instrument

Data for this article were gathered using the 1999-2000 NASPA Salary Survey implemented during the fall of 1999 (NASPA Research Division, 2000). The survey solicited institutional and personal data for each of 15 functional areas of responsibility defined by NASPA. Initially, 1,198 surveys were mailed to SSAOs at NASPA member institutions. A response rate of 35% was attained (n = 419). Respondents to this survey administration appear to be representative of SSAOs nationally (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002).

Sample

The sample for this study consisted of 43 African American SSAOs who completed the NASPA survey. Variables of interest included the continuous variables SSAO salary and length of time in years the SSAO has held his or her current position. The categorical variables of interest included the variables SSAO gender and highest degree earned. Institutional-level categorical variables included institutional size as indicated by head-count enrollment in fall 1997, classification as college or university, and source of support (public or private).

Data Analysis

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was the primary statistical procedure utilized for this study. After an initial analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed that the covariate, length of time in SSAO position, failed to reach a statistically significant level, it was removed in favor of an ANOVA. The ANOVA procedure allowed the researcher to examine the effects of the independent variables on mean salary. For all analyses, alpha was established at the conventional level of .05. If the F ratio was determined to be statistically significant, the eta-squared (η^2) effect size measure related to the significant independent variable was computed. Eta-squared statistics provide an objective measure of the strength of independent variables by determining the percentage of the variance in the dependent variable attributable to each independent variable (Howell, 2002).

RESULTS

The sample included 22 women (52.4%) and 20 men (47.6%). Men in the sample earned a mean salary of \$128,650 ($SD = \$29,629$). The women SSAOs earned, on average, \$96,672 ($SD = \$27,945$), approximately \$32,000 less than the men. Of the 22 women in the sample, 20 (87.0%) had earned Ph.D./Ed.D. degrees, while 70% ($n = 14$) of the men held doctoral degrees. Men in the sample held their current positions an average of 8.7 years ($SD = 6.46$), approximately 4.2 years longer than the women in the sample ($M = 4.5$; $SD = 4.14$). An independent samples t-test revealed a statistically significant difference in the average years as SSAO ($t(31.5) = -2.48, p < .05$).

Table 1		
Means and Frequencies of Survey Sample		
Item	Female	Male
	\$96,672	\$128,650
Salary (SD)	(\$27,946)	(\$29,627)
Highest Degree Earned		
Ph.D/Ed.D	20	14
MA/MS	3	2
BA/BS	0	1
Other	0	3
Years in Current Position (SD)		
	4.55 (4.14)	8.72 (6.46)
Institutional Type		
University	11	15
College	8	5
2-Year	4	0
Source of Support		
Public	15	16
Private	8	3
Enrollment		
Under 1,000	3	1
1,000 - 2,499	6	1
2,500 - 4,999	1	3
5,000 - 9,999	3	0
10,000 - 19,999	6	4
20,000 - 29,999	2	4
Over 30,000	1	7

The sample represented 2-year and 4-year institutions. Of those in 4-year institutions, 13 classified their institutions as "colleges" and 26 as "universities." Three-quarters of the men ($n = 15$) classified their institutions as universities, while half ($n = 11$) of the women indicated the same. The overall ANOVA revealed a statistically significant difference in the mean salary of SSAOs based on the independent variables ($F(11, 30) = 6.20, p < .001$), accounting for approximately 58% of the variance in the dependent variable ($\eta^2 = .583$). Two independent variables reach levels of significance: (1) gender; and (2) institutional size.

Table 2			
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE. MEAN SALARY			
	F	p	Π^2
Gender	4.63	0.040*	0.134
Highest Degree	0.28	0.839	
Institutional Size	4.98	< .001**	0.499
* p. < .05, ** p. < .001			

Mean salary of women and men differed significantly ($F(1, 30) = 4.63, p < .05$). African American women receive, on average, \$31,978 less than men, even after controlling for all other independent variables. Gender accounted for slightly more than 13% of the variance in mean salary ($n^2 = .134$). Institutional size also reached statistical significance ($F(6, 30) = 4.976, p = .001$). Institutional size accounted for almost 50% of the variance ($n^2 = .499$) in mean SSAO salary, indicating a strong positive relationship between institutional size and mean SSAO salary. Since the relationship between institutional size and salary was positive, the mean salary for SSAOs increased as institutional size increased.

Based on these initial results, a Chi-square (χ^2) analysis also was completed to explore the relationship between gender and institutional size. As Table 1 indicates, institutional size was parceled into seven categories ranging from "under 1,000" to "over 30,000." The chi-square analysis revealed a statistically significant relationship between the two variables ($\chi^2(6) = 14.08, p < .05$). The eta-squared associated with this nominal-by-interval chi-square was approximately 17% ($n^2 = .171$). Women in this sample therefore were more likely to be SSAOs at smaller institutions, while men were more likely at larger institutions. When a similar chi-square analysis was conducted on the larger NASPA dataset ($n = 419$) that included SSAOs of all racial categories, no significant relationship was found between gender and institutional size ($\chi^2(6) = 12.34, p > .05$). The relationship between women SSAOs and smaller institutions appears to hold for African American women, but not all women.

LIMITATIONS

Two major limitations must be noted when drawing conclusions from the current study. While the relatively small number of African American SSAOs ($n = 43$) in the current study limits the generalizability of any results discussed herein, the sample is large enough to yield accurate findings (Green, Salkind, & Akey, 2000). In a study about representational equity; however, the small number of African American SSAOs is a finding in itself. Second, as with many studies about salary inequity, this inquiry examined mean salaries. When using an aggregated mean in the dependent variable many individual differences are lost. For both these reasons, the discussion below is tempered.

DISCUSSION

In salary equity research, a statistically significant difference between two groups of people (e.g., men and women) reveals possible discrimination (Marx Ferree & McQuillan, 1998). The statistically significant relationship between gender and salary for African American SSAOs lends credence to the perception that sex discrimination exists (Blackhurst, 2000), at least for the population under consideration. Previous research that included SSAOs of all racial and ethnic backgrounds (Reason, Walker & Robinson, 2002) revealed no statistical relationship between gender and SSAO salary. African American women SSAOs appear to face a double obstacle to salary equity. First, in comparison to African American men, women make significantly less money based on gender, holding other variables constant. Second, African American women tend to work at smaller, lower-paying colleges and universities than their male counterparts. These two circumstances appear to keep African American women SSAOs from achieving salary equality with African American men, and SSAOs in general (Reason, Walker & Robinson, 2002).

What must be done? Other researchers (Earwood-Smith, Jordan-Cox, Hudson, & Smith, 1990) suggested that women and people of color should pursue terminal degrees "as soon as possible" (p. 300) in order to compete for higher paying positions. Previous research (Reason, Walker & Robinson, 2002) found that African American women SSAOs with MA/MS degrees earned considerably smaller salaries than male SSAOs with MA/MS or female SSAOs with terminal degrees. Although continued education still may be appropriate advice for any young professionals pursuing SSAO positions, the current study negates some of the reasoning that underlies it. Higher degrees did not translate into higher salaries for the women (or men) in this sample.

Focusing on further education for African American women pursuing SSAO positions assumes these women bear the onus for correcting the salary inequity

they face. The answer to the salary inequity found in this study lies with the institutions, not the individual SSAOs. First, higher education institutions must address the existing gender and racial inequality in SSAO salary. A thorough review of SSAO salaries at comparable institutions, using documents such as the NASPA Salary Survey Comprehensive Report (2000), is a first step. This review of salary data should be coupled with continued sensitivity training on issues of discrimination, (Blackhurst, 2000). Institutions then must strive to eliminate salary differences related to individual demographic variables such as gender and race/ethnicity through increasing SSAO salaries to levels comparable to SSAOs at peer institutions.

The results of this analysis support Drummond's (1995) call to "formulate specific programs to move minority administrators into positions of...authority" (p. 47), although like Drummond's work the current study lends little insight into what these programs should include. Previous research (Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Sagaria, 1988) that highlighted the tendency of institutions to fill positions with people of similar race and gender as the incumbents, however, supports the need to take affirmative steps toward the recruitment and retention of African American SSAOs rather than wait for change to occur without intervention. Jackson and Flowers (in press) posited a comprehensive series of recommendations to improve the recruitment and retention of African American student affairs administrators. Their suggestions included a careful review of current recruitment and retention processes for indications of bias; targeted elimination of any biases in the process; the development of structural supports such as mentoring; the empowerment of current African American administrators to effect policy change; and the institution of an equitable salary system.

