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Higher education institutions face an environment that is increasingly multicultural. However the presidency continues to be dominated by Anglo-European males (89.3%) as reported by the American Council on Education (ACE). Since the position of president is a highly sought position, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to the position as well as for analysts of higher education leadership. This study adds to the limited literature on the preparation, backgrounds and crucial workplace issues of presidents of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and non-HBCUs.

This mixed method study was conducted in two phases: phase one involved determining which demographic, occupational, and other characteristics of presidents of HBCU and non-HBCU institutions are similar or different from each other. The data elements used in this study were provided by the American Council on Education. Phase two involved a set of open-ended, semi-structured interviews to elaborate and inform the statistically significant quantitative differences noted in the first set of analysis. Twenty participants were asked to describe the experiences that shaped their development and led them to the role of president of either an HBCU or Non-HBCU four-year institution of higher education.

The participant population was HBCU and non-HBCU presidents of four-year accredited degree granting institutions of higher education. A purposive sampling

strategy reflecting a variation of the size of institution, public versus non-public, region of the country, and institutional mission served as the basis for selecting participants.

Findings indicate that presidents of HBCUs and non-HBCUs could not be distinguished on the basis of their educational background; that the experiences achieved and experiences that presidents wish they had more of prior to assuming the presidency were similar; and that HBCU presidents compared to non-HBCU presidents can be distinguished by the issues and concerns that dominate their actions (such as planning, fundraising and student issues).

This study also provides recommendations for further research in policy and practice.

**THE AMERICAN COLLEGE PRESIDENT:
A STUDY OF HBCU AND NON-HBCU
COLLEGE PRESIDENTS**

by

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Committee Chair

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife and partner, Glynis Hill-Chandler, my children, Kenneth II and Sharice, and in loving memory of my mother, Caretha Rich Chandler who was an advocate for the attainment of advanced higher education degrees, and family and friends who continuously encouraged me throughout the process.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The American college presidency began with the election of Henry Dunster as chief officer of Harvard College in 1640. He received the title *president*, which has continued at Harvard and has become the usual title for the chief executive of American institutions of higher education. The roots of the early colleges, including Harvard, go back directly to British universities, in most cases the English ones. From there, the lineage of American higher educational organizations shares the common past which reaches back to the universities of the Middle Ages (Prator, 1963).

After the Reformation, English colleges became more independent and grew in power at the expense of the central administration of the universities of which they were components. The prestige, size, and tradition of the universities allowed personnel to speak their minds with a freedom the reformers sought to curb in the name of the new orthodoxy. The colleges became weaker and could more easily be controlled. The consequence was that the heads of the colleges received increased authority (Prator, 1963).

In recent years, higher education in the United States has become a model for a society that demands equality across ethnic lines. However, throughout history, people of color (in this study African Americans) have been discriminated against in the field of education as well as in other sectors of society (Marshall and Kasten, 1994). Early

patriarchal traditions contribute to the overrepresentation of white males in the chief executive leadership positions in higher education in comparison to African American candidates. In general, leadership positions in the majority of higher education institutions are held by white males, followed by white females; in Historically Black Colleges and Universities the representation is just the opposite, with the majority of the presidencies held by African American males followed by African American females (Nettles, 1997). This organizational structure is supported by Gupton and Slick, 1996, who state that prevailing social perspectives support the notion that men belong in those leadership positions.

This phenomenon also exists in corporate America, with most major corporations operated by white males and most minority based corporations chaired by a member of a minority ethnic group – usually male. For instance, the network that selects presidents for the various institutions, often referred to as “the good old boy system,” is very strong; although this phrase sometimes viewed pejoratively, the ‘system’ is often considered a major vehicle used in selecting job candidates (Benton, 1980; Schmuck, 1986).

The presidency at any institution of higher education is a highly sought position, and competition can be quite challenging. College and university presidents on HBCU and majority college campuses face significant challenges, many of which did not exist even a decade ago. While faculty members are expected to master subject matter that is changing rapidly due to new research findings and emerging technology, college presidents must hire and retain qualified instructors and program staff so that their respective institutions operate efficiently and effectively. Additionally, they must keep

informed of the latest educational philosophies and management issues. The college president is the most visible administrative leader and in many cases the living symbol of the institution. Each college or university has only one; in many cases he/she is the only person through whom large segments of the public know the institution. He/she is the public relations person, fundraiser, friend-builder, spokesperson, morale builder, financial officer, guardian, scholar, and cheerleader (Ramsden, 1998).

With all of that said, few jobs are as difficult and as demanding, and as essential, as the job of the black college president on the campus of an Historically Black College and University (Ebony, 2001). Not only is the president faced with these administrative functions, he/she is, among other things, a motivator, parental surrogate, civil rights leader, and confessor. He/she must often address issues of low faculty and staff salaries, limited resources, deferred maintenance, small endowments, and declining enrollments. Since the founding of the first black college in the 19th century, a number of black women and men have carried out these tasks so well that they have changed not only black education but also White education in America. Since the Freedom Movement of the 1960s, a new generation of presidents, including an increasing percentage of female presidents, has given new meaning to this ancient tradition. While continuing the tradition of producing the best and brightest Black America has to offer and providing some of the best programs in the country at a fraction of the cost, HBCUs are also charting new directions for the new millennium (Black Issues in Higher Education, 2001).

The difficulty most black candidates face in the search for a college presidency is that society and the academy believe that a black candidate can only become president of an institution that has been traditionally perceived as serving a minority population (i.e. HBCU). Therefore, it is almost impossible to be considered “seriously” for the presidency of a majority college even though he/she may possess impressive credentials and experience (Vaughan, 1989).

The HBCU Experience

Since 1990, 85 of the nation's 102 historically black colleges and universities have installed new presidents. The following excerpt from the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (2003) outlines some unique issues facing these presidents:

1. Johnnetta B. Cole became president of Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 2002. The famed and charismatic former president of Spelman College knew full well that an important reason Bennett trustees sought her out was to capture her talents in raising money. Bennett College was operating with a \$2 million annual deficit, and Dr. Cole has a legendary capability to raise money. As president of Spelman in the 1990s, she spearheaded, and completed, a remarkably successful \$114 million capital campaign.
2. Thomas W. Cole, Jr., who recently resigned as president of Clark Atlanta University, told the Associated Press, "The challenge of just being president of any institution is just much more absorbing and difficult

because of the continuing responsibility of trying to raise money. It takes a toll on you over a period of time."

3. Frederick Humphries, who led Florida A&M University for sixteen years before resigning in 2001, continually struggled with the university's financial situation. In announcing his resignation, Humphries said that he was too old to continue the battle. Yet only a short time after his resignation, Humphries took over as head of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, a post in which he can continue to be a strong advocate for black colleges and universities but without the fundraising and other financial pressures he experienced at Florida A&M.
4. The longest-serving president of a black college is Jack Evans, Sr. of Southwestern Christian College in Terrell, Texas. He assumed the presidency of this small HBCU in August 1967.
5. Norman C. Francis is president of the highly regarded Xavier University in New Orleans, the only HBCU affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Francis became president of Xavier in 1968.
6. Seven other black colleges and universities have had the same president since at least 1979.
 - a. Coppin State College in Maryland,
 - b. Hinds Community College in Mississippi,
 - c. Harris-Stowe State College in Missouri,
 - d. Langston University in Oklahoma,

- e. Morris College in South Carolina,
- f. Hampton University in Virginia, and until recently
- g. Bethune-Cookman College in Florida.

Many of the presidents of black colleges are resigning but not retiring. They are returning to teaching or taking positions in the private sector. Some of the former black college and university presidents concede that they have left their posts due to the constant pressure to raise funds and the inability to raise sufficient sums to relieve the monetary problems of their institution (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

Unlike many predominantly white colleges and universities, most black colleges have an alumni base that has little wealth. Many black college graduates hold teaching positions in southern public schools or hold other low-paying jobs. These graduates are not able to make significant contributions to their alma maters. In addition, there is no tradition of philanthropy among African Americans directed toward educational institutions. Black Americans have frequently directed their philanthropic efforts toward religious organizations (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

Civil rights laws have damaged the black colleges. As opportunities for black students open up at predominantly white state universities, as well as at selective private institutions, many black colleges are struggling to maintain enrollment levels. Declining enrollments, in turn, further strain the colleges' financial positions (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

On top of this, the recent economic hard times have made fundraising increasingly difficult for presidents of historically black colleges and universities.

Corporations and foundations, which are the backbone of support for the private black colleges, have seen their endowments dwindle in the face of a sharp stock market downturn. Since black colleges do not head up the list of grantees, many corporations and foundations are reducing or eliminating grants to the black colleges (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

With the exception of selective schools such as Howard, Morehouse, and Spelman, many of the nation's private black colleges are operating under severe economic pressure. These colleges face a looming loss of accreditation and budget shortfalls that threaten their very existence. Under these circumstances, it is no surprise that many presidents of black colleges are putting down the burden of salvaging the affairs of troubled institutions and taking instead teaching positions or administrative posts at more financially stable, predominantly white colleges or universities (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

The history, mission, and philosophy of colleges are key to creating the road map for the institution president, administrative staff, faculty, and students to follow. The person in the “front seat,” responsible for making all of this happen is the president. While this leader struggles hard to raise funding for institutional programs, struggles to advance the mission of the college, keeps abreast of new developments in learning while helping to recruit new personnel to strengthen weak departments, deals with student unrest, and implements programs and services that respond to the consumer needs while meeting the demands of the board, the president must also protect the age-old learning and teaching activities that make the institution what it is today and what it aspires to be

tomorrow. The college president has a very difficult job. The questions that come to mind – who would want it, what kind of people occupy this difficult position, why are they there, what are their origins and backgrounds, what kinds of careers led to their accepting this position, and ultimately is there a difference between presidents of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and presidents of non-HBCU institutions.

Former college presidents, through their memoirs, speeches, essays, and biographies have prepared most of the existing published works that provide profiles of college presidents (Prator, 1963). But a greater problem exists, the disparity in the opportunities for individuals seeking the college presidency who are of African American descent, working at historically black colleges and universities, and those individuals who attained the presidency at non-HBCU institutions who are not people of color. As a result of extensive research in area university libraries with higher education curriculum programs, Internet searches using key words (i.e. College Presidency – HBCU – Comparisons - White – Black – African American – Presidential Pathways) and search tools (Google, ERIC, EBSCO, InfoTrac, MSN, Yahoo), and discussions with education faculty at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, it was discovered that no comparative investigation of these two populations has been undertaken. Further investigation into who these leaders were and how they attained their current positions are subjects of both scholarly interest and informal conversation and the focus of this dissertation.

This dissertation used a two-phase, mixed method study. The first phase was examining a large presidential database followed by a purposive sampling with illuminating interviews to address these issues.

Statement of the Problem

The problem for this study was to describe the preparations, backgrounds, and crucial workplace issues of African American and white Presidents of HBCUs and Non-HBCUs. While there has been discussion in the higher education community to deviate from the term Historically Black Colleges and Universities for the more inclusive, Historically Minority Serving Institutions to include tribal colleges, Hispanic serving institutions, etc., in this study the focus was on HBCUs.

Research Questions

1. What are the patterns of the educational backgrounds of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?
2. What are the patterns of work history of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?
3. What are the patterns of issues and concerns that dominate the work and actions of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?
4. What are the patterns of issues and concerns among African American college presidents of historically black colleges and universities and presidents of non-HBCUs?

Significance of the Problem

Colleges continue to face an environment that is increasingly multicultural; however, the leadership ranks are dominated by Anglo-European males (89.3 percent as reported by ACE). As these same institutions incorporate in their mission, strategic plan, and philosophy a movement toward achieving a more diverse community of learners, there remains a lack of ethnic and gender diversity within the leadership ranks. Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite challenging, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to this chief administrative position. This study was expected to add to the limited literature available on HBCU and non-HBCU presidential preparations, backgrounds, and crucial workplace issues. Thus, the study was expected to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential, and occupational backgrounds.

In this two-phase, sequential mixed method study, phase one obtained quantitative data from a presidential sample regarding preparation, experience, and issues of presidents of HBCUs in comparison to non-HBCU presidents. Phase Two followed up with a sample of college presidents in a qualitative study to explore those results in more depth.

In the first phase, quantitative research questions addressed the preparation, background, and crucial workplace issues of African American and white presidents of accredited four-year liberal arts schools participating in the 2002 American Council on

Education Presidential Study. In 1986, the American Council on Education began collecting data on college and university presidents through its research division – the Center for Leadership Development. The program collects baseline information on presidents of regionally accredited higher education institutions and updates the data bank on an annual basis with newly appointed presidents. The research reflects information on presidents’ education, career paths, and length of service, as well as personal characteristics such as age, marital status, and religious affiliation. Data was also collected on race/ethnicity and gender and the search process used in the presidential selection process.

Questionnaires were mailed to 3,124 presidents in the summer of 2002. Non-respondents received a second mailing in Fall 2002 and a third in Winter 2002. The American Council on Education (ACE) received a total of 2,380 responses, which represents a 76 percent response rate to the survey instrument. This response rate number was consistent with previous surveys conducted by ACE. The data set was obtained with permission to perform this study from the ACE Office of Policy Analysis.

The study compared presidents of HBCUs with presidents of predominantly white colleges and universities along a number of variables:

1. Occupational and educational backgrounds – what were the advanced degrees held and previous experience leading to presidency
2. Age at time of current appointment – was there a difference in age of presidents at HBCU and non-HBCU

3. Predominant field of graduate or professional study –what was the academic discipline pursued and attained by presidents
4. Administrative and strategic priorities – what were the major goals identified to become a college president
5. Gender – male versus female

Based upon a review of higher education journals (i.e. Chronicle of Higher Education, The Presidency, CASE Currents), non-profit times publications, and leadership and professional development magazines, these variables were the key areas that are focused on by executive search firms, external headhunters, and internal search committees when seeking a successful college president.

