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ABSTRACT

In predominantly white ~~four~~-year, residential institutions where black populations are less than 10 percent, black professional staff tend to be in entry-level positions. They have often been found in special programs for minority and low-income students. A survey of black administrators in midwestern institutions showed that by the early 1970s: (1) the majority were associated with equal opportunity programs (EOPS); (2) 90 percent were being paid with institutional funds; (3) they were in their mid-thirties to early forties and were primarily male and married; (4) although most had their undergraduate training in the social sciences, they usually held master's degrees in education with emphasis on administration; and (5) there was a tendency among EOP directors toward earning doctorates. Barriers to black participation in administration include: (1) their positions in the administration; (2) for many the fact that they are not faculty members; (3) systematic racism. Affirmative action programs are working only minimally; the state of the art is confused. (Author/MSE)

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The Changing Profile of Black Administrators
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and Universities

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Panel Title: "Expanding Opportunities and Participation of Black Faculty, Staff and Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges"

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Prior to the civil rights movement there were virtually no black men or women in staff and administrative positions in predominantly white higher education institutions. One of the most popular demands of black students during the mid-nineteen sixties was for faculty and administrators. As a result of black student demands, civil rights legislation, affirmative action regulations, and increased social consciousness, many institutions have appointed blacks to staff, administrative, and faculty positions during the last ten years.

The most visible of these positions are in the various support programs often referred to as Educational Opportunity Programs or (EOP). Since 1972 there have been appointments of blacks to positions in affirmative action programs. Appointments to blacks in academic administrative positions have not been as dramatic as appointments in other areas of institutional administration.

Characteristics of Black Administrators on White Campuses

Since my experiences and research have been in a predominantly white university setting, I shall confine my remarks primarily to four year institutions. In predominantly white four year residential institutions where black populations are less than ten percent, black professional staff tend to be in entry level positions. They are often found in special programs for minority and low-income students. Appleton¹ surveyed 552 National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) affiliated institutions. About nine percent of the nearly 10,000 responding professional staff from predominantly white institutions were black. Of the nearly 850 responding black professionals, 70 percent were in entry level positions. Forty-five percent of the black student personnel professionals were in EOPs. Appleton also found that slightly more than a quarter, 28 percent, of the black administrators were responsible for divisions or departments, and two percent were chief student personnel administrators.

In the Moore and Wagstaff² study, Black Educators in White Colleges, more than one-third (1,171) of more than 3,000 respondents were administrators. The study included both two and four year institutions. Forty-one of the administrators were deans in four year colleges, and four were presidents. (Since this study, the first black woman

has been appointed to head an institution in this category although she presently is on leave.)

The literature seems to be silent on comparable data about blacks in business and financial management positions in predominantly white institutions. Very little can be gleaned from the literature about the nature of black administrative roles as academic department heads in areas other than Afro-American, Black, or Urban Studies.³

During the nineteen sixties many blacks with no previous higher education administrative experience were appointed to develop special recruiting programs, administer Black Studies programs, and to serve as special consultants on human relations.⁴ Many EOP administrators came from public school positions, social services backgrounds, upward bound programs, or recent brief careers as campus militants. Funding for many programs administered by blacks often was from federal, state, or other soft money sources.

Kitano and Miller⁵ presented an extended description of EOP directors. They described black administrators as primarily male, relatively new on their jobs, engaged in a number of institutional and ideological struggles, and often without power and resources to resolve the issues in their struggles. Nevertheless, they often managed to exert power through the force of their personalities and under the banner of the causes they advocated. Because their positions were unstructured, black administrators often got new



things done or old techniques rerouted. The position of EOP director was described as extremely difficult and sensitive, partly because of EOPs' placement in the institutional structure, the EOP directors' roles as minority representatives, and the newness of the programs.

By the early nineteen seventies the profile of black administrators in predominantly white institutions began to change. In a survey of black administrators in twenty mid-western institutions in 1973, Jones⁶ found that the majority of black administrators were still associated with EOPs. Ninety percent of the administrators in the survey were being paid from institutional funds. They were in their mid-thirties to early forties and were primarily male and married. Although most had their undergraduate training in the social sciences, they usually held master's degrees in education with emphasis on administration. There was a tendency among EOP directors toward earning doctorate degrees.

Barriers to Greater Participation

With the characteristic profile as a backdrop, I would like to discuss some of the barriers that limit greater participation of blacks in administrative and staff positions in white colleges and universities. Many black administrators who have survived for more than two or three years in one position have acquired considerable administrative experience in academic, student service, and university

administration. They have considerable empirical knowledge about planned institutional change. In many instances, however, their opportunities to initiate institutional change are hampered by their position in the organizational structure. The fact that many black administrators are not members of the faculty is also a limiting factor in influencing organizational change in academic affairs. Black administrators who hold regular line or staff positions in central administration, or as line officers in service departments, may encounter difficulties in developing equality of opportunity components. The difficulties occur because the black administrator may not have staff who have the analytical perspectives necessary to develop and implement change strategies. A positive outcome of the ad hoc, free flowing, indigenous "Eopacritic" style of administration that often characterizes special program administrators is the development of horizontal input in administration. Horizontal input is the coordination of different departments and divisions of the institution in establishing, institutionalizing, and monitoring policies and procedures which contribute to the development of equality of opportunity components. Probably the greatest barrier and source of frustration for a black administrator in a white institution is the systematic racism that requires great amounts of time, energy, patience, study, analytical ability, and

interpersonal skill to combat through organizational strategies for change.