Higher education policy makers and researchers also must examine what influences gender segregation at institutions of different sizes. Are there reasons African-American women choose to work at smaller schools? Are there impediments to women working at large, research-oriented universities that can be overcome? The current study suggests a structural obstacle to women working at larger, higher paying institutions. One must ask if student affairs is being "feminized" (Hamrick & Carlisle, 1990) based on institutional size as well as specific professional positions. Finally, research similar to the inquiry reported in this study should be repeated. The difference in mean years as SSAOs reported by men (8.7 years) and women (4.5 years) in this sample may indicate initial stages of change are underway. If African American women are just now gaining access to SSAO positions, as the mean years in current position variable suggests, changes in representation and salary equity for African American women SSAOs may begin to occur. Researchers should reexamine issues of

representation and equity for African American women in the future to note any changes that may be taking place as African American women SSAOs become more established.

CONCLUSION

Davis (1994) concluded, "most minorities are besieged with daily messages and actions which reflect the propensity of the dominant society to invalidate their heritage, worth and contribution" (p. 122). Given the findings of this study, her conclusion seems particularly apropos for African American women in senior leadership positions in student affairs administration. Salary for African American female SSAOs remains significantly lower than African American males in similar positions, as well as White SSAOs (Reason, Walker & Robinson, 2002). African American women SSAOs appeared to face a dual obstacle to salary equity. First, African American women SSAOs earn less salary based on their gender. Second, African American women work at smaller, lower-paying institutions at disproportionately higher rates than African American men. These two factors combine to lower the mean salary of SSAOs.

Although strides have been made on many fronts for African American administrators (Bridges, 1996), salary equity for African American women at the SSAO level appears to be a distant ideal. To achieve this goal a two-pronged approach is necessary. Policies must directly address the inequity in compensation. Further, higher education decision makers must address the structural issues that segregate African American women from leadership positions at larger college and universities where pay is proportionately higher.

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The Impact of Title IX on Group Representation in Athletic Administration: A Trend Analysis of NCAA Institutions

Joy L. Gaston, Ph.D.

Abstract

This study focused on the underrepresentation of African Americans in athletic administration at predominantly White institutions. This issue was examined through a secondary analysis of national data on the demographic trends of the National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) member institutions. The lack of gains experienced by African Americans was juxtaposed to White male dominance and increased representation of White females as a result of Title IX.

Three decades post affirmative action and Title IX, racial and gender inequalities still exist in higher education (Sagaria, 2002). Particularly, African Americans continue to be underrepresented in faculty and administrative positions at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) (Jackson, 2001; Sagaria, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000). Within the past decade, evidence suggests that White men dominate executive, administrative, and managerial staff positions, holding 47% of such appointments (Sagaria, 2002). In addition, White women have made progress, representing 38% of these positions, while people of color have not made such gains. African American men represent 4%, and African American women represent 5% of administrative positions within colleges and universities (Sagaria, 2002). There is also a tendency for African Americans to hold lower level positions within the administrative hierarchy (Jackson, 2001).

The administration at most colleges and universities is structured around three functions: academic affairs, student affairs, and administrative affairs (Jackson, 2001). Intercollegiate athletics is an area within student affairs administration that has received little attention in the literature concerning the

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underrepresentation of African Americans. The number of African American student-athletes at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) has increased dramatically over the last three decades. Unfortunately, the same is not true for African American athletic administrators. According to Hill and Murry (1998) "Blacks make up more than half of all football players currently on athletic scholarships at the nation's largest colleges and universities. But there are almost no Black head coaches in these major programs" (p. 122). The disproportionate representation of African American athletic administrators continues to be a problem.

Since 1972, Title IX has had an enormous influence on the presence of women in college sports, both at the participation and administrative levels (Abney & Richey, 1992; Hutchens & Townsend, 1998). However, initiatives devoted to increasing the number of African Americans in athletic administration have been limited. This study examined this issue through an analysis of current data on demographic trends among athletic personnel at National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) affiliate institutions.

Barriers to the Advancement of African Americans in Athletic Administration

Peer networks, such as the old boy network, are structural barriers that inhibit the representation of African Americans in athletic administration. A reporter in Milverstedt's (1988) article stated that "in both professional and college sports, the 'old boy network' has ruled things, making all their decisions behind the scenes..." (p. 24). It is this same network that closes the door of opportunity in the faces of African Americans and perpetuates the dominance of White males in athletic administration. Farrell (1987) argued over a decade ago for institutions to "get away from the buddy system and use an affirmative action plan...Institutions have to change attitudes, awareness, and understanding" (p. 40). A professor in Suggs' (2002) article proposed that "if we put as much effort into identifying qualified minority candidates [for administrative and coaching jobs] as we do in identifying prospective minority student-athletes, we would not have this problem today" (p. A53).

Structural barriers such as tokenism and isolation also limit the presence of African American athletic administrators. Kanter (1977) explored issues encountered by token hires and the negative effects such status has on an individual's ability to succeed in the workplace. Kanter defined the term "token" as a member of a subgroup representing less than 15% of a population. Her research suggests that token hires received heightened attention, which created added pressure to perform well on the job. Token status also creates feelings of isolation from

informal social and professional networks.

Feelings of isolation, in turn, lead to exaggerated differences between dominant and minority groups in the workplace. In a study of female athletic administrators and coaches, Thorngren (1990) discussed the negative impact of isolation. As Thorngren warned, "the effect of isolation may be stress-producing if it results in exclusion from peer groups and policy formation or if it discourages support of one's program through assertive dialogue" (p. 57). The potential stress caused by isolation can lead to decreased performance and job dissatisfaction, and eventually job termination.

Abney and Richey (1991) found that one of the most frequently cited obstacles for African American females in athletic administration at PWIs was the notion of "being Black" (p. 21). For the women in their study, being Black translated into being the "official spokesperson" for all minorities on all issues (p. 21). The Black women in their study also felt the negative consequences and pressures of being a token hire. Black women administrators reported that they were always called upon to be the representative on committees and in other areas of athletic administration, much more so than their non-Black colleagues. Other negative consequences of tokenism, in addition to social isolation and performance pressures, included sexual harassment, wage inequities, social isolation, and limited mobility for advancement (Kanter, 1977).

Lack of role models and mentors have also been documented as barriers to the advancement of African Americans in administration (Abney & Richey, 1991; Crase, 1994; Priest, 1990; Smith, 1993). Bridges (1996) stated that:

For professionals to become successful, learning and knowledge must be shared. African American professionals must learn to appropriately share their attitudes and perceptions with future African American professionals; the success of the African American community depends on this process of sharing...By sharing what they know, a support system can be built and strengthened that can withstand and eliminate racism within institutions and organizations (p. 750).

Because of the low numbers of African American athletic administrators, there are likely to be few at the same institution to participate in knowledge sharing. Networking becomes critical in such circumstances, in order to find support outside of one's own institution. In a discussion on African American administrators at PWIs, Crase (1994) stressed the importance of visible role models to the success of African American administrators. Moreover, the intentional recruitment of African Americans, in turn, produces a multicultural environment that is attractive to other minorities. An institution without visible minorities or

a commitment to diversity is likely to deter other minorities from applying for potential employment opportunities.

Conceptual Framework

Two major constructs are used to set the context for this study: (1) a structural framework through which barriers to advancement can be viewed; and (2) the impact of Title IX on group representation. In examining the underrepresentation of African Americans in athletic administration, barriers such as the old boy network, tokenism, isolation, and a lack of role models and mentors must be considered (Abney & Richey, 1991; Delano, 1990; Milverstedt, 1988; Thorngren, 1990). Dismantling institutional and cultural barriers experienced by African American administrators is not an easy task; however, these barriers must be deconstructed in order to address the issue. According to Delano (1990) "common perceptions of why [the lack of women in athletic administration] exists falls into two main levels of analysis: individual and micro-structural" (p. 53). Although Delano's article focused on women in athletic leadership positions, her framework is applicable to African Americans in athletic administration.

Individual analysis ignores factors that are socially constructed and instead appears to place the blame on the individual for his/her lack of success and advancement in the profession. Some examples of individual barriers are: lack of qualified minorities; perceived incompetence of minorities in leadership positions; and failure of minorities to apply for positions. These explanations disregard external factors that contribute to the problem and divert the blame to the individual. As such, solutions to solve the problem of underrepresentation are directed toward the individual and not the structural barriers that impede the progress of African Americans in the workplace.