Based on the findings in Phase One, the second phase involved developing an interview protocol and process to help explain the statistically descriptive patterns that were derived from the first phase. Twenty interviews were conducted face-to-face at annual assemblies that grant access to college and university presidents (i.e. American Council on Education (ACE), National Association For Equal Opportunity (NAFEO), Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU); in some cases, interviews were conducted via telephone. The American Council on Education and the Association of American Colleges and Universities, organizations with memberships in excess of 1800 institutions of higher education, conduct annual assemblies that bring approximately 800 college and university presidents from the fifty United States and abroad to one location to discuss issues relevant to helping college presidents advance their institutional goals. The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher

Education (NAFEO) annually brings 80 of the 102 member presidents of historically black colleges and universities to discuss issues relevant to the problems they are facing. Scheduling face-to-face and telephone interviews with a representative sample of presidents was coordinated with the staff conference planner of ACE, AACU and NAFEO. Initial verbal contact was made with each association representative explaining the purpose of the study and the assistance being requested from the organization. A follow-up letter outlining the details of the study and confirming the organization's willingness to share contact information of the pre-registrants immediately followed.

A purposive sampling strategy reflecting size of institution, public versus non-public, region of the country, and institutional mission served as the basis for selecting participants. In this case it was desirable to purposively choose the region and the respondents because this provided information-rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied. Purposive sampling was an effective tool when used with mixed method studies, and in this case it allowed common sense decisions to be made to choose the right habitations and meeting the right number of people from the conference pre-registration listings for the purpose of the study. (CEMCA 2004). In short, purposive sampling is best used with small numbers of individuals/groups which may well be sufficient for understanding human perceptions, problems, needs, behaviors, and contexts, which was the main justification for this qualitative research project.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A higher education stimulates the totality of our being, the deepening of imagination and intellect, and the commitment to creating a more just, humane, and livable world. A survey of mission statements upon which many major higher education institutions were founded reveals a common theme: the opportunity to provide a discovery of truth in an environment of intellectual freedom. This opportunity leads to the empowerment of students to develop leadership skills, in preparation for a changing world as they encounter new developments throughout their lives. But while many four-year institutions of higher education have stood at the forefront of addressing world issues, some critics may argue that these same institutions have lagged in their ability to progressively address their own internal issues (i.e. diversity within the leadership ranks of the institution itself).

The office of the college president is uniquely American, even though it was molded on English precedents, according to George P. Schmidt, who maintains that

The president was a more important figure than the presidents or principals of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, who though their powers were expanding, were primarily the senior fellows; and his functions were much broader and more varied than those of the rectors and chancellors of the large European universities (Schmidt, 1957).

An historical survey reveals that the colonial college president was pictured as rather autocratic and often despotic in his leadership style, and as patriarch as well as chief administrator in his purpose. Requirements for the college president were (1) he must be a clergyman, (2) he must be an excellent speaker, and (3) he must be able to raise money and direct the administration of the college (Prator, 1963). The early president was indeed more concerned with teaching rather than research. In many cases the president was found to teach subjects usually around Christianity. In addition, because of the youthful college population, the president (usually a male) was also involved in the development of a student's character (Prator, 1963; Cohen 1998).

In 1780 there were only nine colleges, but at the outbreak of the Civil War, the country had a total of 182 colleges – while over 400 institutions had opened and failed during this same period. It is noted that the Civil War was the most notable event marking the onset of the University Transformation Era. It is also interesting to note that the variety of professions from which college presidents were chosen became more numerous after the Civil War. Frederick Rudolph wrote

The clergyman president went into discard because he lacked skill in the ways of the world, because his commitment to the classical curriculum stood in the way of the more practical and popular emphasis which commended itself to the trustees, and because the world in which the colleges and universities now moved was more secular, less subject to religious influences (Rudolph, 1962).

The College Land Grant (Morrill) Act of 1862, passed during the war and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, passed during a later war, were the two most important pieces of legislation ever enacted by the U.S. Congress in terms of their influence on the

course of higher education. The first Morrill Act gave rise to land-grant colleges, which turned higher education toward broader areas of service. The second Morrill Act (1890) continued to increase the access to opportunities for citizens who wanted a higher education by denying federal funds to states that discriminated on the basis of race (unless the state was willing to establish separate institutions). Eventually this act gave rise to historically black colleges and universities, opening the door to higher education to many African-Americans.

The growth of the university surpassed the older and smaller independent or sectarian colleges at the beginning of the 20th century. Larger enrollments, standardization of practices, diversification of functions, and the effects of the theory of evolution and the elective system again altered the course of higher education (Cohen, 1998). Along with these changes, the colleges required a new kind of leadership or president, new methods of financing, and new areas of administration. The president had to become more of an off-campus celebrity for the first time.

Writers and researchers have studied the presidency from a number of perspectives. One such researcher and noted academician is Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California. Kerr believed that the president had to increasingly “mediate between and among the communities in which various groups, such as students, faculty, administrators, and the public legitimately compete for dominance and influence.” Kerr also went on to state that the type of president needed for an institution depends on the educational circumstances of the institution, current administrative needs, and experiences with previous occupants of the position (Kerr, 1994).

In many respects, the background, style, and role of the president over the past 300 years have often reflected and adapted to the social, political, economic, and educational climate existing in society.

Many writers mark this time as the “old-time president.” Frederick Rudolph wrote

The old college was a place where nothing happened and where the president by a kind of indifference or remoteness or even superiority to mundane matters performed an effortless role, in seeing to it that nothing happen. The new era, however, demanded men who knew what they wanted and, better yet, what their various publics wanted, men who were prepared to try the impossible task of being the “reconciler of irreconcilabilities, “ the leader to students, faculty, alumni and trustees (Rudolph, 1962).

The world as we know it today is changing, and it is the result of higher education that has prepared the current world leaders to be able to address such issues as nuclear armament and disarmament, digital communications, genetic engineering, terrorism, genetic engineering, ozone depletion and many others. The competencies learned and mastered today will enable the next generation of students to lead, to serve, and to change the world in ways we cannot anticipate.

Higher education today represents to many the American ideology of equality of opportunity in regards to obtaining an education, yet colleges and universities continue to face challenges. No doubt it is important that the leaders and governing bodies of these institutions find creative ways to accommodate the demands placed on them. All institutions of higher education with sitting presidents, and especially with new presidents, face the complex task of defining and/or redefining their institutional mission statements to maintain their egalitarian ideal while balancing the special current needs of

a changing world. Presidents must balance open access with selectiveness, comprehensiveness with focus of purpose, and diversity with homogeneity.

Presidents must possess a vision to move their institutions to the next level – status quo is no longer acceptable. These leaders must represent the world around them and from which they will draw student and professional talent to operate their institutions.

African-Americans have not ascended to top leadership roles within many higher education institutions although they are better represented within the population of students who attend many of the institutions of higher learning. The Civil Rights Act (1964) and subsequent acts produced laws and equal opportunity initiatives aimed at addressing the issues of inequity in hiring and promotion policies of organizations. The result of affirmative action laws and equal opportunity initiatives is an increase in the number of African-Americans who are employed in various occupations and positions in business, industry, government, and academic arenas. However, there continues to remain a significant gap in the number of African Americans who are employed within the top ranks of the leadership of higher education institutions. Caucasians make up 75 percent of the nation's population and African-Americans make up 13 percent of the total United States population, yet as reflected in research, all minorities only make up 11 percent of the college presidencies and of that number, African-Americans make up 6.3 percent of all presidential positions on college campuses. When factoring out the HBCUs, that number decreases by a total of 107 institutions.

Extensive research has been developed regarding the demographic profiles of the college president (Cohen & March, 1974; Ferrari, 1970; Green, 1988; Ross & Green,

1998; Green & Henderson, 1993; Fisher & Koch 1996; Vaughan 1998). This research has shown for example that

1. 89.3 percent of all presidents were white,
2. 83.5 percent were male,
3. 58.4 percent had a Ph.D., and
4. 73.3 percent had at one time been full time faculty members (Ross & Green 1998).

By contrast African Americans make up 13 percent of the nation's population, and represent only 7 percent of college presidencies.

In 1972 the Director of the Office of Civil Rights issued a set of guidelines to college and university administrators on the matter of compliance with Executive Order 11246. The obligations facing institutions of higher education fall into two categories: nondiscrimination and affirmative action. Nondiscrimination requires the elimination of all existing discriminatory practices; affirmative action requires the college or university to take positive measures to make opportunities available to individuals belonging to groups that have been discriminated against in the past. Goals are required, but quotas are not. The order does not require standards to be lowered or diluted in the hiring process or promotion of targeted groups.

Although Executive Order 11246 has been in effect for over a decade, there remains a need to utilize underrepresented groups in administrative and leadership roles. The hiring and promotion of African Americans to leadership roles should be based not on race alone but also the principles of fairness and merit (Steele, 1991). The current

study assessed the preparation by HBCU and non-HBCU college presidents on background variables which allows a dynamic comparison of the similarities and differences in educational, experiential, and occupational backgrounds to add to the knowledge base and which can assist those in the position to make hiring and promotional decisions by arming them with an understanding of leadership qualities that the African American presidents bring to the table.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Before the Civil War, higher education was virtually non-existent. Most of the southern whites who were in control at the time strongly-opposed any formal education for blacks. Thus, those blacks who did achieve some schooling, such as Frederick Douglas, had to teach themselves. However, the Institute of Colored Youth (later Cheyney University) provided a foundation for black education through its elementary and secondary training initiative. Later Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Wilberforce University in Ohio, became the first historically black private colleges pre-Civil War.

In the years following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery via the 13th Amendment, Senator Justin Morrill became a strong advocate for state support for higher education. Many of these so-called land grant institutions, however, were not open to blacks. It took another 28 years before Senator Morrill proposed a solution. These state institutions had to open their door to blacks or provide funding for segregated black colleges. As such, a total of 16 exclusively black institutions received land-grant funds in 1890.

Conflict

Two of the first and most prominent graduates of such black institutions were Booker T. Washington, who attended Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and W.E.B. DuBois, who attended Fisk University. These two men presented two contrasting styles with regard to the future of black education. Washington focused on vocational training, while DuBois believed in the liberal arts, and was skeptical of Washington's promotion of vocational training, which DuBois thought only served to perpetuate the slave mentality. "It is impossible to say which of these views triumphed. Each, in its own way, lives on today in modern HBCUs. Many colleges and universities seem to be embracing both – students receive practical, technical training grounded in liberal arts" (National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Guide).

Most significantly, formal educational opportunities are now available to black students to further educate themselves, whether in the tradition of Washington or in the tradition of DuBois.

Challenges and Remedies

HBCUs certainly have not been immune to challenges of the time, especially with the onset of the Great Depression, which left many HBCUs in a financial crisis from which it would be hard to recover. Private HBCUs found it particularly difficult as the Depression eliminated many of their sources for funding. However, the influence of the courts, particularly *Brown v. Board of Education* and Civil Rights Legislation promoted the "separate but equal" mantra, which would serve to help historically black institutions. While many HBCU supporters were afraid that this new integration initiative might hurt

African American students, it should be noted that “desegregation is important, but should never be viewed a reason for putting black students in a disadvantageous situation. Black colleges provide a unique education for African-Americans” (National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Guide).

The Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations served to advance the cause of HBCUs by initiating programs and executive orders that strengthened the capacities of these institutions.

There are a limited number of observers who do not support the value of HBCUs; however, most evidence supports the hypothesis that HBCU attendance enhances the persistence and educational attainment of black students (Pascarella and Terenzini as cited in Committee, 1988). In addition, HBCUs are significantly over represented as the baccalaureate college of origin of black doctoral recipients (Committee, 1988). The National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education in 1992 reported that, although in 1990 they enrolled only 17 percent of the nation’s black students, HBCUs graduated 27 percent (Committee, 1988).

One such reason for the high retention rate at HBCUs has been a willingness on the part of the faculty to provide remedial preparation on an as-needed basis for students who start out with weak high school backgrounds. Pascarella and Terenzini noted “a strong case has been made with regards to a supportive social, cultural, and racial environment that enhances [students’] successful adaptation to the academic demands of undergraduate life” (as cited in Committee, 1988).

With these types of issues facing HBCUs, the study of the preparation for the presidency at these institutions was of utmost importance. A review of the leadership of the past was beneficial so we can embrace the accomplishments and make every effort not to repeat past mistakes. However, a working knowledge of the most current research in organizational diagnosis and leadership was an essential tool for the president of an HBCU and non-HBCU if he or she were to lead the institution successfully into the next century.

HBCUs have always been and continue to serve as an unwavering symbol of freedom in education for people of color. Their strength and stability account for the perpetual rise of intellectuals, professionals, and creative artists so evident throughout the black communities and American society at-large. Even in the 21st century, HBCUs will be relied upon to appropriate new technologies, curricula, and standards that grant every student the broadest opportunity for academic proficiency.

Shared Governance

Because higher education was not a societal expectation for African-Americans the institutions that sought to educate them were unequal, underdeveloped, and underfunded. Under the watchful eye of racist boards and community leaders, not much progress has been made. The segregation has not changed, nor has the poor funding. However, one should be aware of what is meant by segregation in this context:

[Black Colleges] are not segregated in terms of laws or customs restricting enrollment and employment to black people. They are segregated in the sense that their funds and, consequently, their programs and facilities are such that few non-black students want to attend them. They are segregated in the minds of society, especially white society. (AAUP 2001 conference)

Thus, the institutions are failing to meet the needs of the students they were first founded to serve. Particularly alarming are the following shared governance failures of HBCUs:

The critical areas of shared governance in which HBCUs come up short include (a) faculty representation on policy and decision-making bodies; (b) searches and hiring of academic personnel; (c) faculty grievances; (d) promotion, tenure, and post-tenure hearings and procedures; (e) evaluations of peers and administrators; (f) salary determination and other budgetary matters; (g) program development, review, and revision; (h) development and revision of faculty handbooks; (i) access to information needed for decision making; and (j) the status of the faculty senate as a decision- and policy-making unit (AAUP 2001 Conference).