Special Programs

In my view, emphasis has shifted from sensitizing individuals to the needs of blacks in white institutions to planning systems change through the development of organizational strategies that promote the interests of blacks in the context of educational needs in society. There are some observable changes in access for black students, but there is an undergraduate tracking pattern. Many students are concentrated in the same areas. More efforts must be devoted to broadening the academic options black students can exercise in white institutions.

The quality of the academic experience for black students in white institutions is very important. Students must be encouraged to achieve to the point of developing their talents to the fullest. Black administrators and staff must develop the kinds of institutional responses that facilitate the academic and social development of blacks in the context of the whole institution. Special programs as such may not be required, but special emphasis on meeting the educational needs of black students must be considered in the conception, design, and implementation of educational missions, policies, and procedures.

The Role of Federal Government

Establishment of equality of opportunity components in higher education is a massive and complex task. Institutions respond in microscopic ways to macroscopic societal problems. Because of the complexities, federal and institutional resources are necessary for the development of equality in higher education. Starting funds from federal and state sources for new programs should help institutions make broader responses to the needs of black and other minority and low-income students.

The problem with heavy reliance on federal support for special programs is with the difficult transition from a special external allocation to a recurring allocation in the base budget of the institution. Institutionalization of special programs can be delayed or circumvented if institutions rely entirely on federal funds. If the institutional efforts to develop equality of educational opportunity are to be considered essential parts of the institutional process and not merely ad hoc demonstration projects existing at the behest of the federal government, affirmative actions must be taken by predominantly white institutions to make special programs firm components of institutional base budgets.⁷

Affirmative Action Programs

During the last two or three years equality of educational opportunity and equality of employment opportunity

have come closer as administrative considerations in higher education because of the question of availability of blacks and other minorities for faculty, administrative, and staff positions. The administration of affirmative action is a difficult and amorphous task which is often dissected into non-academic personnel considerations, faculty matters, and professional and administrative concerns. The task is complicated by the schism that exists because disproportionate attention may be given to the needs and interests of white middle class women and the excessive paper chase engaged in with the federal government. Nevertheless, affirmative action programs have had an impact on the hiring procedures and the treatment of blacks and other affected classes in higher education.

The state of the art of affirmative action is confused. Much of the impact can be seen in compliance procedures because the guidelines for Titles VI and VII, Executive Order 11246 (revised), and Title IX stress the development of monitoring procedures. The greatest challenge in affirmative action lies in developing the concept of good faith effort. The extent to which institutions aggressively pursue the development and appointment of black men and women, and other minority men and women as well as middle class white women, for faculty, staff, and administrative positions is a crucial issue in determining good faith.

Are Affirmative Action Programs Working?

If present affirmative action efforts are the measure, I would say minimally. If, however, the development of the concept is considered on the bases of what has been learned since 1972 about implementing affirmative action, I would say that affirmative action has advanced to a different phase than it was four years ago, and in that regard - yes - the programs are working. It is important to point out, however, that developing aggressive plans to influence the selection and appointment processes for faculty, administrators, and staff is at best in the formative stage.

Frustrations of Black Administrators

In closing, I would like to respond briefly to the question, does a sense of frustration pervade blacks at white institutions? That question is important because there is a general notion that blacks in white institutions cannot accomplish anything - so why be there? A constant challenge pervades the black experience in white institutions whether the role be as administrator, staff, or faculty. Black administrators should be aware that their roles are as change agents in white institutions.

It is quite possible that a black man or woman might be hired for co-optation purposes or for being the spook to sit by the door, however, very few black administrators at white institutions will stay if they do not produce. The challenge

is double edged because on one side the black administrators must be super competent, and on the other they must always keep their bags packed if they are to stand up for what is right in developing equality of opportunity in the institutions.

The most important weapon in the arsenal of the black administrator is competence. He or she must develop the ability to analyze and understand the institution, to function in a system of power politics, to develop allies, to accept people at face value, to listen openly, to manage an organization efficiently, and to act a damn fool when necessary. Thank you.

Footnotes

1. James R. Appleton, "Survey of Minority Group Persons Employed in Student Affairs Positions at NASPA Member Institutions," NASPA Journal, October, 1971.
2. William Moore, Jr. and Lonnie H. Wagstaff, Black Educators in White Colleges (San Francisco: Jossey-Bess, 1974).
3. *ibid.*
4. Phillip E. Jones, "Proposal for Education Professional Development Act: Short Term Training Institute for Minority Administrators" (Submitted in November, 1972).
5. H. Kitano and D. Miller, An Assessment of Educational Opportunity Programs in California Higher Education (Sacramento: California Coordinating Council for Higher Education, 1970).
6. Phillip E. Jones, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Administrative Structures of Selected Educational Opportunity Programs" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1975).
7. *ibid.*