The micro-structural level of analysis examines "patterns of human relationships in specific organizations" that hinder the progress of underrepresented groups (Delano, 1990, p. 53). Examples found at the micro-structural level include: perpetuation of the old boy network; discrimination; biased hiring practices; and lack of support and role models. These explanations re-focus the blame from the individual to the cultural structure of institutions. Changes must occur at the micro-structural level and above to improve the representation of African Americans in athletic administration.

At the macro-structural level, Delano (1991) refers to common "isms" that hinder the advancement of women in leadership positions, such as racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression. These issues are complex and require intervention at high levels to impact change. The macro-structural level goes beyond the individual and institutional micro-structural levels of analysis to in-

clude the legislative and institutional governing bodies that mandate change against oppressive organizational behaviors. Legislation such as Title IX and affirmative action are both examples of macro-level initiatives needed to increase group representation in all sectors of education and society.

According to the Education Amendments of 1972, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) is responsible for interpreting Title IX and created a three-part test to ensure institutional compliance: (1) provision of athletic opportunities for women in proportion to their enrollment at individual institutions; (2) demonstration of a history of expansion and inclusion of women in sport; or (3) evidence that the existing programs meet the interest and abilities of women in sports. All institutional programs, including athletics, that receive federal funding, must meet at least one aspect of the three-part test to be in compliance with Title IX.

Although Title IX was passed in 1972, it was met with great opposition from the NCAA in subsequent years. The NCAA made several attempts to gain exemption status from the provisions of Title IX (Zimbalist, 1999). One of the first attempts occurred in 1974 when the NCAA lobbied to exclude revenue sports, such as football and men's basketball, from the provisions of Title IX. The next attempt occurred in 1980 in the legal case of the *NCAA v. Califano*. The argument posed by the NCAA in this case was that Title IX promoted a quota system, which violated the Fifth Amendment. The NCAA failed at both attempts to gain exemption under Title IX.

Title IX has had a dramatic impact on college sports, requiring athletic departments to provide equal opportunities for women in sports. The pressure on athletic departments to meet the demands of Title IX has also benefited women in coaching and administration. As a result of Title IX, the literature on women in athletics has grown tremendously. Unfortunately, the literature is almost obsolete concerning the underrepresentation of African Americans in athletic administration. This study examined the issue from a macro-structural perspective, and focused on the effect of Title IX on the underrepresentation of African Americans in athletic administration.

Methods

This study used a descriptive analysis approach to examine gender and racial trends in athletic administration of NCAA institutions over time. To gain a clear understanding of the national representation of African Americans in athletic administration post Title IX and affirmative action, it was necessary to

examine both past and present data. The major focus was on the increase or decrease in racial and gender representation between 1995 and 1999.

Data Source

The Minority Opportunities and Interests Committee (MOIC) was formed by the NCAA to collect demographic data from NCAA member institutions. The MOIC has been collecting data biennially since 1995 on the race and gender of NCAA athletic personnel and coaches. Data were collected by the MOIC from NCAA member institutions on a voluntary basis; therefore, the design of the study was not longitudinal, but cross-sectional. In 1995, a total of 953 responses were received out of a possible 985, for a response rate of 96.8%. In 1999, the total number of possible responses increased to 1,041. However, only 985 were received, for a response rate of 94.6%. These data consisted of responses from all three divisions within the NCAA. The largest number of responses in both 1995 and 1999 came from Division III institutions, 39.9% and 31.8% respectively.

Data Analysis

These data were arranged into three categories: (1) athletic administrators; (2) coaches; and (3) assistant coaches. For the purpose of this study, only athletic administrators were considered in the analyses. Further, historically Black institutions were excluded from the analyses because this study focused on group representation at PWIs. Data were reorganized into six areas: (1) Director of Athletics; (2) Associate Athletic Directors; (3) Assistant Athletic Directors; (4) Senior Women Administrators; (5) Academic Advisors; and (6) Other Management Positions¹.

The actual number of administrators in each category was reported for each year in which data were collected. Percentages were calculated for each category and used to report the increase or decrease in administrators between 1995 and 1999. Because these data were cross-sectional in nature, a formula² was used to calculate the change in percent from 1995 to 1999.

Results

The 1995 report shows that White males dominated athletic administration (See Table 1). Out of 8,006 total athletic administrators in 1995, 59% were White males; 35% White females; 3% African American males; and 1% African American females. The overwhelming majority of athletic directors were White males.

¹ The Other Management Positions category comprised Business Manager, Compliance Officer, Fundraiser and Development Manager, Marketing and Promotions Manager, Sports Information Director, Head Athletic Trainer and Assistant or Associate Athletic Trainer.

² 1999 Percent - 1995 Percent = Change in Time; Percent Change = Change in Time/ 1995 Percent

Out of 884 athletic director positions, White males held 709; White females held 159; African American males held 23; and African American females held 2. A large number of White females held senior woman administrator positions, which were created to integrate women into athletic administration. Out of 521 senior woman administrator positions, White females held 483, compared to 17 held by African American females. Curiously, White males held 17 of the senior woman administrator positions.

Table 1. Overall Figures of Athletic Administrators in 1995

Position	n	White		African American		Other Minority	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Director of Athletics	884	709	140	22	2	7	4
Associate Athletic Director	593	342	207	28	7	8	1
Assistant Athletic Director	864	537	258	46	12	8	3
Senior Woman Administrator	521	17	483	0	17	0	4
Academic Advisor	633	225	277	77	37	7	10
Other Management Position	4511	2896	1440	54	37	57	27
Total	8006	4726	2805	227	112	87	49

Most of the African Americans in athletic administration were concentrated in lower level administrative positions, such as academic advisor. The largest number of African American men (34%) was reported in the academic advisor position. African American women were largely represented in academic advising and other management positions. Almost equal to African American men, 33% of African American females were academic advisors.

Table 2 shows the numbers of athletic administrators by race and gender from the 1999 report. The total number of athletic administration positions increased from 8,006 in 1995 to 10,871 in 1999. Fifty-seven percent of all athletic administrative positions were held by White males; 35% by White females; 3% by African American males; and 2% by African American females. Out of 948 athletic director positions, 742 were held by White males; 159 by White females; 23 by African American males; and 5 by African American females. White

females held the majority of senior woman administrator positions. Out of 779 of these positions, 719 were held by White females, compared to 35 by African American females, and 6 by White males. Again, African Americans were most represented in the academic advisor positions. Thirty-four percent of all African American males were academic advisors. Twenty-nine percent of all African American females were academic advisors; however, 39% were in other administrative positions.

Table 2. Overall Figures of Athletic Administrators in 1999

Position	n	White		African American		Other Minority	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Director of Athletics	948	742	159	23	5	17	2
Associate Athletic Director	881	522	295	34	15	9	6
Assistant Athletic Director	1260	780	368	65	17	17	13
Senior Woman Administrator	779	6	719	0	35	4	15
Academic Advisor	933	327	387	117	66	17	19
Other Management Position	6070	3770	1921	107	87	111	74
Overall	10871	6147	3849	346	225	175	129

Table 3 includes percentage change rates from 1995 to 1999 of athletic personnel by race and gender. Overall, the percentage of White males in athletic administration decreased 3%. The overall percentages of White females and African American males in athletic administration did not change. African American females in athletic administration increased 1%. White males experienced a decrease in percentage in every category except associate athletic director. White females also experienced a decrease in every category, except for director of athletics. The percentage of White female athletic directors increased 6.3%.

Table 3.
Percent Change Rates for Athletic Administrators
between 1995 and 1999

Position	White		African American		Other Minority	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Director of Athletics	-2.4	+6.3	-4.0	---	---	-60.0
Associate Athletic Director	+2.7	-4.0	-17.0	+41.7	-23.1	---
Assistant Athletic Director	-0.4	-2.2	-1.9	-0.1	+44.4	---
Senior Woman Administrator	-75.8	-0.4	0.0	+36.3	---	---
Academic Advisor	-1.4	-5.3	+2.5	+22.4	+63.6	+25.0
Other Management Position	-3.3	-0.9	-10.0	+75.0	+38.5	---
Total	-3.4	0.0	0.0	+1.0	+1.0	0.0

Note: Dashes indicate inability to calculate change in percent due to insignificant values.

African American males also experienced a decrease in percentage in every category except for one. The percentage of African American male athletic directors decreased 4%; associate athletic directors decreased 17%; assistant athletic directors decreased 1.9%; and other management positions decreased 10%. The only increase for African American males was in academic advising. Contrarily, African American women experienced an increase in athletic administration. The percentage of African American female associate athletic directors increased 41.7%; senior woman administrators increased 33.6%; academic advisors increased 22.4%; and other management positions increased 75%. It is important to note that the overall increase experienced by African American females was 1%. The percentage change rates were somewhat inflated because the actual numbers in 1995 were low. The numbers in 1999 were low as well, but much higher compared to 1995.