Problem Administrators

One of the major problems with HBCUs is the “academic refugee” phenomenon in which presidents play “musical chairs.” Many presidents who have been let go, received votes of no confidence, or have been accused of wrongdoing are rehired at other HBCUs, nonetheless. This again is indicative of the problem that most of the boards that are making such hires have little regard for the mission of historically black institutions.

Boards and trustees of HBCUs often have much tighter control over their institutions, as compared to their counterparts at predominantly white colleges. This is mainly because of the promotion of the “plantation mentality” by the board to dampen the aspirations and activism among faculty and students. Thus, many black administrators are paid well to comply with those unfortunate goals.

When one looks at the compensation of the black college presidents, the racist history of black higher education, and the willingness to use police violence to keep black students in check—as was done at Jackson State University, South Carolina State University, and elsewhere—it is easy to conclude that the main job of black administrators is keeping a lid on black college faculty and students.

Such circumstances directly affect the nature of shared governance, or the lack thereof, on black college campuses (AAUP 2001 Conference).

Unshared Governance

There is a lack of faculty involvement at HBCUs. Much of the policy is spearheaded by deans' councils and presidents' cabinets. If it were not for this institutional structure, the fear is that faculty would expand the expectation of such institutions and contradict many of the racist initiatives promoted by the Boards.

At lower levels of institutional governance, faculty may be involved in decisions, but they are outnumbered on the decision-making bodies. "At predominantly white universities, faculties select their own representatives on committees and dominate these committees when they deal with academic matters and academic personnel" (AAUP 2001 Conference). At black colleges, the more the faculty promotes an initiative, the more they are restrained by boards and administrators.

What Does it Mean to be a College President

For the men and women who sit in the power seats of America's institutions of higher learning, life in the ivory tower is not exactly "cushy." Leading the modern college or university is a complicated affair, requiring the organizational skills of a field marshal, the fiscal acumen of a CPA, the diplomacy of a politician and the vision of a prophet (Ebony 1991).

"Today, universities are so much more complex," says Dr. Franklyn G. Jennifer, 14th president of Howard University and the first African-American president at the University to Texas at Dallas. "You are not only expected to be the academic leader of

the institution, you must cultivate a series of managerial skills that are not normally achieved in the traditional hierarchy of higher education (Ebony, 1991).

Candidates for a presidency, once they have crossed the hurdles of relevant background, experience and skill, are chosen for their particular constellation of charisma, personality, style, beliefs, and values. Yet as the candidate becomes the president, the very characteristics that attracted supporters become less visible. The need to act as the embodiment of the institution diminishes the president's individualism. Whether playing golf with trustees or having dinner with professors, most presidents are discreet in conversation and focused on their institutional agendas. The change is necessary for successful leadership, but it is challenging to personal authenticity (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2004).

From the time presidents are selected, their utterances and decisions are scrutinized for meaning, and they quickly learn to tailor their remarks to the expectations of different groups. As presidents move among the various cultures of academe – those of the trustees, faculty members, students, alumni, donors, and many more – interpreting each to the other, they subtly alter their behavior and language, like chameleons change color (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2004).

Presidents have traveled, fished, sung, and gambled with trustees and prospects even when they would have preferred doing something else. Presidents sometimes participate in unsavory activities to mollify powerful constituents (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2004).

In accepting a presidency, a person leaves behind the freedom to conduct a satisfying social life composed of authentic and reciprocal friendships. The many pleasant meals and social interactions with people involved with the college may have the appearance and characteristics of friendships – but for the president such interactions, are work (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2004).

College presidents often have backgrounds of political and civic activism that cannot be expressed once they assume the job. Presidents cannot appear partisan for fear of alienating some constituents and legislators (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2004).

While these concerns are the same for HBCU and non HBCU presidents, historically black colleges and universities are also faced with the increasing need of greater financial help to make a college education affordable to students and to install the technology necessary to best prepare students for a future (Black Issues, 2001).

The question often surfaces, “Why do HBCUs deserve special assistance?” Presidents of HBCUs are uniform in their response that HBCUs have much smaller endowments than other schools and are forced to postpone maintenance and replacement of facilities for these very reasons. Most importantly, they are required to spend significant dollars on remedial education to help their students – many of whom are the products of urban schools – become competent enough to handle college level material (Black Issues, 2001).

HBCUs continue to struggle with attracting top faculty to positions. The average salary for the professorial rank at HBCUs was \$53,000 while at majority schools the

average was \$65,000. For instructors the average salary was \$41,000 at HBCUs, compared with \$50,000 at all others. (St. Petersburg Times, 2003)

HBCU presidents are trying to convince more alumni to donate more money to help address these needs and to convince alumni to repay student loans at a faster rate. Sallie Mae, the nation's top student loan provider, reports that HBCUs have higher than average student loan default rates, frequently double those at other schools. The biggest irony is that while public HBCUs struggle financially, they face increasing numbers of "diversity" legal actions in states such as North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and West Virginia. In these states, opponents of affirmative action have turned the concept of multiculturalism on its head, arguing that tax dollars should not support public HBCUs. Although established for blacks, HBCUs – unlike their white counterparts – have never denied admission because of race. They have always had white professors, yet whites simply chose to stay away from black schools (St. Petersburg Times, 2003).

Reginald Wilson, senior scholar with the American Council on Education, reports that presidents and chancellors today represent a new type of leadership at HBCUs. The new style borrows from the old, while adding a global perspective and more controlled approach. The leadership is increasingly strong, but not necessarily dictatorial. The goals for these presidents have also changed from the past; the times have demanded that presidents and chancellors widen their vision and seek a broader horizon for the schools, while at the same time keeping students, faculty, alumni, the state, donors, and the community happy (*The Herald Sun*, 1997).

Wilson sees a new crop of presidents – former administrators at predominantly white schools in the North and West coming to black colleges. With them come broader experiences and perspectives than their predecessors, who likely attended and received their training at HBCUs (*The Herald Sun*, 1997).

More is expected from black college leaders than their white counterparts. HBCU leaders still have to be hands-on and more accessible to their college communities. Robert Ingram, executive director of the Association of Governing Boards in Washington DC, says that governing boards increasingly look at presidential candidates through the lens of whether they have "access to resources" (*The Herald Sun*, 1997).

Appendix G provides a listing of the HBCUs with their founding years, a listing of enrollment information and number of faculty members in 1990 and 1991 according to information taken from the 1995 Directory of Higher Education, 2000 Director of Higher Education, World Almanac 1991, World Almanac 2000, Time Almanac 2000 and the Time Almanac 2001. One of the oldest on the list is Cheyney State University founded in 1837, and one of the youngest schools is Lawson State Community College founded in 1965. At the end of each listing, a plus or minus is used to indicate if the institution had a gain (+) or a loss (-) in enrollment during 1990 and 1999. Fourteen of the fifty-three HBCUs had a decline in enrollment during the nine-year period.

HBCUs: What is their Status

Enrollment. While many private schools, such as Harvard, Yale, and Cornell, have limited their enrollment, HBCUs, in many instances, have grown through increased enrollment. Of the two premium public HBCUs, Florida A&M University and Howard University, only FAMU had increased enrollment in 1990 and 1999. Both, however, had increased their number of curricula such as master and doctoral degrees in pharmaceutical sciences, physical therapy, engineering, and environmental sciences. In addition, they pursue National Achievement and National Merit Scholars with a vengeance.

Appendix G also shows that most of the 53 HBCUs have increased enrollment in the nine-year period, 1990 and 1999. Of the HBCUs with enrollment status listed, only a few (14) of them had a decline in enrollment in the two years recorded. HBCUs with the largest decline included Texas Southern, Howard, Morris Brown, Grambling, Central State, and Jackson State; whereas those with the largest increases included Florida A&M, Morgan State, Coppin State, and Bowie State. A few HBCUs have predominately white enrollments, such as Bluefield State, Cheyney State, Kentucky State, and West Virginia State. To date, no HWCUs (Historically White Colleges and Universities) have become predominately black. (Godfrey, 1999; Drummond, 2001 Study as cited in Evans, 2002)

HBCUs continue to be the selected universities for many black students. In a survey of more than 500 African-American professionals taken by Black Enterprise, the top five schools providing the best academic and social environments for black students

were Spelman, Morehouse, Florida A&M, Clark Atlanta, and Howard (Evans, 2002). HWCUs such as Stanford (10th), Georgetown (11th), and Oberlin (12th) are listed in the top twelve (Time Almanac, 2000, as cited in Evans, 2002).

Appendix G shows the top 50 colleges for black students. Dr. Walter Massey, President of Morehouse, gave several factors that make these institutions stand out:

One, they are schools that make the students feel comfortable. They create an environment where they feel they can be themselves.... Secondly, they are schools that, again, have established over the years that their graduates are competitive in whatever field they go into (Evans, 2002).

HBCUs have been successful because they have been able not only to maintain their enrollments, but also to increase their enrollments over the years. In addition, they have graduates who have become outstanding in education, sociology, science, mathematics, and other disciplines. Furthermore, most have celebrated 100 or more years of service to the community (Price, 1998 as cited in Evans 2002).

Curricula. In curricula, many of the HBCUs are now offering an array of programs, such as allied health, business, technology, engineering, and architecture. Programs in environmental sciences, such as forest, air, water, and soil conservation, are a priority at several HBCUS. And international programs focusing on various disciplines in Africa and Asia are in demand on some HBCU campuses. Since the early seventies, programs in education and liberal arts have taken the back seat, as some HBCUs are beefing up their priority programs at the expense of traditional programs, such as education, social

sciences, psychology, English, economics, mathematics, and the natural sciences. A few no longer have home economics (home or life sciences) or agriculture, the disciplines needed in third world countries. While many HBCUs have not received accreditation in several priority fields, most that offer education have managed to have their education programs accredited. And graduates from HBCUs are earning good salaries in many of the aforementioned priority fields. However, it is recommended that HBCUs steer their best and brightest into graduate programs where critical thought and research are fostered (Price as cited in Evans, 2002).

In spite of gaining accreditation in the traditional disciplines and generally exceeding expectations of the establishment, several HBCUs have been confronted with demotion threats. Retired Principal Clifton Lemelle, President of the Education Section of the J. K. Haynes Foundation in Louisiana, who has been on the forefront of educational opportunities for black people in Louisiana, related that recently in Louisiana, some state legislators recommended that Grambling State be named a community college, rather than a university in the state university system; however the J. K. Haynes Foundation, some black legislators, many black religious leaders, and several Grambling alumni chapters and friends, such as Attorney Thomas Todd, were successful in stopping the recommendation for now (Lemelle, 2000). Periodically, every ten or more years, Florida A&M has to justify its existence as an autonomous university. Additionally, HBCUs in Alabama, Georgia, and Texas have justification problems with their legislators (Healy, as cited in Evans, 2002).

Intercollegiate Athletics. Intercollegiate athletics play an important part in college life in

both HBCUs and HWCUs. When HBCUs were the only colleges for black athletes, many of their players advanced to professional athletics, and their varsity sports seemed to be more competitive. Today, HBCUs must share top black athletes with HWCUs, as most of the more competitive black players are attending HWCUs—so goes the saying that one can find more black students on the athletic teams than in the classrooms of many HWCUs. Notwithstanding the aforementioned, when HBCUs have winning teams, they have simultaneous increases in enrollment and funding. Recently, in the last five years, Florida A&M and Hampton have been winning in football, baseball, track and field, and several minor sports, which has helped their enrollments. Furthermore, Grambling had less difficulty recruiting students since its intercollegiate athletic teams had winning seasons (Evans, 2002).

Graduation rates of athletes at HBCUs have exceeded expectations. The rates range from 22 to 66 percent for HBCUs in recent years (Henderson, as cited in Evans, 2002). In the State of Louisiana in 1999-2000, Grambling State was second to Tulane in graduation rates of athletes (Lemelle, as cited in Evans, 2002).

Politics. Political power has always had a positive impact on the progress of colleges and universities. Harvard, Yale, and John Hopkins alumni use the political system to assist the growth of their institutions. HBCUs now have graduates in state legislatures and Congress who can impact laws to assist them. Presidents of HBCUs have been invited by the White House, Congress, National Science Institute, National Institutes of Health, and other national organizations to present their critical needs. Title III Programs, TRIO

Programs, and other national programs for HBCUs are impacted greatly by political forces. Specifically, Florida A&M will have its law school again—in 1968, the law school was abruptly transferred to Florida State University, its neighbor across the tracks in Tallahassee, by an act of the Florida Legislature--because of the coalition of Black and Hispanic representatives in the Florida Legislature and the strong advocacy of Florida A&M faculty, alumni, and friends. More of these coalitions may yield additional programs and funding for HBCUs (Evans 2002).

The political impact has been negative on HBCUs at times. An example of negative political impact was the endorsement by the Florida Legislature of the tier organization of universities in the state university system, which placed Florida A&M University (FAMU), along with three other universities, in the third and bottom tier. Many believe that the tier system leaves FAMU the last to be funded and the universities in the first and second tier the first to be funded. The usual negative impact, however, has been the call by some legislators periodically to have Florida A&M abolished, to rename Grambling State a community college, or to make Texas Southern a part of the University of Houston. Furthermore, the selection of the president in HBCUs has been too political, with the governor, Board of Regents, and legislators playing games that are designed to select weak leaders so that the HBCU would not excel. Why does the selection of a president of an HBCU take six months to a year, when the time for such selection at HWCUs is barely two months? In spite of all of these problems, HBCUs are exceeding expectations of the establishment (Evans, 2002).