CONCLUSION

The results of the descriptive analysis appear to be in line with the literature on the plight of African Americans in administrative positions at PWIs. These data support that African Americans are underrepresented in athletic administration and the majority hold lower level administrative positions. In some cases, the

percentages of African American females and other minorities³ were so low that the change in percentage could not be calculated.

It is clear that White males continue to dominate athletic administration at PWIs. The large numbers of White males in senior level administrative positions are an indication that the old boy network continues to benefit White males. Although White females did not experience an overall increase in representation between 1995 and 1999, they did experience an increase in obtaining senior level administrative positions. For example, White female athletic directors increased 6.3% from 1995 to 1999.

African American females appear to have made the largest total gains compared to all groups between 1995 and 1999. The numbers of African American female athletic directors were not different from zero; therefore, a change percentage could not be calculated. However, African American females experienced increases in all other administrative categories except for one, assistant athletic directors. Although the increase in percentage appeared to be substantial, the overall figures are rather low. For example, African American females experienced a 41.7% increase in associate athletic director positions, which translates into a total of 15 positions in 1999, rather than 7 in 1995.

African American males did not experience any gains in administrative positions between 1995 and 1999. The only area in which African American males increased in representation was in the academic advisor position. The lack of increase of African American males in athletic administration is problematic, especially considering the large number of African American males that participate in college sports. One of the most interesting observations was that other groups experienced some form of increase, but African American males did not.

IMPLICATIONS

A question that comes to mind is did the gains experienced by White females as a result of Title IX occur at the expense of African Americans? Clearly, Title IX has played a large part in the progress that White females have made. However, African Americans and other minorities have not largely benefited from these advances, except for the increases by gender. The presence of African Americans in athletic administration has likely occurred as a result of affirmative action (Lanier, 1997), but not to the extent that Title IX has increased opportunities for women. While Title IX has integrated women into the athletic arena, there is still a need for affirmative programs or other innovative initiatives to further the integration beyond women to include African Americans and other minorities.

³ Other minorities in this study consisted of Asians, Hispanic, and Native Americans.

The results of these analyses speak strongly to the need to increase the representation of African Americans in athletic administration. One way to achieve this goal is to implement an alternative plan to increase racial diversity, given the recent attacks on affirmative action. In the event that affirmative action is overturned, institutions must make a concerted effort to favor the inherent added value in creating diversity in the workplace. For this to happen, qualified African Americans must be sought out and included in the pool of applicants for administrative searches. African Americans must also be considered for promotions and advancement in the field. To ensure that there are enough qualified African American applicants, the MOIC can take their initiatives a step further by developing a national database of African American athletic administrators, in addition to collecting demographic data.

Another strategy to increase the representation of African Americans in athletic administration is to provide mentoring and training opportunities for aspiring professionals. Talented African American student athletes should be encouraged to pursue athletic administration as a career. The NCAA offers minority scholarships to pursue graduate education in athletic administration or a related field. The NCAA also has an internship program for young professionals to learn about and gain practical experience in the field. Individual athletic departments can also create such opportunities targeted toward African Americans and other minorities.

Finally, the results of this study add to the limited research on African Americans in athletic administration. This study serves as a stimulus for future research to expand the literature on this topic. Not much is known about the experiences of African Americans in athletic administration, especially African American males. Research on this topic should extend beyond what we already know and focus on ways to increase, retain, and advance African Americans in athletic administration at PWIs.

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African American Student Affairs Professionals in Community College Settings: A Commentary for Future Research

Eboni M. Zamani, Ph.D.

Abstract

Student affairs is one facet within colleges and universities that is generally thought to be at the forefront in responding to the changing nature of collegiate life. Correspondingly, student affairs practitioners are expected to provide for a host of various student backgrounds. Although the role of student affairs continues to expand as two- and four-year institutions are more heterogeneously populated, little is known about African American student affairs professionals in two-year settings. This commentary provides an overview of the extant literature concerning postsecondary participation of African American students as well as the role and functions of student affairs in community college settings with particular attention paid to African American student affairs professionals.

As the landscape of higher education is presently shifting due to increasing diversity among college students, two-year institutions¹ have been responsive in opening the doors to postsecondary study for diverse student groups (Cohen & Brawer, 2002; Dungy, 1999). While access may be readily granted via community college's open admissions, the full promotion of student success and learning (particularly among commonly marginalized groups) is debatable (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994). Higher education personnel in student affairs² roles are fre-

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¹ In this paper, two-year institutions are used interchangeably with community colleges.

² In this paper, student affairs is used interchangeably with student personnel services and student services.

quently charged with facilitating the social, developmental, and academic needs of diverse students. It is hard to ignore the difficulty of reaching all college students because racially/ethnically diverse student affairs professionals are few and far between (Stewart, Russell & Wright, 1997; Turrentine & Conley, 2001) often making the learning context intricate, less inclusive, and more difficult to navigate for students of color (e.g., transition, retention, and matriculation).

Given the multiplicity of needs and range of postsecondary participants, greater consideration should be paid to student affairs in concert with staff diversity (Jackson & Flowers, in press). Ideally, faculty and support staff would mirror the overall student body. Yet despite the demographic shifts of those currently enrolled, there continues to be disproportionately low numbers of faculty and administrative leaders from racially/ethnically diverse backgrounds (Amey & VanDerLinden, 2001; Colby & Foote, 1995).

Recent research has indicated a looming leadership crisis facing two-year institutions of higher education due to impending retirements (American Association of Community Colleges, 2002; Amey & VanDerLinden, 2001; Shults, 2001). Although the approaching retirements before community colleges are distressing, this projected deficit is fundamentally disconcerting when coupled with an overrepresentation of African American students in community colleges and a paucity of African American faculty, mid-level and senior student affairs administrators in the pipeline. Furthermore, Shults (2001) suggests that not only is the pool of leaders thin, but programs specializing in two-year issues in addition to promoting the professional development of community college leaders are lacking.

Student services are thought to be one of the top priorities at an institution that merges academic and student affairs functions in providing comprehensive educational programs for students (Deegan, 1982; Flynn, 1986; Ender, Chand, & Thornton, 1996; Kellogg, 1999). Student services are important contributors to the success of students given the capacity to enhance campus life and college environment, especially for those from marginalized and underrepresented groups (Jackson, 2002). This commentary sought to advance a research agenda focused on African Americans in student affairs at two-year institutions. This is important, because little over two-fifths of African American students enroll in community colleges annually (Phillippe & Patton, 2000). Concurrently, this commentary sought to address how critical involvement of African American student affairs professionals is for student advancement.

Students, Faculty and Administrative Leadership in Community Colleges

During the last five to ten years, estimates of minorities enrolled in two-year institutions have ranged from 30 to 47%³ (Cohen & Brawer, 2002; Phillippe & Patton, 2000; Rendon & Hope, 1996). Two-year institutions have long been the institution students of color have looked to as the conduit to higher education, particularly those who may not otherwise gain admittance to college due to financial constraints, family obligations, ill preparedness, and/or proximity. The open admissions policies of community colleges guarantee access with the expressed purpose of helping students succeed in meeting whatever the educational goal (Zamani, in press). Focusing on African American college enrollment over the last two decades, approximately 43% of African Americans were attending a public or private two-year institution in 1980; by 1999 that figure fell slightly to 41%.

Table 1				
African American Public and Private Two-year College Enrollment and Degrees Conferred by Selected Years				
	1980	1990	1999	Total Associates Degrees 1996-97
African American				
Public Two-year	437,900	481,400	637,700	41,532
Private Two-year	34,600	42,900	41,000	

Source: Phillippe & Patton (2000) and U.S. Department of Education (1999)

While there are 14 historically Black community colleges, predominantly White two-year institutions register the preponderance of African American community college attendees (Guyden, 1999). Further, greater numbers of African American faculty and staff are found at historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in contrast to those employed at predominantly White institutions (Fleming, 1985). Literature examining campus climate and institutional culture posits that the environment at predominantly White institutions is often not thought to be inclusive of racial/ethnic minority students (Hurtado, Milem, & Clayton-Pedersen, 1999; Stewart, Russell, & Wright, 1997). HBCUs are generally considered to have a better campus ecology (e.g., more inclusive and nurturing) for African American students (Brown, 1998; Brown & Davis, 2001). Studies have supported the idea of acknowledging cultural differences as they

³ Estimates may vary across sources due to some enrollment data for all selected years not covering accredited degree-granting institutions eligible to participate in federal student aid programs or recognizing enrollment status.

can be a powerful means of socialization in acclimating to a new educational environment as well as the importance of the person-environment fit (Kee, 1999; Laden, 1999). One way of affirming African American students' sense of belonging is through active recruitment and consistent staffing of diverse professionals in academic and student affairs (Zamani, 2000). Nonetheless, open to discussion is whether community colleges in keeping with their commitment to admit large percentages of African American students, have been as steadfast in hiring and promoting African American faculty leaders or student affairs officers.

Nearly 13% of faculty of color are employed at public four-year institutions and fewer than 3% of faculties of color are at private two-year institutions (Colby & Foote, 1995). However, in searching the NCES report generated on Fall Staff in Postsecondary Institutions 1997, information specifically detailing professional and/or nonprofessional status by race/ethnicity, gender or institutional type was not available, though percentages of full-time faculty participation presented by race/ethnicity were included. It is important to note that African American student affairs professionals comprise 8.4% of the total number of those in student affairs administrative positions. However, an estimated 11.7% of the total population of African American student affairs administrators are employed at community colleges (Jackson, 2003).

In concentrating on African American administrators, it is essential to note while student diversity is at its peak in community colleges, there is a disproportionately lower representation of full-time faculty and administrators of color making two-year colleges, like their four-year counterparts, not representative of the students served. This further exacerbates the crisis in the profession of furnishing leaders that can serve as role models for a more diverse student population (Martinez, 1991; Vaughan, 1996).

Research on Student Affairs Personnel and African Americans

While research on the role of student affairs in two-year colleges is limited, studies examining African American professionals in student services are virtually nonexistent. Then again, the dearth of research and national data available disclose that the overwhelming majority of faculty as well as chief student affairs administrators are White males. Whether or not this can be attributed to a lack of concern as related to diversity of student services personnel and/or no responsiveness to meeting the needs of students of color is arguable but in desperate need of change.

Student services is one segment of community colleges where students can feel a sense of belonging, be culturally affirmed, and have their academic aspira-

tions fueled (Becherer & Becherer, 1995; Laden, 1999). Student affairs professionals should be more cognizant of the cultural, economic, and social barriers that face African American students in postsecondary education, particularly those endemic to African American males (Cuyjet, 1997). Research-to-date suggests alternative methods are needed for constructing experiences that bear greater utility for students of color (Brown, 1998; Fleming, 1985; Mattox & Creamer, 1998; Poock, 2000; Rendon & Hope, 1996). Some examples of making student affairs more comprehensive and tailoring programs for African American college students include: (1) organizing services to smooth the progress of African American students (i.e., recruitment, retention, advising, etc.); (2) evaluating program effectiveness and (3) responsiveness for all student groups, in addition to mentoring and fostering relationships with students as they may have difficulty making transitions to college (Stewart, Russell, & Wright, 1997; Zamani, 2000).

Relative to college transition, Grubb (1999) reported that up to 80% of high school graduates entering community colleges require remedial education in at least one of three areas (i.e., English, Math, and Reading). Also worthy of mention is the fact that African American college students are disproportionately placed in remedial courses at a higher rate than their White counterparts (Shaw, 1997). Often the assessment of whether students are college ready (i.e., course placement services) falls under the auspices of student affairs divisions. Wagener and Lazerson (1995, p. 60) noted, "Staff members in student services argue that students have become their responsibility by the default of the faculty..." (As cited in Ender, Newton, & Caple, 1996). Besides, when it comes to curricular matters in two-year institutions student affairs professionals have customarily had a minimal role in the planning process (Barke, 1999; Ender, Chand, & Thornton, 1996; Freas, 1987; Kellogg, 1999). For that reason there is confusion, reluctance, and resistance on the part of faculty and student affairs professionals to interact in ways that do not portray the other as the enemy. Accordingly, it is inconclusive as to whether student affairs can successfully impact the learning of under prepared college students or be willing to assume the responsibility for doing so.

Burley and Butner (2000) surveyed 180 senior student affairs officers at community colleges regarding what degree of involvement student affairs should have in remediation. Sixty percent completed usable surveys yielding 108 respondents, of which the vast majority were White, male, with an average age of 49 years old. The findings illustrated among occupying senior student affairs positions, people of color, females and those under age 49, expressed greater favor toward involvement in remediation efforts. Perhaps senior student affairs administrators of color found remedial education to be a relevant responsibility

for student services divisions given the disproportionately higher percentage of African American college students in remedial education in contrast to White students (Lewis & Greene, 1996). Student affairs services are crucial in nurturing African American student retention and matriculation at the community college and beyond. Having African Americans in the role of senior student affairs officer as well as other student affairs positions could further influence and support the progress of students. Not to suggest that at the absence of African American student affairs professionals that African Americans are not receiving the educational necessities; however, research has illustrated that African American students have a higher degree of academic growth, a greater sense of belonging, and receive degrees at greater rate where larger numbers of African American faculty and administrators are employed (Brown, 1998; Brown & Davis, 2001; Fleming, 1985).

Opp (2001) assessed how to enhance recruitment success for community college students of color merging data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) with national survey data of senior student affairs officers on recruitment barriers and strategies for student of color. He found statistical significance that supports urban two-year institutions and those having a senior student affairs officer of color being better positioned in drawing students of color. Even more telling was Opp's reporting of the percentages of administrators and faculty of color plus the quantity of contact senior student affairs officers have with racially/ethnically diverse students; both were found to be the strongest predictors of increasing the proportion of students of color as community colleges with greater numbers of faculty and administrators of color interact more with students of color and create a climate that is perceived to be inclusive by diverse students. Nevertheless, in this study and previous literature, specific information regarding the impact of African American student affairs professionals on African American student enrollment growth and two-year campus climate were not explicitly examined.

Changing of the Guard? Threats to Leadership Continuity

Much of what is symbolic and expressed in terms of an educational organizations' culture and climate is greatly shaped by the leaders at the helm of the institution. In the very near future, community colleges will witness a transformation relative to leadership or lack thereof (Amey & VanDerLinden, 2001). It is anticipated that the number of projected community college leaders retiring from upper-level management (e.g., senior level administrators and faculty leaders) and presidential positions will far exceed those with the requisite skill set and credentials for assuming vacant administrative posts (American Association of Community Colleges, 2002). According to Christopher Shults (2001),

the following trends are occurring nationally:

- More than two-fifths of current presidents intend to retire by 2007
- The average age of community college presidents is increasing (e.g., 51 years of age in 1986 and 57 years old by 1998)
- There has been a 78% decrease in the number of advanced graduate degrees in community college administration from 1982 to 1997
- In 1999, over half of faculty ages 55 to 64 reported plans to retire by 2004

The aforementioned data coupled with little diversity among senior administrators, increasingly diverse student bodies and many new community college presidents reportedly feeling unprepared for effectively carrying out key functions of presidential administration leaves the future of two-year leadership in peril. With the doctorate increasingly becoming the preferred if not required degree for community college senior-level administrative posts and presidential positions, partial responsibility for producing a critical mass of community college leaders falls on graduate degree granting institutions.

Recruiting and Promoting African American Student Affairs Administrators at Community Colleges

In terms of the characteristics of community college leaders, research by Amey and VanDerLinden (2001) examined the career paths and backgrounds of community college leaders finding that women and minorities were underrepresented in administrative posts and suggesting that aspiring community college leaders have an earned doctorate. Advanced graduate study is mounting in importance for individuals that desire upper-level administrative positions and/or the community college presidency (Vaughn, 1996). In looking at African American students' choice to enroll in higher education administration doctoral programs, Poock (2000) examined seven doctoral programs (across institutional types and regions) in higher education surveying African American students that began doctoral study between fall 1995 and fall 1996 yielding a total net sample of 390. The study had a 46% survey return rate with a total of 180 students responding.

Five major themes emerged and were identified as important factors influencing their decision to apply and subsequently attend doctoral study in higher education administration: (1) a seamless process from application to admission and attendance; (2) highly rated program quality (e.g., school standing, program reputation, rigor and faculty expertise); (3) a academic infrastructure that supports student progress in the degree program (e.g., library collections, tech-

nological facilities, and flexible course offerings); (4) an environment or climate at the institution that is sensitive to the needs of students of color and invites input from students; and (5) positive encounters with faculty that are suggestive of a welcoming departmental culture. In sum, the findings of Poock's study indicate that the recruitment process clearly should accentuate all of the above in successfully attracting African American students in undertaking doctoral study in higher education administration/community college leadership.