A number of "Consent Decrees" have had an impact on HBCUs. One of the latest

in Louisiana mandated that Grambling should have a comprehensive faculty development plan to encourage faculty to earn terminal degrees, a nursing program maintained and developed, and facilities to be updated (Lemelle, as cited in Evans, 2002). The affirmative action declared in 1978 to correct the injustices occurring in employment and education for minorities and women was struck down at the University of Texas Law School by the US Court of Appeals in 1996 in Hopwood v University of Texas Law School, in California by the passing of Proposition 209 in 1997, and in Washington State by the passing of the State Initiative 200 in 1998 (Time almanac, as cited in Evans, 2002). Affirmative action on campuses of HBCUs has changed the color of faculty and students therein, with little color change at HWCUs except in varsity or intercollegiate athletics. (Evans, 2002)

Funding. HBCUs have always had problems in securing sufficient funding to run their institutions. For public HBCUs, state funding, which has never been sufficient, is augmented by student tuition, grants, and corporate and individual donations. State dollars to public HBCUs have been inadequate, and in the Florida State University System (SUS), the enhancement appropriation has been tied to accountability measures, such as enrollment, retention and graduation rates, excess course credit, and research funding. On most accountability measures, seven of the other state universities exceeded the performance of FAMU, although it has one of the highest graduation rates among HBCUs; for the last three years, the FAMU has had the largest number of college graduates of HBCUs. In a recent appropriation of enhancement dollars to the universities in the state university system, FAMU was allocated only \$130,000; whereas

three of the other universities together received nearly 1.5 million dollars. In Louisiana, in one year, the combined budgets of Grambling State and Southern Universities and the appropriations made to Dillard and Xavier did not exceed 10 percent of the budget of the Louisiana State University, the premier HWCU (Lemelle, as cited in Evans, 2002).

As at FAMU, many other HBCUs have more of their enrollment at the undergraduate level; however, graduate levels receive greater funding, according to state legislatures in Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama. Thus, the formula for funding is designed to favor HWCUs (Evans, 2002).

Federal funding has provided some assistance to HBCUs. Title III funding during President Clinton's administration has meant millions of dollars to HBCUs; however, in a few cases, the funds have been used for pet projects of the top administrators, such as "Equity Centers," "Athletic Advisement," program accreditation for priority programs, and international programs. Having a large number of students clustered in the freshman and sophomore levels, the HBCUs could use the Title III funds to help those students reach junior and senior levels by developing excellent advisement and tutoring centers or laboratories, faculty development centers, and "live-learn dormitories," all programs that seem to improve student learning/achievement. Furthermore, the funding to many HBCUs by the National Science Foundation, National Institute of Health, Environmental Protection Agency, and other federal agencies is more likely to be used to strengthen priority programs than to assist students at the lower level to learn the skills necessary to take advantage of programs at the upper level in education, humanities, natural sciences, health, engineering, business, law, allied health, medicine, and research. Even the few

dollars resulting from land-grant status at several HBCUs, which do not approach ten percent of the dollars given to HWCUs, are spent on priority programs that already have the lion-share of the institutional budgets (Evans, 2002).

HBCUs have fundraising endeavors to increase their foundation funds. Although they do not receive the amount of donations of most HWCUs, they have increased their foundation endowments to millions of dollars. Developing one of the largest endowments among private HBCUs, Spelman launched a fundraising campaign that resulted in approximately \$100 million, and Hampton, Tuskegee, and Fisk have had large endowments for years. The endowment matching formula is based on funding the university receives. Since HWCUs have greater endowments, they receive greater matching dollars for their endowed chairs held by outstanding leaders, in order to raise the academic bar on their campuses. Most HBCUs have at least one endowed chair (Evans, 2002).

Pell Grants, grants-in-aid, veteran benefits, campus work aid, scholarships, Social Security benefits to dependent children, and federal loans are means used to finance a college education for many students at HBCUs. Most HBCUs have 70 to 85 percent of their students on some kind of financial aid. Problems have been legendary in the distribution of these funds to the students. Rarely do students talk about HBCUs without criticizing the Financial Aid Office. In addition, employees on campus who criticize the HBCUs' systems are often demoted or fired, if possible. Furthermore, in several cases, employees at HBCUs have been charged with embezzling or misappropriating financial aid funds. Sufficient, competent staff to work with financial aid seems to be a problem in

many HBCUs, as the Financial Aid Offices are understaffed, under funded, and under equipped (Evans, 2002).

One of the largest expenditures for colleges and universities is salaries, and HBCUs are no exception. However, keeping the salaries of faculty comparable to those in HWCUs has been a serious problem. Buck (as cited in Evans, 2002) wrote that "many top HBCU administrators' salaries are keeping pace with or surpassing those of their counterparts at other institutions." However, she (Buck) declared, "The magnitude of the differences in faculty salaries continues to be dramatic, as the average mean salary, for all ranks at the HBCUs is only \$45,300, compared to \$56,300 for all institutions, a 20% difference." She explained that the greatest difference is at the rank of professor (HBCUs \$56,900, all institutions \$72,700) and least difference at the rank of instructor (HBCUs \$31,400, all institutions \$33,400). The AAUP statistics cited by Buck listed Cheyney State and Morgan State with the highest average salaries for professors of \$77,100 and \$73,900 respectively (Buck, as cited in Evans, 2002).

Leadership. Many of the problems on the campuses of HBCUs seem to be related to leadership, both in quality and quantity. One of the running jokes in HBCUs is that, "if you have worked at one of them, you have worked at all of them." Decidedly not all HBCUs would fall in the category, but many of them have problems with sufficient leadership on campus. One Faculty Senate President at Alabama A&M responded to the selection of the president of her university by saying, "We don't get the kind of leadership and attention we need" (Healy, as cited in Evans, 2002). The faculty members at

Alabama A&M were dissatisfied with the President of the University in 1997, to the extent that 131 of the 203 members of the Faculty Senate voted 'no confidence' on the President (King, as cited in Evans, 2002). It is crucial to question, how many HBCU Faculty Senates have courageously turned down candidates for administrative jobs because the candidates were not the best available; in contrast during the 1999-2000 academic year, the University of Florida's faculty Senate recommended that the selection process for their new president of the university be opened again for better candidates: The Governor and Board of Regents of Florida agreed to their request, but they probably would not have agreed if a similar incident had happened at an HBCU (Evans, 2002).

HBCUs- Where Do they Go from Here

Most HBCUs have managed to exceed most expectations, which were nil, in longevity, graduation rates, and many other factors. The majority of HBCUs, have taken a large number of students who have minimal ACT (14-17) or SAT (700-850) scores and little money and have educated them so that the students are as competitive as anyone else when they are graduated. The students become outstanding lawyers, doctors, judges, engineers, teachers, scientists, writers, architects, artists, musicians, etc. HBCUs that thrive throughout the twenty-first century must continue to maintain their enrollment and to graduate competent, ethical alumni; to recruit more competent, dedicated, politically astute administrators and faculty; to develop and/or to acquire accredited programs/curricula; to encourage political, business community alliances/partnerships; to maintain or exceed present institutional funding; and to create a more friendly workplace

for employees and administrators, all of which are apparent for good institutions of higher learning. The situation of HBCUs is clear; as they must not only be good institutions of higher learning, they must also be flawless. (Evans, 2002)

Of all the goals for HBCUs to achieve/maintain, the most pressing is the last one-- to create a friendlier workplace for employees and administrators. Lack of improvement in this area may cause the demise of HBCUs from within. A friendly workplace is a win-win situation for administrators, faculty, staff, and students. For example, during the late nineties, Texas Soother's enrollment declined drastically; the Presidency changed four times; faculty morale was low; program effectiveness was reduced; University finances were in disarray; the athletic teams were losing their games, and the Board of Regents was very divided (King, as cited in Evans, 2002). Throughout these tumultuous years, the University was not considered a healthy workplace, as many faculty, staff, and students were afraid to speak up for fear of retribution. A similar case occurred at Grambling State during the same period (Lemelle as cited in Evans, 2002). Howard University, one of the few comprehensive research HBCUs, felt so inclined to diminish the role of the faculty in shared governance that the "Board of Trustees unilaterally abolished tenure as it is commonly defined" (Buck, as cited in Evans, 2002).

When competent, dedicated, ethical administrators are employed, they employ competent, dedicated, ethical faculty and staff, who in turn recruit students who are competent, dedicated, and ethical, who in turn recruit others like themselves. Having excellent administrators, faculty, staff, and students, HBCUs are certain to thrive past the twenty-first century (Evans, 2002).

Although HBCUs are relatively small institutions, have few resources, and serve a high number of disadvantaged students, they have performed remarkably throughout their existence. By the early 1990s, they had educated almost 40 percent of America's black college graduates. In addition, 80 percent of black federal judges, 85 percent of all black doctors, 75 percent of all black Ph.D.s., 50 percent of black engineers, and 46 percent of all black business professionals received their undergraduate training at HBCUs. Moreover, historically black health-profession schools have trained an estimated 40 percent of black physicians, 75 percent of black veterinarians, 50 percent of black pharmacists, and 40 percent of the nation's black dentists (Mixon, Willie & Edmonds, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Attracting Faculty. While it is clear that HBCUs have disproportionately contributed to the education and preparation of black professionals, the future challenges of these institutions are great, especially in terms of attracting and retaining young black faculty. There are three major points this paper will address in that regard. First, unlike previous generations of black faculty that did not have the option of working at HWCUs, young black Ph.D.s routinely have employment options at these institutions when they complete their degrees. Even if they are going to be the only African Americans in their department or the entire college or school, this option creates competition for black schools. Moreover, because of the difference in pay, a number of these young Ph.D.s will opt to work in the private sector instead of in higher education (Sutherland, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Secondly, there is a small number of African Americans earning Ph.D.s annually. According to a National Science Foundation survey of earned doctorates in 2000, African Americans accounted for only 1,656 or 6% of the 27,888 Ph.D.s awarded. By contrast, whites accounted for 82% of all Ph.D.s produced that year. Most of the blacks or 680 received doctorates in education, many of whom work for K12 school systems instead of colleges and universities. By contrast, only 86 blacks received doctorates in the physical sciences, and of that number only 14 were in mathematics. In other words, in the entire country only 14 African Americans earned Ph.D.s in math, a core discipline in higher education (Taylor, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Thirdly, the small number of African Americans receiving Ph.D.s is even more daunting when we consider the so-called "graying" of black faculty at HBCUs. A number of older black faculty who have spent their entire careers at HBCUs are now approaching retirement, along with many other baby boomers. In some states like Florida, where attractive retirement packages have been offered to insure that eligible faculty cannot work beyond a specified number of years (five after they sign up), the issue is even more alarming. For example, at Tallahassee's Florida A&M University, in 2003 alone, over fifty faculty who signed up for the lucrative Deferred Retirement Option Program (DROP) will be leaving the university. Of course, this will open new employment opportunities for people interested in working at HBCUs. However, with the small number of blacks receiving terminal degrees and the numerous options available to those who do, who is going to fill these positions at HBCUs (Jackson, 2002).

It is possible that, if this trend continues, the traditional make up and identity of faculty at HBCUs in ten years will be vastly different from what it has been historically and what it is today. If that happens, will HBCUs continue to produce effectively a disproportionate number of graduates who go on to earn terminal degrees, etc.? Or will HBCUs become virtually the same as HWCUs in terms of their comparative ineffectiveness in graduating African Americans and encouraging them to pursue terminal degrees? In trying to find answers to these questions, there are a number of matters beyond salary that the governing bodies, administrators, and faculty must consider at HBCUs if they are to avert this situation. Black schools will certainly have to become more competitive with their employment packages. The heavy teaching load at HBCUs will be an inevitable problem if it is not addressed. For instance, if a person has a job offer that requires him to teach four classes each semester at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, but can go a few blocks away and teach two or three classes a semester at Louisiana State University, what incentive will that person have to work at Southern University? Perhaps an incentive for working at Southern will be the opportunity to work with mostly African American students or that the publication requirements are not as rigorous. Also, many blacks are uncomfortable with mostly white males determining whether or not they will receive tenure. It is still uncertain if benefits of this sort will be enough to attract and retain these junior scholars at HBCUs (Sutherland, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Moreover, some administrators at HBCUs must develop or renew their commitment to the scholarly development of young faculty at their institutions. For

example, as a matter of course, these schools should provide allocations for travel to professional conferences especially if the faculty member is a speaker/ presenter in the program or holds an office in the professional organization. They should also provide seed money for research and grant writing, recognition and bonuses for outstanding accomplishments in respective disciplines, computers, telephones, voice mail, business cards, and so forth. Another attractive offer would be to cut back on the teaching load for tenure-earning faculty until they earn tenure. Mentorship programs must also be developed at HBCUs, where senior faculty can take junior faculty under their wings and provide them with the tools necessary to be effective and successful in their environment. All too often there is great distance between young and old faculty at institutions of higher learning and not just at black schools. But considering the obstacles facing HBCUs, more must be done to make the environment inviting, attractive and warm in order to retain young black faculty. This is significant because some black faculty at HBCUs never really feel comfortable in that environment no matter how desperately they want to assimilate (Sutherland, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Another critical point that may help to avert the "whitening" of HBCU faculty is for the respective governing bodies at these institutions to support them in awarding more terminal degrees. Throughout the country, only 19 of approximately 101 HBCUs offer Ph.D.s or Ed.D.s, with Howard University offering 26 programs and Florida A&M offering 11. Because of past discrimination in higher education, the role of black colleges has been limited or restricted primarily to providing undergraduate education. Most blacks that want to earn terminal degrees therefore find themselves in the halls of

HBCUs at some point in their matriculation. Before the modern civil rights movement, white institutions received funds for all sorts of Ph.D. and graduate programs, while state legislatures would barely even fund the undergraduate programs at HBCUs.

Unfortunately, such disparities have persisted well beyond the 1960s and have placed black schools at a disadvantage especially in terms of their graduate degree offerings (Vaughn-Cooke, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

Nonetheless, if HBCUs began to offer more terminal degrees and can carry students from the bachelor's degree to the Ph.D. or Ed.D., the number of blacks earning these degrees will probably increase exponentially. In other words, if the same success that is seen at the undergraduate level can be transmitted to graduate programs at HBCUs, the trends that are occurring now will be slowed if not totally reversed (Thomas & Green, as cited in Jackson, 2002). These students can be groomed from their freshman year and encouraged to continue until they complete the terminal degree. They can also develop relationships with mentors who can help them navigate the entire process. But the governing bodies overseeing these institutions absolutely must realize the importance of this vision and commit to the ultimate goal of producing more black Ph.D.s. (Jackson, 2002).

Retention. What will prevent these junior scholars from leaving HBCUs after they finish their education? Many, if not most, of these students will develop over time a certain level of commitment and will appreciate the significance of working at HBCUs. Research has shown that most black faculty at HBCUs received their undergraduate training at

black colleges or universities anyway, so to work ultimately for one of these institutions will be seen as a duty and obligation as well as a privilege (Mixon, as cited in Jackson, 2002).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The presidency at any institution of higher education is a highly sought position, and competition can be quite challenging. College and university presidents on HBCU and majority college campuses face significant challenges, many of which did not exist even a decade ago. While faculty members are expected to master subject matter that is changing rapidly because of new research findings and emerging technology, college presidents must hire and retain qualified instructors and program staff so that their respective institutions operate efficiently and effectively. Additionally, they must keep informed of the latest educational philosophies and management issues. The college president is the most visible administrative leader and in many cases the living symbol of the institution. Each college or university has only one; in many cases he/she is the only person through whom large segments of the public know the institution. They are the public relations person, fundraiser, friend-builder, spokesperson, morale builder, financial officer, guardian, scholar, and cheerleader (Ramsden, 1998).

There is a constant need to identify new leaders to guide the college as the era of diversity challenges the traditional paradigm of higher education leadership. The literature review and research by the American Council on Education indicate that many colleges lack ethnic diversity within their leadership ranks except in instances of institutions of higher education designated as minority serving institutions. With all of

that said, few jobs are as difficult and as demanding, and as essential, as the job of the black college president on the campus of an historically black college and university (Ebony, 2001). Not only is the president faced with these administrative functions, he/she is, among other things, a motivator, parental surrogate, civil rights leader, and confessor; often he/she must also address issues of low faculty and staff salaries, limited resources, deferred maintenance, small endowments, and declining enrollments. Since the founding of the first black college in the 19th century, a number of black women and men have carried out these tasks so well that they have changed not only black education but also white education and America. Since the Freedom Movement of the 1960s, a new generation of presidents, including an increasing percentage of female presidents, has given new meaning to this ancient tradition. While continuing the tradition of producing the best and brightest black America has to offer and providing some of the best programs in the country at a fraction of the cost, HBCUs are also charting new directions for the new millennium (Black Issues in Higher Education, 2001).

The difficulty most blacks face in the search to become a college president is that society and the academy believe he/she can only become president of an institution that has been traditionally perceived as serving a minority population (i.e. HBCU). However, it is almost impossible for a black candidate to be considered “seriously” for the presidency of a majority college even though he/she may possess impressive credentials and experience. (Vaughan, 1989)

Former college presidents, through their memoirs, speeches, essays and biographies have prepared most of the existing published works that provide profiles of

college presidents (Prator, 1963). But a greater problem exists, the disparity in the opportunities for individuals seeking the college presidency who are of African American descent, working at historically black colleges and universities, and for those individuals who have attained the presidency at non-HBCU institutions who are not people of color. After extensive research in area university libraries with higher education curriculum programs, Internet searches using key words (i.e. College Presidency – HBCU – Comparisons - White – Black – African American – Presidential Pathways), search tools (Google, ERIC, EBSCO, InfoTrac, MSN, Yahoo), and discussions with education faculty at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, it was discovered that no comparative investigation of these two populations has been undertaken. Further investigation into who these leaders were and how they attained their current positions were subjects of both scholarly interest and informal conversation, as well as the focus of this dissertation.

Research Questions

The major research questions that the current study addressed were:

1. What were the patterns of the educational backgrounds of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?
2. What were the patterns of work history of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?
3. What were the patterns of issues and concerns that dominate the work and actions of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?

4. What were the patterns of issues and concerns among African American college presidents of historically black colleges and universities and presidents of non-HBCUs?

The current study investigated the preparations, backgrounds, and crucial workplace issues of African American and white presidents of HBCUs and non-HBCUs. While there is currently discussion in the higher education community to deviate from the term Historically Black Colleges and Universities for the more inclusive, Historically Minority Serving Institutions to include tribal colleges, Hispanic serving institutions, etc., in this study the focus was on HBCUs.

Rationale

Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite challenging, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to this chief administrative position. The benefits to the participants were to provide an opportunity to address and clarify assumptions and biases about the preparation for the college presidency at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions of higher education.

Procedures

The analytical procedures employed in this investigation occurred in two phases: *Phase One* – This study used data collected by the American Council on Education and published in its report on college presidents (Ross and Green, 2000 and 2002). Phase one of the study relied primarily on responses to a questionnaire completed by 2,380 presidents who were in office during the survey year. These presidents represent 76% of

the 3,124 U.S. college presidents then serving. This response rate number is consistent with previous surveys conducted by ACE. The data collected in this survey included institutional type as well as the presidents' personal characteristics, their educational background, and the nature of the last two positions held immediately prior to the presidential appointment. The ACE survey provides the most complete presidential database presently available. While this study focuses on the 2002 data, an examination of previous studies (1998, 1995) indicated that the data remained relatively stable over the five-year period. This investigation employed two statistical procedures: multiple t-tests and discriminant function analysis. First, in order to determine which demographic, occupational, and other characteristics of presidents of HBCU and majority institutions differ from each other, multiple t-tests for the difference between two proportions were conducted, with appropriate Bonferroni-type controls for family-wise error rates. As is well known, when multiple t-test are performed, the nominal (or per comparison) error rate is inflated. The more t-tests one performs, the more likely one or more of the comparisons will be statistically significant by chance alone. The Bonferroni's method is one of the most widely used procedures to control for this inflated Type I error rate. Pair-wise comparisons between HBCU presidents and non-HBCU presidents on the various demographic and occupational variables are informative in their own right, but they are limited in that they do not reflect the *pattern* of differences between the two groups. Discriminant function analysis (DFA) is a powerful multivariate procedure for discerning pattern differences (across variables) between two or more groups, as opposed to a series of pair-wise differences between the groups. In DFA, the set of variables is combined

linearly to maximally distinguish between the two groups of interest. A singular advantage of DFA is that it allows a more penetrating examination of differences between HBCU and non-HBCU presidents because it examines differences between the two groups on the comparison variables in one simultaneous analysis. DFA allows a comparison of the two groups on each variable in the analysis while holding other variables in the analysis constant. By examining the set of resulting discriminant function weights for each variable, a more insightful analysis of the complex set of differences between HBCU presidents and non-HBCU presidents was possible. It is perhaps worth noting that in the special case of only two groups, as in the present investigation, discriminant function analysis may be cast in terms of both one-way analysis of variance and in terms of multiple regression analysis with dichotomous (0,1) group membership as the dependent variable. The multiple regression coefficients correspond exactly to the discriminate function coefficients.

In phase two, the results of the quantitative analysis were used to guide and structure the qualitative component of the investigation, that is, the participant interviews. Twenty interviews were conducted and these interviews were intended to elaborate and inform the statistically significant quantitative differences of the presidents noted in the first set of analysis. Each president was given a pseudonym (i.e., “Delta” and “Tau”) to protect his/her identity and maintain confidentiality. Attention was paid that no identifying remarks were made in the interview that would identify the participants. All participants were given the option to review the written transcript of their recorded interviews to insure confidentiality and accuracy of statements. With this in mind, what

follows is the IRB approved process and the brief biographical sketches of the two study participants used to represent the HBCU and non-HBCU presidential participants:

1. Time required of participants: Interview was anticipated to require approximately forty-five minutes to complete.
2. Data gathering tool: Interview data was gathered through an open-ended interview instrument and use of a recording device to capture actual responses and relevant facts being discussed.
3. Data recording: The interview data was audio taped and notes were made to record non-verbal behavior during the interview.
4. Participants: HBCU and non-HBCU College Presidents (20)

Role of the Researcher

As a researcher, I brought to the study characteristics and experiences that are important to highlight as part of my analysis. First, as an African-American, I understand that I am in a unique position. Naturally, I feel a certain connection with those institutions that serve to provide access to education for other African-Americans. However, I caution that this does not automatically make me aware of every challenge these institutions face. Secondly, as a male, I further understand the difficulties that challenge the African-American *male* community in particular. Thus, I believe I could contribute to assessing whether or not, both; HBCUs and non-HBCUs were helping mitigate those barriers to this specific group or how they could better do so. Also, as a second-generation college graduate, I believe I am in an especially unique position. Clearly,

education is something that was stressed in my upbringing, even if it was uncommon, particularly for the time. As such, I believe very much in the role of these institutions in providing access to others. However, I do recognize that my educational background may have initially hindered my understanding of the special needs of first-generation students.

I believe some of my work-related experiences have helped me appreciate some of these very same challenges mentioned above. Specifically, during my employment with the American Council on Education, our focus was on access, equity, and diversity in education. Therefore, while I know the obstacles many college leaders faced, I also believe in the commitment to excellence for which they strive. Subsequently, while I did not attend an HBCU, having worked in both a non-HBCU and HBCU environment, I feel that I have some insight, as to how the inner structure of these colleges compare. Overall, I recognize the challenges of this research, coming from my background, but more often than not, appreciate the insight my experiences gave me as a stepping-stone for further analysis.

Two representative presidents were used to reflect the findings, one HBCU and one non-HBCU president:

Participant Delta: Delta holds a doctoral degree (Ph.D.). She has served as president of an HBCU for less than five years. Her institution, which has a headcount of approximately 3300 students, is located in a community filled with many buildings and landmarks of historic interest. The quiet community environment is excellent for learning, yet it is only three hours by car from the abundant cultural and recreational facilities of a major

metropolis. She is affiliated with numerous professional organizations and has attended at least two leadership initiative institutes.

Participant Tau: Tau holds a doctoral degree (Ph.D.). At the time of the interview, he had held the position of president at his institution for less than five years. Tau is president of a Non-HBCU located in an urban setting with a head count of approximately 3000 students. Tau is affiliated with numerous civic and professional organizations, serves as board member on several community agencies, and has been recognized for the services he has rendered to the community. Tau has participated in at least three leadership-training initiatives for senior administrators.

Data were collected by utilizing an interview protocol instrument (See Appendix C). As per Creswell (1998), the interview protocol utilized included the following components:

1. Heading,
2. Instruction to the interviewer (opening statements),
3. The key research questions to be asked,
4. Probes to follow key questions,
5. Transitions messages for the interviewer,
6. Space for recording the interviewer's comments, and
7. Space in which the researcher records reflective notes.

Participants

The participant population was HBCU and non-HBCU presidents. A purposive sampling strategy reflecting a variation of the size of institution, public versus non-public, region of the country, and institutional mission served as the basis for selecting the twenty (20) participants. Presidential associations (i.e. American Council on Education (ACE), National Association For Equal Opportunity (NAFEO), and Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU) assisted in coordinating a listing of presidents registered for various meetings and the location of these meetings.

HBCU and non-HBCU presidents were informed of the research study, read the “consent form,” then were asked if they would like to participate. Afterward they were asked to sign a “consent to act as a human participant: long form” at the time of submission, with a copy provided to them for their records. Long distance participants received copies of the consent form for review via facsimile, e-mail, and/or certified mail. A review of the consent form with long distance participants took place over the telephone once the consent forms were available for them to review and indicate their continued desire to participate.

Recognizing that the collection of data may impose a burden on participants, that it may be viewed by some as an invasion of privacy, and that it often involves legitimate confidentiality considerations, every effort was made to collect only the data needed for the purpose of the inquiry, to inform each potential respondent about the general nature and sponsorship of the inquiry and the intended uses of the data; establish their intentions, where pertinent, to protect the confidentiality of information collected from

participants; strive to ensure that these intentions realistically reflect their ability to do so, and clearly state pledges of confidentiality and their limitations to the participants; ensure that the means were adequate to protect confidentiality to the extent pledged or intended; ensure that processing and use of data conform with the pledges made; ensure that appropriate care is taken with directly identifying information (using such steps as destroying this type of information or removing it from the file when it is no longer needed for the inquiry); ensuring that appropriate techniques were applied to control statistical disclosure; ensure that, if data were transferred to other persons or organizations, this transfer conforms with the established confidentiality pledges; and require written assurance from the recipients of the data that the measures employed to protect confidentiality will be at least equal to those originally pledged (American Statistical Association 1997).

The twenty (20) participants were approached and asked if they would like to participate in an interview research project involving the tape recording of their describing their educational, experiential, and occupational background preparations for the college presidency. Participants were informed of the importance of taping the session to allow their statements to be accurately recorded and documented. Written consent was obtained and a second signature was recorded on the permission form to tape the description. Participants were informed that they did not have to complete the recording and could stop at any point. Participants were also informed not to stop until they felt they had discussed their feelings as completely as they felt possible.

All participants were informed that, if they did not consent to be taped, the time frame for the interview would be extended to accommodate the taking of handwritten notes. Participants were informed that a transcript of the interview would be available for review and authentication of the responses given.

The interview session was scheduled at a mutually convenient time to avoid distractions or interruptions. Because recording equipment is very sensitive to room noises, it was advisable to conduct the interview in a quiet room or office. The following preliminary steps recommended by Creswell (2003) were exercised.

1. Before starting, put the interviewee at ease.
2. Briefly explain how the session will be conducted and remind the interviewee that s/he need not hurry into a response simply because the recorder was running.
3. Try to make the interviewee as comfortable as possible in the presence of recording equipment.

Table 1

Selection Grid of HBCU and Non-HBCU College Presidents

	HBCU			NON-HBCU		
	S	M	L	S	M	L
Size (Small/Medium/Large)	5	3	3	5	3	3
Public or Non-Public	P	P	P	P	P	P
	N	N	N	N	N	N
Region of Country	CASE Districts			CASE Districts		
Mission (Specific/General)	S	S	S	S	S	S
	G	G	G	G	G	G

Regions of the country were determined using the district divisions created by the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, CASE. (See Table 2).