Although many leadership posts in two-year colleges are expected to be available in the near future, the specific figures for student affairs positions (particularly for senior-level officers) have not been projected. Rapp (1997) ascertained that racial/ethnic minorities are underrepresented in student affairs offices, particularly in senior positions. Even so, one has to be presented with a point of entry before rising to a senior level position in a student affairs division.

The pipeline of available African American candidates has not been fully tapped as there is still a lack of African American administrators. Turrentine and Conley (2001) studied the diversity of the labor pool for entry-level utilizing multiple data sources (i.e., IPEDS data, and survey of ACPA/NASPA on-line directories of student affairs preparation programs in higher education administration, counseling education, and college student personnel). Sixty programs responded to the survey stemming from the ACPA/NASPA on-line directories. The total master's level enrollment in 1998-1999 for those 60 programs was 2,289. Nationally, African Americans were 15.4% of the total students enrolled in student affairs programs. Their findings imply that the small pool of racially/ethnically diverse professionals do not correspond with the projected growth of minority undergraduate student groups, particularly when considering the uneven enrollment of African American students in two-year versus four-year institutions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND PRACTICE IN STUDENT AFFAIRS

This commentary explored the functions of student affairs in community colleges and addressed the paucity of literature examining African American student affairs administrators. While there is evidence to indicate that student personnel services are critical in African American student recruitment, retention, and matriculation, research has also revealed the significance of having senior student affairs officers that are persons of color in mitigating the many factors that present barriers to students of color in two-year colleges. The literature points to inclusive campus climates as crucial in helping African American students reach their goals. Likewise, institutional culture and climate are gravely important in attracting, retaining, and advancing African American administra-

tors within student affairs divisions or other campus units.

Two- and four-year colleges concerned with the growing diversity of students should be distressed with the disproportionate number of African Americans and other racial/ethnic minority groups in leadership positions. More than a decade ago, Brown and Globetti (1991) surveyed the perceptions and experiences of 42 African American student affairs professionals. The participants of their study expressed support for affirmative action programs and policies as a means of remedying hiring inequities and felt that their colleges were being proactive in appealing to candidates of color.

Taking into consideration the small number of studies that specifically look at issues surrounding African American student affairs professionals, particularly in two-year settings, it becomes obvious that more models are needed of institutions with proven success as witnessed in the philosophy, programs and policies that insure African American administrators are seriously regarded as valuable to the whole academic community (Jackson, 2002; Jackson & Flowers, in press; Martinez, 1991). Perhaps through scrutinizing multiple data sources a more complete picture of African American student affairs professionals can be attained. To date, no fine distinctions can be drawn from this small number of African American student affairs professionals in two-year institutions (e.g., public versus private or for-profit colleges, professional staff designations and primary responsibilities, salary, years of experience, and career ladder).

National professional groups such as American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), American College Personnel Association (ACPA), National Association for Student Affairs Professionals (NASAP) and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) are avenues that could be tapped in voicing as well as actively addressing the concerns regarding the dearth of diversity in student affairs. Each of these organizations has subgroups or components that address student affairs in a two-year context. More should be done using these professional associations to further student affairs research.

In sum, as this topic is under researched, greater social inquiry on student affairs practice in two-year institutions is needed to further enlighten the supportive role this unit plays at these campuses, and approaches to creating more opportunities for African Americans aspiring higher leadership positions at community colleges. As there is little empirical scholarship on this topic, research is needed on several important issues related to the nature of student affairs work and African American administrators at community colleges including but not limited to the following:

- Research that pays greater attention to programs and services for special populations and underrepresented students in correspondence with institutional efforts to achieve administrative diversity at two-year colleges would extend the extant literature.
- Studies constructed to examine the impact of changing legislation and the effects of affirmative action policies on identifying and recruiting African Americans to administrative positions in student affairs divisions in two- and four-year institutions would prove timely given the present public discourse.
- Additionally, inquiry that advances theoretical perspectives and assesses the heuristic value of previous models investigating the influence of African American student affairs administrators on African American student gains, retention, graduation and transfer rates.

Given the dearth of available information and the small numbers of African Americans in leadership positions at two-year colleges, greater attention should be paid to leadership development opportunities and graduate programs in advancing effective student affairs leaders and staff. Moreover, community college presidents should give more consideration to determining how to attract more persons of color to senior student affairs officer roles, which in turn illustrates an institutional commitment to diversity and promoting an inclusive educational environment for students and staff. Lastly, it is important for African American student affairs professionals in two-year colleges to move from the margins to mattering in educational research. By initiating studies that explicitly gauge the experiences of community college African American student affairs professionals, we can better determine if, and how, the unique needs of African American students at these institutions are being served.

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Two Administrators, Same Campus, A Single Incident: Conversing About Race and Responsibility – A Commentary for Practice

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Abstract

This article is a commentary on the confluence of race and responsibility for African American campus administrators. The conversational presentation between two senior administrators charged with both issues related to students and campus climate is contextualized within a treatment of a short period of student unrest. The complexities around negotiating a campus crisis that includes race is addressed. The two administrators share their insights on the nature of their work, the capricious culture of institutions, and guidance for other administrators in similar situations.

College campuses are places where a number of discussions occur under the freedom of speech blanket, and other conversations are squelched under the cloak of silence and dishonesty. Some of the conversations would appear on the surface benign – student and academic affairs, while others fraught with contention – race and responsibility. Notwithstanding, the interplay across and between student and academic affairs around the issues of race and responsibility at the predominantly White institution is noticeably quiet. Conceding the scant scholarly treatment of the above intersections, there is still a need to endeavor toward some foundational understanding of this amorphous pragmatic and phe-

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nomenological nexus for informing the experience of African American and other students enrolled on majority campuses.

Given the absence of any research platform on which to conduct such an investigation, it was necessary to find a case that would provide insight into this institutional space. What follows are the extracted comments of two African American administrators at a majority institution (pseudonyms have been used). Both of these administrators are male. Both of these administrators are the senior administrator for their respective units. Uniquely, one is in student affairs and the other in academic affairs. They were both interviewed regarding the role of race and responsibility in their work. They offered insights into how two seemingly disparate divisions can work in tandem to effectuate positive and productive campus change.

In order to avoid any efforts at generalization, the voices of the two administrators are placed in conversation with only minimal comment at the end. The intent is for the reader to deduce the relevant themes and issues for their professional duties and/or institutional context. Of particular note is the imbedded conversation regarding student needs, student unrest, and student development. There is significant consonance and dissonance over their roles on campus, commitment to the institution versus the students, and professional failures and successes. Finally, these two African American administrators offer important advice for those individuals who hold or aspire to similar positions. Their redacted conversation is presented without authorial interruption;¹ commentary will appear in the conclusion.

Describing A Campus Incident

Depending on who is asked one may get different responses about what fueled the student unrest at the university being investigated. The undisputed facts are that in the spring semester of 2001, students staged an eight-day sit-in at the campus union building born out of the fact that threatening letters were received by students of color, a board of trustee member, and parents of student athletes. Dissatisfaction with the university's response to these threats and with the university's response to the needs of African American students in general fueled the sit-in dubbed "the community." The participants of the community were not only African American, but of all races; including students, staff, faculty, and community members.

The community members and the campus administration eventually agreed on a written plan that included strengthening a department of African/American

¹ Responses to interview questions have been modestly edited for clarity and conformation to grammar and syntax. In no instance has the meaning, intent, textual, structure, or rhythm of the statement been altered.

diasporic studies, the creation of a new research initiative, and several other policy and structural changes involving the offices of the two administrators interviewed.

THE TWO ADMINISTRATORS: WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY DO

Dr. Clarence Montclair currently serves as the Vice Provost of Educational Equity, reporting to the Executive Vice President and Provost. He has held this position for four years. His educational training includes a doctorate in Counselor Education, with a background in both academic and student affairs.

The Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity was created due to student protest. In 1988, African American students, dissatisfied with the racial climate and the lack of representation at the university, protested via sit-ins. As a result, the students submitted a list of demands to the university. One such demand was that the university create a Vice Provost for Pan African Affairs. According to Montclair, the same proposal that the students submitted was almost identical to a proposal submitted the same year by African American faculty. The university dismissed the faculty's proposal, but conceded to many of the student's demands. He said the university often does not listen until there is a crisis. The Vice Provost for Pan African Affairs evolved into the Vice Provost for Educational Equity in 1990.

According to Montclair, to explain a position like this, one has to understand that it comes out of dynamic changes in our student population that we have seen in the last 15-20 years. The Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity is responsible for fostering diversity. According to Montclair, the office fulfills this goal by ensuring that diversity programming efforts occur in the following four cells: (1) access and success; (2) campus climate; (3) curricular transformation; and (4) institutional viability and vitality. The first cell deals with the access and success of underrepresented populations at the university. Campus climate deals with how students, faculty, and staff relate to each other, the barriers to access and success, and the climate of the campus. Curricular transformation looks at diversifying the curriculum so that all students will be culturally competent. This cell tends to cause the most conflict, according to Montclair. In the past, it was sufficient to have diversity courses or courses relating to underrepresented groups because they were just for those underrepresented groups to take. Now, the university is saying that all students must take these courses. Many do not think that it is necessary because they think these courses are not relevant to their field. The fourth cell deals with institutional viability and vitality. According to Montclair, this is an area for the

board of trustees, deans, legislators, and the president of the university, not the students. This cell deals with decision making on the institutional level. He stated that students do not have the power to evoke change here. Programming efforts must occur in each one of these four cells in order to foster diversity on campus. According to his vita, he is responsible for "planning, developing, coordinating, articulating, and advocating the University's goals, policies, and procedures pertaining to equal opportunity for underrepresented students, faculty, and staff."

The office is on the academic side of the university hierarchical structure as opposed to the student affairs side. According to Montclair, this office and offices like this should be on the academic affairs side. If change is to occur in the curricular transformation and institutional viability and vitality cells, this office needs to be on the academic affairs side. If on the student affairs side, change will only occur relating to students and issues relating to faculty and staff diversity, such as the recruitment and retention of a diverse staff or making changes at the institutional level, will not be addressed.

According to Montclair, some of what he does, particularly his work with African American students is student affairs work. He also works with student groups in organizing activities. In fact, he served as advisor to the African American student organization during the time of protest. Although much of what he does is student affairs work and is not necessarily part of his job description, it has become clear to him that his job is "to be all things to all people and make sure things get done," even though his job is to work with faculty, staff, and organizational change. His background in student affairs helps him deal with students, something that he thoroughly enjoys.

Montclair typically works 10-12 hours each day and describes himself as a "Meeting Mogul," spending much of his day (five-six hours) in meetings. These range from President's Council, to town meetings, to ad hoc committee meetings. He also meets with students individually. These meetings are mostly interpersonal. Many of the students he meets with are students who are in dire need of money to finance college. He also works with student groups on their programming efforts.

Aside from the time spent in meetings, Montclair receives about 100 emails each day. The topics vary and are from faculty, staff, students, and external stakeholders. Typically, people are asking for money for various programs. Montclair spends the rest of his day on the phone or reading reports. He also teaches and conducts presentations to classes and organizations on campus. Because his schedule is so hectic, he stated that he had to let go of trying to manage his schedule and allow his assistant to manage his day-to-day activities.

Mr. Philander Bremen is the Vice President of Student Affairs, reporting directly to the president of the university. He has a Master's degree in Sociology with some studies in human resources and has been in his current position for fifteen years. Prior to that, he served as Executive Assistant to the President. Bremen stated that he did not come to his current position with a student affairs background, but rather, because of his leadership and management skills.

His role is to lead and manage a network of student affairs functions with system-wide responsibilities in areas such as program assessment, campus life, student programs, and student counseling and health services. He also advises a student organization. According to Bremen, education and service are part of the mission of student affairs and the division's role is to provide educational programs and services that challenge and support students to achieve their personal, academic, and spiritual objectives.

Bremen spends much of his time in meetings. He meets with other administrators in his division every other week and meets with the unit directors every two weeks. This meeting has a structured set agenda that includes information on the division's strategic plan and diversity. He also meets with the student leaders of the organization that he advises every other week. He meets daily with his administrative assistant to review the previous day or current day's activities. Bremen spends quite a bit of time responding to emails. He also spends time meeting with students and in committee meetings. He works 80 hours per week, 6 days week and there is no one-day that is the same.

Conversations with these two administrators yielded interesting guidance on the nature of working with students, particularly during times of challenge and controversy.

THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP THROUGH SERVICE

Montclair:

The challenging part of my job is trying to make change happen, understanding the climate that you are working with, and knowing when, where, and how to nudge for change. To be successful in this job, top-level support and leadership is needed. Because I deal with a range of people, it is important that in each situation I keep my audience in mind.

Bremen:

The most challenging part is balancing the different aspects of what is required in the job.

Montclair:

It is challenging trying to get students to understand that they cannot evoke change in certain areas (particularly institutional viability and vitality). Students do not have the power to make change in those areas because the power lies in the hands of the president, administrators, board of trustees, and legislatures. This is, at times, a difficult concept for students to understand. Even though students can be challenging to work with, it can also be rewarding and I really enjoy working with them.

Bremen:

I find advising the student organization to be the most enjoyable part of the job.

Montclair:

In order to do this job, you must like working with people, particularly students because in this job, you get to see people at their best, but more often than not, you see them at their worse. This was particularly evident during the protest where many people said and did things that they wish could they take back.

Bremen:

My leadership style is a combination of things. I have high expectations of performance and expect people to meet them. I recognize that you get more out of people by giving them tasks that that they are able to accomplish that are within their scope of ability. I can appear demanding of people who are capable and less demanding of those people who are less capable. I do not treat everyone the same because you will not get the best results. You have to pay attention to who they are and what they value. You get good performance out of people in different ways and therefore, you have to treat them differently. You adapt to the people you have got.

Montclair:

I believe it is important for a leader to know what they are talking about and to understand the relationship between their area and other areas. It is also important to read and stay current in the field.

I spend the most time with people when they are first hired so that they understand the nature of their job and see how it fits into the larger perspective of diversity and the university. This time spent up front allows them to have a thorough understanding of their job so that they can eventually do the job on their own. With employees who have been on the job for a while, the time I spend with them is more relational than pro-

fessional. For example, I will meet with seasoned staff twice a year, while I will meet with new staff members weekly. I also spend time meeting with my staff in one on one supervisory meetings.

Bremen:

It is my responsibility to manage processes and lead people. I hire the best people, give them the resources to do the job through strategic planning process where you can agree where you are all headed, and I try to keep everyone headed in the same direction. You should never make a decision by yourself, but always be prepared to make the final decision.

Montclair:

I do not expect others to do what I will not do. I work hard and expect others to work hard as well, but believe that family is more important than the job.

PERCEPTIONS OF JOB PERFORMANCE DURING REST AND DISTRESS

Montclair:

I think that other administrators perceive me well overall, but in some areas; that may not be the case.

Bremen:

It depends on who is asked how I am perceived.

Montclair:

Faculty most often view me as a pain in the butt unless they need me for something. Faculty often views the office as aiding in diversity efforts for students only and do not recognize that they need to incorporate diversity in their curriculum and in the recruitment and retention of faculty.

Bremen:

There is currently no place where I have a relationship with faculty in my current role, as I do not currently have an academic appointment, but I do have a relationship with other administrators.

Montclair:

Students perceive me differently. It depends on whom you ask. It can vary according to race, their college, or if they see me conduct a presentation.

Bremen:

I am not seen as a person who seeks the limelight, but I will provide resources and support for students on campus.

Montclair:

Takeovers are a natural product of the change process and I think they happen every seven years. Which means our next one will be 2008 and I will not be here for that, I have had enough (laughing). When diversity issues occur that involve people of color in conflict with each other, higher education institutions, especially predominately White institution, often lose the ability to think critically in those situations and let the conflict go on longer than it should. They very often let it get more vicious and violent because they view it as being an "issue between them, let them work it out" because they do not want to be called racist.

If the university had moved strategically the semester prior to the protest, the protests would not have happened. I could not get people to understand this. I warned people that there would be protests, but no one believed me. No one would listen and the sky fell harder than I thought it would fall.

This is about as mean as it gets when there is a takeover. People say and do things that they wish they could take back, students and administrators. My issue was to always act as ethically as I possibly could.

Bremen:

Ninety percent of what the students were doing was right and 10% was over the line. In that case, it was my responsibility to let them know.

Montclair:

It would have been easier to say that students are right, and in some cases, they were. However, some of the ethics were wrong. When they were, I said they were. Other administrators, staff, and faculty may have been operating under a different set of ethics.

During times of protest, many people tend to get large egos and get overly involved and a line of professionalism is crossed. This was the case with a particular student affairs staff member. If it were up to me, the person would have been fired.