Mission of the institution (specific or general):

General refers to

- Liberal Arts Colleges - Liberal arts colleges offer a broad base of courses in the humanities, social sciences, and sciences. Most are private and focus mainly on undergraduate students. Classes tend to be small and personal attention is available.

- Universities - Generally, a university is bigger than a college and offers more majors and research facilities. Class size often reflects institutional size and some classes may be taught by graduate students.

Specific refers to

- Upper Division - Upper-division schools offer the last two years of undergraduate study, usually in specialized programs leading to a bachelor's degree. Generally students transfer to an upper-division college after completing an associate degree or after finishing a second year of study at a four-year college.
- Agricultural, Technical, and Specialized Colleges - Specialized colleges emphasize preparation for specific careers. Examples include Art/Music, Bible, Business, Health Science, Seminary/Rabbinical, and Teaching.

Table 2

CASE Districts



Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) Districts

The following checklist (American Statistical Association, 1997) outlines procedures that were used in this study for the face-to-face and telephone interviews:

1. Introduction
2. Thank interviewee for agreeing to participate
3. Remind participant of the purpose of interview
4. Review the confidentiality statement
5. Request permission to record the interview
6. Explain the roles of interviewer and interviewee
7. Review interview topics
8. Discuss the expected time frame: length of session, time constraints
9. Ask if there are any questions before beginning

The data for this research were gathered by utilizing the interview process. In an interview, respondents, in this case HBCU and Non-HBCU college presidents, were asked to clarify or expand their responses, making data from an interview richer and more complete than that which can be obtained from a questionnaire (Slavin, 1992).

The interview began with the recorded introduction of interviewer, interviewee, the date, and place of the session. Maintaining control of the interview was accomplished by pacing the session to maximize the use of time. Taking notes throughout the process was performed to support the recording. These notes also reflect observed body language, gestures, and other visually observed occurrences that were necessary in transcribing and recalling the session (Creswell 2003).

The series of approved questions were asked of each of the twenty (20) participants. Follow-up questions were used if additional clarification was needed, but it was important to exercise caution so as not to bring to question the integrity of the participant. The use of acronyms and jargon as well as any unfamiliar subject matter mentioned during the interview was questioned and elaborated on. In some cases it was necessary to be sensitive to silence of the participant and the need for some participants to have time to reflect on his/her response (Creswell 2003).

At the end of the interview, the following wrap-up questions/steps recommended by the American Statistical Association (1997) were used.

1. Are there any other things we haven't asked you that you think we should know about?
2. Do you have any questions about the study?
3. Would it be okay if I contact you for clarification or additional information?
4. Review any action items (e.g. requests for information).
5. Reassure participant of confidentiality.
6. Thank them again for participating.

To provide a better understanding, a conceptual model (see Table 3) has been constructed. A conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main dimensions to be studied - the key factor or variables – and the presumed relationships among them.

Thematic Coding Procedures

Preparation and analysis of the interview data generally followed guidelines outlined by Creswell (1998). The standard format for grounded theory research includes the following:

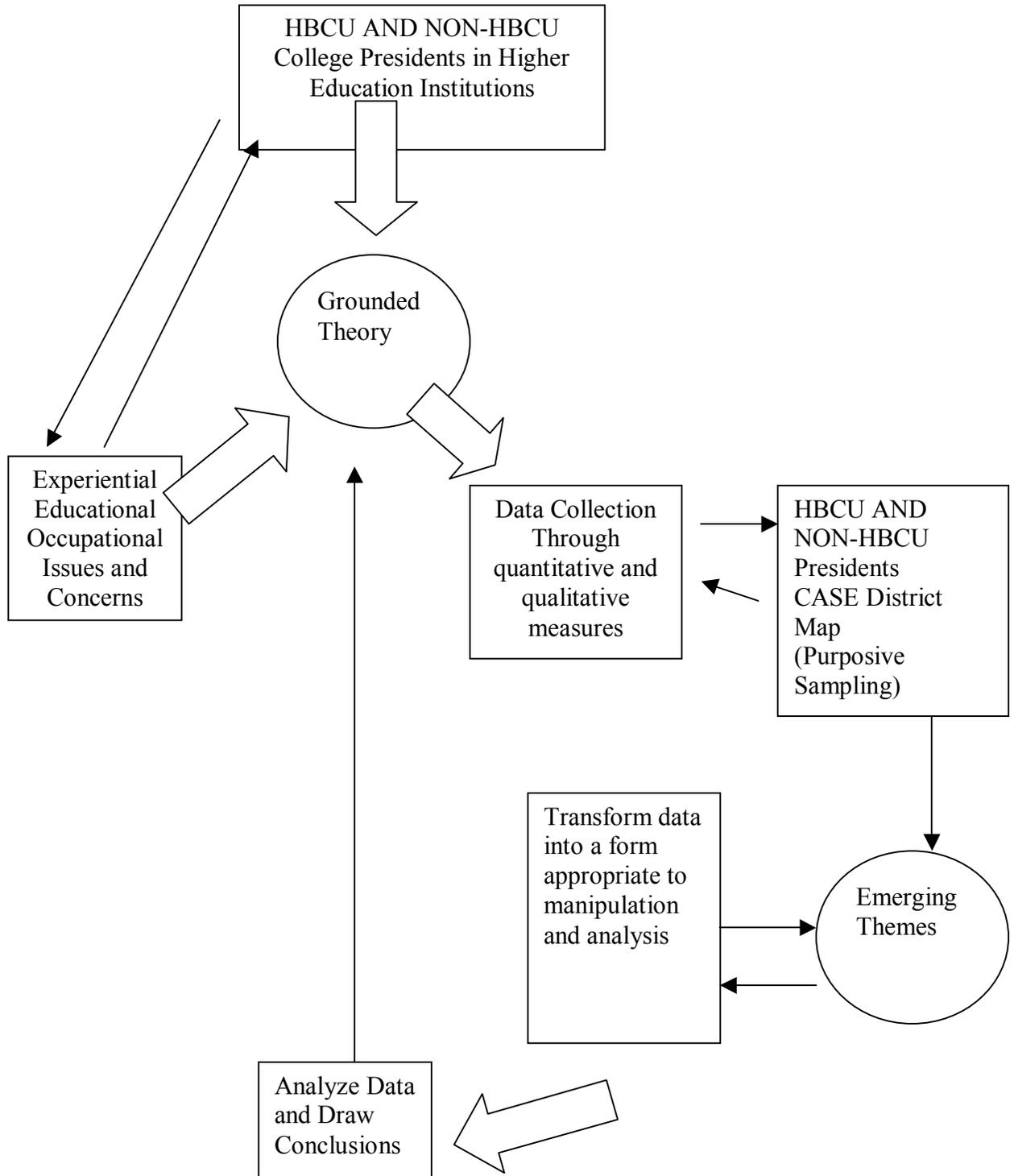
1. Open coding – the researcher forms initial categories of information about the phenomenon being studied by segmenting information.
2. Axial coding – the investigator assembles the data in new ways after open coding.
3. Selective coding – the researcher identifies a “story line” and writes a story that integrates the categories in the axial coding model.

Grounded theory study challenges researchers to set aside theoretical ideas or notions so that the analytical substance theory can emerge. The researcher may then develop and visually portray a conditional matrix that elucidates the social, historical, and economic conditions influencing the central phenomenon (Creswell, 1998). Each interview was transcribed verbatim from the respective audiocassette tape(s) using a word processing software package. Personal identifiers (names, institution, location, etc.) were omitted during transcription. Each transcript was reviewed and read multiple times, highlighting all information-rich quotes. First, potential quotes were those judged to pertain directly to the topic areas being investigated. Purely social or extraneous comments and redundant remarks were excluded, as were details within a narrative piece that did not provide new or pertinent information.

Table 3

Conceptual Scheme

The American College President: A Study of HBCU and Non-HBCU College Presidents



Selected quotes were then transferred onto index cards (one quote per card). Participant initials and the page number of the transcript were placed onto the back of each card to facilitate referencing the transcript when necessary. Information that appeared to be thematically related was classified together. The original classification was completed using a “bottom- up” procedure; in other words, the categories were developed from the data cards themselves. For example, a preliminary category evolved called “education,” and included quotes such as “my terminal degree was key to my success,” and “one thing no one can take away from us is the knowledge we gain from academic study.” Each index card was then placed in only one category. A category represents a unit of information composed of events, happenings, and instances (Strauss and Corbin as cited in Creswell, 1998). Preliminary categories were modified or collapsed to eliminate redundancy.

Coding Reliability

Reliability refers to the extent to which a study can be replicated (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998). In a qualitative study, replication can only be approximated because unique situations cannot be reconstructed. Reliability addresses the question: if the study is repeated, will it yield the same results. Merriam (1988) stated that reliability in research designs is “based on the assumption that there is a single reality which if studied repeatedly will give the same results.” However, since qualitative research seeks to explain the world as those in the world see it, there are many interpretations of what is occurring and thus, no “benchmark by which one can take repeated measures and establish reliability in the traditional sense” (Merriam, 1988).

Since reliability in the traditional sense cannot be applied to qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest thinking about the “dependability” or “consistency” of the results obtained from qualitative data. The idea is that given the data collected, the results make sense—they are consistent and dependable. Merriam (1988) described three techniques to ensure that results are dependable: (1) the investigator can explain the assumptions and theory behind the study, his or her position vis-a-vis the group being studied, the basis for selecting informants and a description of them, and the social context from which data were collected; (2) triangulation; and (3) leaving an audit trail which means that the investigator describes in detail how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made so that other researchers can authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of the researcher. The researcher used two of the techniques discussed above to ensure reliability.

According to Creswell (1998), it is important to address the concept of reliability and frame this within the procedures that have emerged from qualitative writing.

Summary

Thus the present study was conducted to build a model of how to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential, and occupational backgrounds. In as much as we were dealing with almost the entire population of HBCUs, we were sampling one year out of several years.

This chapter outlined and described the research design, methodology, research questions, instrument, participants, and procedures used to gather and analyze the data. Chapter four presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to describe the preparations, backgrounds and crucial work place issues of African American and White presidents of HBCUs and non-HBCUs. While there is currently discussion in the higher education community to deviate from the term Historically Black Colleges and Universities for the more inclusive Historically Minority Serving Institutions to include tribal colleges, Hispanic serving institutions, etc., in this study the focus was on HBCUs.

The data gathered in Phase One of the study were analyzed using SPSS Statistical Software to determine which demographic, occupational, and other characteristics of presidents of HBCU and majority institutions differ from each other. The usual quantitative comparisons (e.g., multiple t-tests for the difference between two proportions) were conducted, with appropriate Bonferroni-type controls for family-wise error rates. This was a two-phase, sequential mixed-method study. Phase One obtained quantitative data from a presidential sample regarding preparation, experience, and issues of presidents of HBCUs in comparison to non-HBCU presidents. Phase Two followed up with a sample of college presidents in a qualitative study to explore those results in more depth.

The study used data collected by the American Council on Education (ACE) in 2002 and published in its report on college presidents. The responses to a questionnaire

completed by 2,380 presidents who were in office during the time frame represents 76% of the 3,124 U.S. College presidents then serving. The demographic data collected in the survey included institutional type as well as the presidents' personal characteristics, educational background, and nature of the last two positions held immediately prior to the presidential appointment.

Table 4 provides a snapshot view of the twenty participants in this study. The presidents discussed a number of issues that crossed over similar lines. This study addressed the differences and similarities of presidents at four-year, public and private, large, medium, and small institutions of higher education. This study used the CASE regions as a basis for purposive sampling and took into consideration that a larger percentage of HBCU presidents would historically come from regions 2 and 3 because of the concentration of schools in these areas; therefore the study should not be seen as being one-sided.

Given the fact that these presidents have risen to the top of the administrative hierarchy in higher education, it was felt that they would not be shy, retiring types and that they would have a grasp of their strengths and weaknesses. While no one president can represent the views of all presidents, and no one HBCU president can represent the viewpoint of all HBCU presidents (albeit society often tries to use this approach when it comes to people of color), the following is a profile of them as a group because the patterns of their responses to the questions in many cases reflected tremendous commonality.

TABLE 4

Overview of Survey Presidents

PRESIDENT	GENDER	COLLEGE	PUBLIC	SIZE & MISSION	CASE	FIRST PRESIDENCY	DEGREE	TOTAL YEARS AS PRESIDENT
Alpha	Male	HBCU	Private	M/G	3	Yes	PHD	10
Gamma	Female	HBCU	Private	S/G	3	Yes	EDD	2
Zeta	Male	HBCU	Public	L/G	2	Yes	PHD	2
Theta	Female	HBCU	Private	S/S	2	Yes	PHD	10
Kappa	Male	HBCU	Private	S/G	3	No	PHD	15
Grove	Male	HBCU	private	S/G	4	Yes	PHD	3
Delta	Female	HBCU	Public	L/G	2	Yes	PHD	4
Omicron	Male	HBCU	Private	M/G	4	Yes	JD/LLD	30
Upsilon	Male	HBCU	Public	M/G	2	No	PHD	15
Rho	Female	HBCU	Public	M/G	6	Yes	PHD	1
Beta	Female	NON-HBCU	Public	L/G	2	Yes	PHD	12
Epsilon	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	M/G	2	Yes	PHD/SJ	16
Eta	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	S/G	3	Yes	EDD	2
Iota	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	S/G	3	No	PHD	14
Tau	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	M/G	3	Yes	PHD	4
Lamda	Male	NON-HBCU	Public	M/G	2	Yes	PHD	23
Sigma	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	M/G	7	Yes	PSYD	11
Omega	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	S/G	3	No	PHD	14
Mu	Male	NON-HBCU	Private	L/G	7	Yes	PHD/SJ	6
Nu	Female	NON-HBCU	Private	S/S	2	Yes	JD	17

Degree: PhD – Doctor of Philosophy; EdD – Doctor of Education; JD – Juris Doctor; PsyD – Doctor of Psychology;

LID – Doctor of Laws; SJ - Society of Jesus; Size: S = Small; M = Medium; L= Large ; **Mission:** G = General; S = Specific

Personal Values

While it is a belief that most leaders have a strong set of principles and values that guide their actions, this study looked for clues to the personal philosophies that were held by the 20 presidents. Three primary principles surfaced from the interviews across all presidents (HBCU and non-HBCU) – first was a personal desire to make a difference in the lives of young people who in turn will make an impact on our global society.