Bremen:

This person became a spokesperson and leader in the student protest, which was not their role as a student affairs professional. I did not fire her because I did not want to make a martyr out of her, but it was clear that once the protests were over, she would no longer be a member of the university.

Montclair:

It has been my experience, and this is my interpretation and my interpretation alone, that the students are on the bus but they are not driving it. It is usually faculty or staff who are disgruntled for one reason or another who are driving the bus, but faculty and staff protests are not as interesting or sexy as student protest.

I believe "the community" was good. In fact, there were 2 – 3 "communities". Many White students wanted to be a part of it. Many were not aware that, in my opinion, there was an internal group that was manipulating things. When the final document between the students and the university was signed off, many students had not seen it, only the internal group saw the document.

Bremen:

There is always a core group. The rally of "the community" was around safety issues and the death threats. "The community" was not able to continue because the issue of safety could not be maintained as a viable issue. The same energy was not there. It was narrowly focused.

Montclair:

We should not have come out of "the community" with the plan that we did. We should have come out with the makings of a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Department, a Hispanic Studies Department, an Asian Studies Department, et cetera, but we came out with an African and African American Studies Department. If the protest was about racism or death threats, the first thing in the plan would not be an African and African American Center, the second thing would not be more faculty in this center, and the third thing would not be more scholarships for majors in African and African American Studies. These things are all good, but this does not logically follow the presenting problems...unless they were the real issues anyway.

The students drafted the plan, we massaged it, but most of the plan was theirs. How did they have time to do this? Unless it was already drafted or if they had help.

Bremen:

My role during times of protest is to be an executive of the university, meeting the president, identifying the university response, and providing student affairs staff working with students counseling services. I was part of the negotiations from before the building was taken over to the time they left.

Montclair:

I was involved in meeting with the president as well as with legislatures to explain the situation. I also was part of the negotiations from before the building was taken over to the time they left.

Bremen:

One of my main functions was to maintain the ongoing operation of the university while allowing the students to express their views. My staff's role was to watch what was going on, be a calming factor, and convince students that may want to rethink some of their plans if they appeared to be out of line. My staff is expected to be there during the protest. Sometimes I am there, and sometimes I am not. I understand students' concerns, but I also understand my administrative role. I cannot allow the students to interrupt the ongoing operation of the institution, but rather I just work around them. The decision to work around the students was a function of the leadership of the institution.

STRATEGIES FOR STRESS, SUCCESS, AND SECESSION

Bremen:

Because I am Black, some staff expected me to be more empathetic than a White administrator might be during student protests.

Montclair:

I was often booed by students, the majority of whom were Black. I also received nasty phone calls from varying groups. If you did not buy into the student's plan during the protest 100%, then you were considered a sell out. Parents were also calling saying that I was not doing enough. Others thought that I was doing too much.

Bremen:

My view and the institution's expectation is that I will be empathetic to the students, but I recognize that I have a role and responsibility to the institution. For example, I may authorize the purchase of food out of my budget for the student protesters, but I will not tell the whole world about it.

Montclair:

Many students lost themselves in the protest. I have no problem working with student activists, as long as they maintain their grades. I have been called names ranging from "SOB" to Uncle Tom. You cannot get out of harms way and if something is wrong, it is your fault whether it is or it is not.

This is a no lose job. You can only do this job for 7-8 years before becoming burned out.

Bremen:

You can do this job as long as the president and board of trustees want you.

Montclair:

In managing your career you should know what you want to do next, the question is how you position yourself to get there. A next move for me may be a Vice President for Student Affairs, but there are other possibilities.

Bremen:

I can do the same job at another institution, or after retiring, be available for workshops or seminars.

Montclair:

I do not recommend my job for everyone. Everyone on campus does not always like me and not everyone thinks that the office is a necessity. There will always be a need for my office, but there are people on campus who think that it is not necessary.

COMMENTS AND ADVICE FOR PRACTICE

Common themes run through the administrative experiences and postures of both senior administrators. While they offer differing viewpoints given their respective vantage on their campus, there was keen clarity on their import of race on their responsibilities both real and perceived. Consequently, it is possible to evince administrative lessons based on this n=2 experience/inquiry. Each of the administrators is different in numerable ways, but there are ten guideposts on which they concur (in unranked order).

1. Remain ethical at all times.

It is critical to remain ethical, particularly during times of unrest. Some will think that you are doing too much; others may think that you are not doing enough, but it is important that you follow the ethical guidelines of your profession and/or your own personal set of ethics. You may agree with and support the students during unrest and in those instances, you may say that you agree, but when they are wrong, it is your responsibility to let them know.

2. Like students and care about their development.

In these positions much of your interaction is with students, you must have a vested interest in their well-being in order to provide an environment that fosters their development.

3. Never do anything that you may wish you could undo.

You cannot turn back time to take back your actions or words. Once it is said or done, it is done. Think of the repercussions that your words and actions may have on you, your career, and on those parties involved.

4. Be prepared to work long hours.

Working 10 -12 hours a day or 80 hours a week, 6 days a week is the norm. The job does not end at 5:00 pm. Be prepared to work nights and weekends. Particularly during times of unrest, be prepared to meet with students and administrators on the weekend and well into the night until early morning.

5. Be prepared to spend most of your time in meetings and responding to correspondence.

Much of your work at this level involves meetings. You must have good interpersonal skills and remember to keep your audience in mind in meeting with the various constituencies. Email has become an important means of communication; therefore, you must be able to communicate your ideas clearly in a concise manner.

6. Keep a sense of humor.

It is easy to burn out. It is important to keep humor in your life and find a way to laugh.

7. Always think about the career effects of your actions.

You should always have an idea about your next career move. Everything that you do should prepare you for your next career opportunity in a positive way.

8. Be prepared to leave your current position in good condition with good leadership and effective programs in place (i.e., leave when student life on the campus is steady).

When you leave your current position, you want to ensure that the programming efforts developed under your leadership are effective and will be able to stand the test of time. You want to leave when things are going well on campus, not in the midst of controversy or unrest.

9. Student unrest can bring out the worst in people; egos often get involved and the issue becomes one of perceived power.

In these positions you see the best and the worst of people. It is important to remain balanced and not force your own agenda on students and others. The real issues must always remain in the forefront.

10. Balance your role as an administrator with being part of your racial group (especially during times of racial dissention); aid students toward positive efforts.

Particularly during times of unrest, people may become overly involved. As a professional, it is important that you know what your role is as an agent of the university. Although you may agree and support the students, you must balance your responsibilities. That line of professionalism must not be crossed.

*Lifting As We Climb: Mentoring the Next Generation Of
African American Student Affairs Administrators
NASAP Journal, 2004*

The National Association of Student Affairs Professionals (NASAP) Journal is planning a special theme issue entitled "Lifting as we climb: Mentoring the next generation of African American student affairs administrators" to be published Spring 2004. The guest editor for this special theme issue is Sharon L. Holmes (University of Alabama) along with the NASAP Journal Editor Melvin C. Terrell (Northeastern Illinois University).

The notion of "Lifting as we climb" is adapted from the age-old tradition of "race uplift," a term fashioned in the late nineteenth century in the Black community. Traditionally, African American women were considered primary "up lifters" of the Black race because as they gained knowledge from their educational experiences they were expected to share the information with those back in the community who lacked access and opportunity, and as a result, a whole group of people were able to begin the climb upward from the depths of racial oppression and subjugation.

Today, because various forms of discrimination prevail in higher education, it remains the responsibility of the current community of scholars and practitioners to ensure the success of the next generation of African Americans in student affairs through methods that are especially valued in the academy – research and writing. To that end, the focus of this special issue will be to highlight collaborative writing projects between graduate assistants, new professionals, or junior faculty in student affairs/higher education administration preparation programs in conjunction with their student affairs administrator and/or faculty mentors.

We welcome manuscripts of a wide variety that highlight research studies, theoretical perspectives, and evidence-based policies, practices, or procedures that focus on some aspect of mentoring in student affairs/higher education administration within two- or four-year institutions. In order to share the mechanics of the research and writing process with our readers and aspirants to the profession, we ask that student contributors include with their submission a summary (no more than 250 words) of the overall writing experience including how their student affairs administrator or faculty mentor assisted them with the research

and/or writing process. In the case of newcomers to the profession or junior faculty, we ask that you include a summary (no more than 250 words) of your collaborative writing experience as well.

For detailed information regarding manuscript submission requirements, visit the NASAP website, or feel free to use the contact information below for Dr. Terrell or Dr. Holmes.

Sincerely,

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