Secondly, the presidents surveyed indicated a clear commitment to what they do. During the survey it was evident that the strongest common trait was an intense and deep-seated belief in what they are doing. The presidents all placed great value on education in general and higher education in particular because they viewed the educational experience as a way of helping others improve themselves. Two excerpts from the presidential sample seems to capture the flavor of the responses:

HBCU President - “And indeed if you will look at all of our charters, you will see language that mirrors the language in every other charter. Our charters speak to values such as leadership and service in making the lives of those who make up the greater African-American community better. If you look at our charters virtually every charter speaks in those terms. We were all founded for a purpose and the purpose was to make the lives of the greater African-American community better with our own strength and intellectual wherewithal and the strength and support of that larger African American community.”

Non-HBCU President- “A university exists for the purpose of laying open to each succeeding generation the accumulated treasure of the thoughts of mankind.

These words are as true today as they were when the philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote them more than a century ago. This process of laying open the accumulated thoughts of humankind is one in which our students have participated since we were founded in the early 1800s. Such is the transforming power of education.”

Thirdly, for the presidents in this study, the presidency was seen as a “calling” instead of only a job. There is a sense of moral obligation that gives rise to the feeling that they as presidents are making a significant contribution to society.

They are true leaders in that the reactions of others do not dictate their decisions. As one president stated – “it is more important to be respected for doing the job than it is to be popular.” Across both groups, presidents expressed a sincere feeling of personal hurt when members of their staff were hurt or experiencing difficult times as the result of a decision that was made.

“One of the toughest decisions I had to make was decreasing benefits and eliminating positions to balance the budget, knowing that those that would be significantly impacted by my decision would be those who had the greatest need. Without these benefits, these employees would return to a substandard way of living, and that hurts.”

However, because presidents understand that their decisions have to be for the greater good of the institution, they often have to put aside their personal feelings as they advance the cause of higher education. Therefore, good presidents do not change to

please others; instead they follow their own consciences.

Credentials and Experience

During this phase of the interviews it was important to identify the credentials and experiences most useful and what experiences made them successful.

Every president indicated a terminal degree, with the earned doctorate noted as the preferred credential because it lends credibility to leaders in an academic setting. Overwhelmingly, it was noted that faculty members respect the earned doctorate; because of how much interaction a president will have with faculty, it is important to have crossed that hurdle early in the career. They identified several common areas of academic study and training for aspiring presidents. These included the study of history, education, philosophy, and other studies that promote analytical thinking and the ability express oneself in a clear, concise manner.

These presidents also favored participation in specialized training programs like the ACE and Harvard President's Institutes as a source of preparation for issues that will confront them upon entering the presidency. Although many non-HBCU presidents were fortunate to have mentors and sponsorships that allowed their participation in training programs, many HBCU presidents were shocked and felt unprepared for some of the issues they faced upon accepting the position of college president. Uniformly they all agreed that these training institutes provide exposure to budgetary procedures, policy development, information transmission and control and personnel issues.

HBCU President – “All of the academic preparation and workshops could not have prepared me for the level of financial issues I encountered when I accepted the presidency. I wish I had participated in the Harvard and NAFEO presidential training Institutes to understand the impact of the budget on tuition dependent private schools.”

Non-HBCU President – “I was fortunate to have a mentor who groomed me for the position of college president. As a result very little was a surprise to me when I took over as president. My mentor provided financial support that allowed me to participate in the ACE Presidential Institute which only enhanced my training.”

Issues and Obstacles

The presidents who participated in the study indicated many obstacles and issues encroaching on their professional effectiveness. Overwhelmingly, HBCU presidents spend more time on student issues and concerns and less on fundraising – although financial issues are a major factor for these schools. Non-HBCU presidents spend a significant amount of time on fundraising and less on student issues. All of the presidents indicate and recognize that a lack of resources influences morale, making it difficult to accomplish the institution’s mission. Under financial constraints it becomes difficult for even the simplest task to be completed and, as a result, an increasing dissatisfied workforce develops.

HBCU Private College President: “Recently a family member of a member of our Board enrolled in school here. When she was reprimanded for violating residence hall policy, she (the student) contacts her grandfather (Chair of the Board) and asked that the Director of Residence Life be reprimanded for his failure to give her a break. The Board Chair called me at home at 2:00AM and asked that I terminate the employee immediately. This was a delicate situation, which would have given the student more power than she deserved and punished an employee who was only doing the job he was assigned to perform. “

Another common area of concern was bureaucracy and board control. Presidents of public institutions, more so than private institutions, felt the volume of paperwork and the constant travel to legislative meetings impeded their effectiveness on campus.

HBCU Public College President: “I am in legislative meetings or responding to legislative inquiries on a daily basis so that my work at the university suffers. Some of my students have never seen me and this is unfortunate.”

Non-HBCU Private College President: “My biggest issue has been maintaining a healthy working relationship within my board of directors. While I report to the board as a whole – I am ultimately responsible to the Chair of the Board. Issues have arisen wherein the Chair requests my support in one direction and the Chair –Elect wants to go in a different direction. Keeping them both happy with me as their chosen president becomes a bit challenging.”

This chapter also illustrates the stories told by the two study participants (Delta and Tau) used to represent the HBCU and non-HBCU presidential participants. These presidents were asked to respond to a series of probing questions:

1. What preparations did you receive that equipped you for the position of College president?
2. What experiences in your background prepared you for the position of College president at your institution of higher education?
3. What workplace issues keep you awake at night on a regular basis?
4. Describe a typical day in your life as college/university president?
5. What additional training or experience do you believe would have been beneficial to you in preparing to take on this leadership position?
6. When did you feel you were best prepared to become a college president?
7. What are your recommendations for an individual aspiring for a college presidency?
8. Are the recommendations different if the individual is a person of color?
9. Are the recommendations different if the individual is seeking a presidency at an HBCU or non-HBCU institution?
10. What advice would you offer to a candidate preparing to fill a campus presidency?

There were four research questions that guided this study. I will discuss the quantitative and qualitative findings by question.

Research Question 1: What are the patterns of the educational backgrounds of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?

To answer this question, the following variables were entered into the discriminant function analysis: academic degrees, field of study, previous college/university presidencies, years at prior position, years employed outside of higher education, years as a full time faculty member; and number of times a finalist in a presidential search. The analysis revealed that presidents of HBCUs and non- HBCUs could not be distinguished on the basis of their educational background. These results strongly suggest that both HBCUs and non-HBCU presidents tend to deemphasize strict academic credentials in favor of fundraising acumen and political connections. The implications of these results will be discussed more fully in the discussion section.

The pathways these presidents took support these results. Neither began their career seeking a presidency, but instead each was asked to become a candidate for their respective institutions. Both mentioned the earned doctorate as one of their most important credentials because it lends credibility to leaders in an academic setting. Both Tau's and Delta's work experience have been in higher education (with the exception of a period in which Tau worked in the business sector).

Tau has an undergraduate degree in Political Science and Masters and PhD in Public Administration. Tau's early work experience began in a faculty position as an assistant professor at a four-year institution of higher education. His first experience in administration came years later when he took on the role of Coordinator of Public Administration Programs. His work continued until he branched to fiscal matters within

the business sector. His skills were sharpened and he was able to return to the academic sector and use those skills in higher education management positions. His focus at all times was cleaning up waste and preventing fraud and abuse. He led a successful career in that arena and felt that this experience was a key element in his becoming a successful candidate for the current presidency.

Delta completed her academic study with undergraduate and graduate (PhD) degrees in English Literature. She has held the position of Vice President for Academic Affairs, Dean of The School of Arts & Letters, and various positions in higher education as an Associate Dean and professor of the College of Liberal and Fine Arts and Assistant Chair of the English Department.

Both presidents see the value of these experiences in helping them secure their presidencies. But when asked about the recommendations for aspiring presidents, they each took a slightly different direction. Delta felt that the aspiring president “should take course work that prepares you for challenges of leadership.” Delta stressed the following principles: “every action has a reaction so whatever you do, know that there is going to be a reaction; understand the relationship between power and responsibility. If you have power to make things happen, you have the responsibility to make good things happen; and understanding positive fear. Positive fear is what causes you to pause and make sure it is safe to make the decision.” Delta stressed the importance in understanding these principals and other Christian principals in helping guide one’s actions and decisions. Delta states, “I’d want people in training to be presidents to understand that it’s more my

philosophy and Christian teaching than my education that prepared me best for this presidency.”

Tau states emphatically, “I don’t believe any of the stereotypes about how to become a college president. Stereotype One - you have to be on the academic side of the house – it helps but is not a requirement; Number two, you have to have a PhD in something liberal arts – instead you should make sure you have an advanced degree that allows you to be broadly familiar with the academy. It is important that you spend time gaining experience in more than one division as opposed to your entire life is spent in the academic side; networking will be the key to your success.”

Research Question 2: What are the patterns of work history of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?

Question 2 focused on preparation for the job and what additional training the president had or desired prior to assuming the position of president. The following variables were entered into the discriminant function analysis: fundraising, financial management, working with governing boards, strategic planning, working with legislators, personnel issues, policy issues, conflict management, federal/state policy issues, public speaking, athletics, negotiation skills, collective bargaining, experience as faculty, publications. The result of the discriminant function analysis indicates that no patterns of work history could distinguish between HBCU and non-HBCU presidents. That is, the experiences achieved and experiences that presidents wish they had more of prior to assuming the presidency were similar.

Early Development

Delta and Tau both attribute so very much to the experiences that prepared them for the position. In both cases, the financial experiences were a key element. Both came into the position from a financial standpoint but from very different views of finance. Delta grew up in a household understanding how far a family had to stretch its limited resources. “I had to learn to budget and I had to learn to wait for things because there was just not enough money to provide all of the things we wanted when we wanted them.” Delta also had to encounter additional hardships in obtaining her education, “I had to get scholarships because I was a foreign student, I was not able to borrow money or receive grants like United States students, and I went to work.” Delta goes on to explain that this experience helped her walk into the presidency of an HBCU because one of her biggest struggles is “finding enough money to do all the things that I would like to do, because of the scarcity of funds.”

Tau, on the other hand, felt that his successful work in capital campaigns, balancing budgets, and “correcting years of fiscal waste, fraud and abuse” at his former institution was instrumental in his success as a president. In essence – he knew how to keep the institution in a state of fiscal readiness.

Delta gave the most credit to her family and the personal relationship with certain family members that provided the catalyst for her to ascend to her present position. From the beginning, she indicates that her parents informed her that she was “going to go to college and they would do whatever was within their power to help her, regardless of how limited their personal financial situation was at the time.” Delta’s family constantly

told her she “could do anything she put her mind to and they expected her to try.” Delta also gives credit to her spiritual relationship. “I am grateful to God everyday for the blessings he has bestowed upon me – the ones I know and most importantly the ones I don’t know.”

Leadership Styles

Leadership styles, as noted in Appendix “I” Shared Governance, are clearly different at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions. The presidents’ responses indicate they are creatures of “due process.” Both indicated a desire to have input and involvement between leaders and subordinates (although neither president would use this term). For instance, Delta describes her leadership style as “driven to accomplish all that she can within the day.” She hires talented people and provides the tools for them to do their job – and she expects the job to be done. She does not desire to be the dictator but will make a decision herself if staff cannot make the decision. She is willing to entertain other ideas and allows her staff to try things their way, with the expectation that they will do everything possible to be successful and accomplish the intended goal. She formulated a “strategic planning council,” composed of campus-wide representatives, to gather input from everybody on campus about the needs of the institution. Delta states, “This was their time to dream.”

Tau describes his style as “Team Management.” This leadership style (similar to Delta’s) is representative of a leader who places a strong emphasis on both tasks and interpersonal relationships. It promotes a high degree of participation and teamwork in the organization and satisfies a basic need in employees to be involved and committed to

their work (Northhouse, 1998). He comes from a business and finance background and is driven by results. Tau ironically works at an institution whose philosophy is “inclusiveness.” Everyone has a voice and the college, in its committee structure, attempts to seek consensus in the decision-making practices. Tau admits, “This was a bit more involved than I imagined.” Tau indicates that his biggest hurdle has been with “personnel issues and the level of my accessibility.” Tau operates very methodically in his day-to-day activities. Everything that can be scheduled is scheduled – even his walks. “My executive assistant actually pencils a time every day on my calendar for me to walk the campus.” Like Delta, Tau employs talented people and provides the tools for them to do their job. With that, he expects them to be successful and equally as driven as he is in accomplishing their assigned tasks. Tau states, “I give each of my senior administrators a version of the Myers Briggs that determines our feasibility for working together. This useful tool also informs me of the various approaches I must use to work with each of the different work styles and personalities that make up my team.”

Reaction to New Leadership

The fact that many of the presidents in this study were first time presidents in various regards (first female, first non-faculty, first young president, first president not from an HBCU background, etc.) created the impression in the minds of some, according to the perception of the presidents, that their leadership would encounter hurdles that would have to be overcome.

Delta did not give much thought to being a female hired as president. However, she thought it was interesting that the local newspaper reported, “A female was hired for

the position.” “I have never had the feeling that I have to adjust to being Madam President and to carry out my functions in a graceful way,” stated Delta. Delta goes on to state, “I don’t want to lose myself, the person I am; I want to keep the friends I had; I want my family to see me as the normal person they have come to love; and I don’t want to become arrogant and greedy and lose sight of who I am – I do not want to become the diva.”

Tau, on the other hand, came into the position as a single person with limited academic background. Clearly he had not fit the model of former presidents with a spouse who would attend various social teas and host various events at the home. Tau’s main focus was the business of running the college. Tau stated that one of the first things he did was to establish his – “Tau Commandments”. These commandments allowed him to be productive, but were clearly different than the informal atmosphere that existed at this college for years prior to his arrival. “I don’t do meetings before 11AM; I want my quiet time to do reading, writing, e-mails, etc; I don’t do more than four events a day, but student events can be added on top of that; I don’t do two meal events in one day; I want a file for every meeting the day before so I can brief myself; I don’t do breakfast meetings; and finally the last commandment – I can violate any of the preceding commandments.” Faculty and staff naturally had some concern over this new way of doing business but have come to appreciate and respect the change.

Research Questions 3 and 4: What are the patterns of issues and concerns that dominate the actions of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents? What are the patterns of issues and concerns among African-American college presidents of historically black colleges and universities and presidents of non-HBCUs?

Research questions 3 and 4 are concerned with how presidents spend their time and what are their most significant challenges. What pattern of issues, tasks, and concerns dominate their daily lives, and do these patterns differ by college and university type (i.e. HBCU and non HBCU)? The ten activities (i.e., discriminating variables) that were entered into the discriminant function analysis were fundraising; personnel issues; budget; planning; preparing for, attending, and following up on board meetings; meeting with legislators and political officials; academic programs; community relations; athletics; and student issues. Only three of the ten activities significantly distinguished between presidents HBCUs and non-HBCUs. That is, a discriminant function containing only three activities was sufficient to significantly distinguish between HBCU and non-HBCU presidents. These were planning, fundraising, and student issues. The Wilk's Lambda and associated Chi-square test statistics are given in Table 5. The Exact "F statistic" and associated p value for each successive activity are given in Table 6. The discriminant function weights for the three variables and overall function centroids (for HBCU and non-HBCU presidents, respectively) are given in Table 7.

It should be noted that when scores for all presidents in the sample are computed on the discriminant function with these three discriminating variables (planning, fundraising, and student issues), 95.8% of presidents in the sample are correctly classified

as either HBCU presidents or non-HBCU presidents. This compares with a trivial increase to only 95.9% correct when all ten discriminating variables are used. In short, these three activities are powerful in discriminating between HBCU and non-HBCU presidents.

These results indicate that HBCU presidents compared to non-HBCU presidents spend relatively more of their time on student issues and less on fundraising and planning. By contrast, non-HBCU presidents relative to HBCU presidents, spend more of their time on fundraising and planning, and less on student issues. A full discussion of these results will be addressed in the discussion section.

Occupational Issues

Presidents face many challenges in the completing of their duties. They have little control over the basic processes of the academic program, so it is noted that the interview with Delta and Tau reflect that academic issues were not major issues they deal with on a regular basis. Delta describes her number one issue as “student behavior and safety. Although we live in a rural community, we get many students from the metropolitan areas, and on any given evening, they leave campus in large groups to find

Table 5

Wilks' Lambda

Function	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	p
1	.984	24.607	3	.0001

Table 6

Exact F Statistics for Three Activities in the Discriminant Function

Step	Wilks' Lambda	Exact F	df	p
1(planning)	.990	15.334	(1, 1550)	.0001
2(fund raising)	.987	10.424	(2, 1549)	.0001
3(student issues)	.984	8.265	(3, 1548)	.0001

Table 7

Discriminant Function Coefficients and Group Centroids

Variable	Planning	Fundraising	Student Issues
Function Coefficient	.608	.521	-.400
Function Centroid	HBCU		Non-HBCU
	-.615		.026

upbeat nightlife. This activity has unfortunately resulted in two deaths.” Delta sees her role as president to include being a surrogate parent to many of these young people. Delta then sees the issue of having to “serve so many masters” as another major hurdle. “I have to serve God in my personal life, I have to please my board, the Chancellor, Board of Visitors, then I have to please my faculty and my staff. Add to all of this the fact that I have to please students, and the external community. Finally I have to please myself – knowing that I am doing the best I can do and I am not deviating from the foundation of integrity I established for myself.”

Tau, on the other hand, sees his role as president in making sure the college can provide the services it says it will provide, so a fiscally sound operating budget and an effectual strategic plan is crucial to this president. Tau also sees human resource issues as a major concern. “I wish I had taken more courses in human resources and how to avoid lawsuits that result from disciplinary actions. I spend a lot more of my time on recruiting and retaining talented staff and helping these staff to grow professionally and personally.”

Typical Day

“The fast pace of life as we know it in the 21st century demands that we occasionally sit back and reflect on where we have been and where we are going,” states Delta when asked to describe a typical day in her life as president. The series of events both Delta and Tau describe as typical have an enormous range from teaching subjects to a jam-packed schedule that fills each of their days with the same exhilaration they find in some of their favorite personal activities. “The biggest surprise is how much I love the

job,” stated both Tau and Delta. They both described the beginning of their days as busy from the time they began their presidencies. Delta indicates that her day begins at 4:00AM in order to make regular meetings in Washington DC. Because she is located in a rural setting, more of her time is required to commute to Washington DC in order to attend critical meetings. She returns to the office late morning to attend prearranged meetings with people “ranging from students, alumni, courtesy calls to auditors.” She makes time to walk the campus to interact with students and faculty and staff; she attends evening and night functions; and most importantly, she attends student-sponsored activities. “Some presidents advise me not to stay at these events – just show up and give the greetings and go away – I haven’t learned to do that gracefully yet, I just feel that if you are my guest, then this is worthwhile and I need to take a seat.”

Tau is not a morning person and does not begin his meetings until 11AM. He uses his morning time for reflection, reading, and catching up on e-mails. Tau indicates that he “spends approximately 50% of his time on financial issues – both raising the money and appropriately spending it. Within this 50% will be attending off campus meetings and dealing with external constituencies. I do this for two reasons, it is the challenge associated with a small college, and it is an area that I know the most about (and it was the central reason they hired me.) I probably spend another 25% on student issues whether it’s student government, residential life, dining services, etc., and the other 25% on faculty and curriculum issues.” Tau goes on to state that he “did not realize how much time would be spent recruiting faculty. We are a target because we have such an

exceptional faculty – we need to be aggressive in our efforts to hold on to them and make sure that conditions to work here are truly optimal.”

The biggest surprise was how much both Delta and Tau love their jobs. Both have indicated a need to be highly visible not only on the campus but outside the college gates, meeting with high school students, meeting with alumni, attracting major sponsors, and addressing education reform issues on a local, state, and national basis. “I have been on the move seven days a week, right from the moment that I took over the presidency,” stated Delta.

Perceived Issues Relevant to HBCU Presidencies

According to an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, what matters most to trustees and committees when searching for a new president is “the ability to think strategically about the entire college, its financial needs and its future.” The search committees want the world and often think that their college is so wonderful that it will attract the best of the best. That may or may not be the case, and the process can take months as the committee rejects candidate after candidate, often before any interviews take place. However at HBCUs, presidents must also be able to bridge the cultural gap that exists between them and the majority culture.

Tau sees the financial challenges greater than average as he looks at the endowments, deferred maintenance, and lack of support many HBCUs receive from the external constituency. Combine that with limited support from an alumni base that in many cases does not have the jobs that pay higher salaries, which make donating significant sums of money a reality. “I mean don’t get me wrong, we have our financial

challenges here also, but by definition, if you look at the financial condition of many HBCUs, they have financial challenges that far exceed many non-HBCUs.” When it comes to financial management issues, Tau states, “If you look at published cases of financial mismanagement, especially in Title IV programs (i.e. financial aid), the feds pay more attention to HBCUs because of the greater proportion of students receiving need based aid at these institutions. The media will make accusations based on stereotypes; as a result, you have to be more careful than at a non-HBCU institution.”

Discussion with both presidents revolved around the ability of presidents to be able to successfully secure employment opportunities across institution type (i.e. from HBCU to non-HBCU and vice versa). Both presidents felt that this cross over could be done, but the method by which a president accomplishes it varied. Tau felt that this crossover was really no different for an HBCU president than a non-HBCU president. In order to accomplish this goal, Tau feels, “You have to broaden your network. If you want to run a large research institution, you have to network with people who can open those doors and help introduce you into the community. But at the same time, until we start producing more PhDs of color, we are not going to have the pipeline of available talent to seek these positions.” Delta also felt that “people of color must not just be good, they must be how shall I put it, they must be exemplary.” Delta also acknowledged the biased side of the media in her work in education when she remarked, “Take for example this gathering that I have come here to speak today. There are 200 plus students of color gathered in one place discussing research topics from education to cures for cancer, and yet there is no media coverage. But let 1/10 of that group (20) begin making noise and

the media would swarm this place, anxious to get it on the national news. So the HBCU president better be prepared to be on the defensive.”

Delta feels that most of the attention related to higher education issues and concerns revolves around the major research and Ivy League institutions. “It is an historical fact that in many meetings you will be only one of two presidents of color representing HBCU institutions. The issues and concerns expressed at these meetings rarely reflect our reality, it is always what happens at Princeton or Columbia or UCLA. If you as an HBCU president of color beat your chest to pronounce your challenges, you pause because you feel the need to protect your students and college community from further negative scrutiny that is sure to result from your discussion. No matter how many non-HBCUs have similar issues as you, your students and the issues you bring to the table will always be seen much worse and less worthy of resolving.” Delta also sees the differences when interacting with some of her counterparts. “When school closes in June, my non-HBCU counterpart has a house literally on an island. She spends the entire summer there and runs her office from her cell phone and laptop. Could you imagine what would be said if I, a person of color and president of an HBCU, did the same thing? So, as you see, the person of color has hurdles that public scrutiny will not support but instead are quick to condemn.”

Advice on Entering the Presidency

There is an acknowledged leadership crisis in America that pervades all types of institutions. Society in many cases has lost faith in its institutions of higher education and their leadership, which is witnessed by a lack of funding support, accountability

issues, image problems, and the number of votes of no confidence being seen at schools across the spectrum. Both Tau and Delta shared their recommendations for effectively filling a new presidency.

Delta's advice included the following:

- It is too late for me to help the person; they needed to ask me for help prior to accepting the position.
- Get out on campus and meet your students.
- Review the financial records with an auditor before accepting the job.
- Review all of the previous audit reports, especially any program reviews completed by the United States Department of Education.
- Do not fire everyone and bring in a new team upon arrival. This action risks losing out on much of the historical perspective and of not keeping some talented and devoted team members. Many of these current staff may be more devoted to the institution and less to the former administrator.
- Acknowledge the accomplishments of those who came before in the position of president.

Tau's advice included the following:

- Find a transition team that can provide advice initially, especially about who is crucial to become acquainted with during this initial period.
- Make sure the transition team includes people from the community.
- Get control of the daily schedule; do not turn over hours or days to someone else.
- Decide what is going to be the response to the vision /theme question.

- Get to know the trustees as individuals as well as a group; develop personal relationships with them.
- Try to decide nothing without advice from senior staff, during the first six months.
- Get out on campus and meet the students.
- MBWY: Manage By Wandering Around.

Summary

Several articles indicate that America is facing a leadership crisis that will negatively affect America's institutions of higher education. Society has lost faith in many of its institutions and their leaders. Thus, America is facing philanthropy dilemmas, accountability issues, and a general lack of confidence in the ability of organized groups to work effectively and efficiently. With this diminution of faith and support, higher education, an instrument of society, has suffered seemingly irreparable setbacks. Unless effective leaders are found in abundance to lead America's institutions, higher education, as we know it today, might not survive. (Fisher 1988)

Some patterns emerged that distinguished HBCU and non-HBCU Presidents across varying areas. These are reflected in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Response Patterns of Survey Participants

HBCU PRESIDENT

NON-HBCU PRESIDENT

PREPARATION

Terminal Degree
Doctorate – No Preference
Learned By Doing
Learned by Observing
Held Administrative Jobs
Limited Budget Experience
Limited/No Media Experience
Limited/No Fundraising Experience
Strong Family Support

Terminal Degree
PhD Preferred
Had a Mentor
Attended Training Institutes
Held Senior Academic Positions
Had Budget Experience
Had Media Contacts
Worked Capital Campaigns
Supportive Family

CHALLENGES

Student Issues
Student Satisfaction
Limited Resources to do the Job
Micromanagement by Church
Too Much Board Control
Keeping the Lights On

Next Capital Campaign
Faculty Issues
Student Issues
Legislative Directives
Board of Regents Control
Personnel Issues/Lawsuits

ADVICE

Terminal Degree
Find a Mentor
Investigate your Perspective Institution
Don't Fire Everyone
Get to Know Your Students
Develop Corporate Affiliations

PhD Recommended
Find a Mentor
Get a Transition Team
Control Your Schedule
Become Known in the Community
Develop Corporate Ties

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Overview

The presidency at any institution of higher education is a highly sought position, and competition can be quite challenging. As a result, college and university presidents on HBCU and non-HBCU campuses face significant challenges, many of which did not exist even a decade ago.

There is a constant need to identify new leaders to guide the college as the era of diversity challenges the traditional paradigm of higher education leadership.

While faculty members are expected to master subject matter that is changing rapidly because of new research findings and emerging technology, college presidents must hire and retain qualified instructors and program staff so that their respective institutions operate efficiently and effectively. Additionally, they must keep informed of the latest educational philosophies and management issues, while simultaneously addressing issues of salaries, limited resources, deferred maintenance, building the endowment, and declining enrollments.

Higher education institutions continue to face an environment that is increasingly multi-cultural; however, the leadership ranks are dominated by Anglo-European males (89.3 percent as reported by ACE). As these same institutions incorporate in their

mission, strategic plan, and philosophy a movement toward achieving a more diverse community of learners, there remains a lack of ethnic and gender diversity within the leadership ranks.

Prator (1963) states that former college presidents, through their memoirs, speeches, essays, and biographies, have prepared most of the existing published works that provide profiles of college presidents. Despite the existence of various position papers on the college presidency, only limited empirical evidence is available about the topic of *The American College President: A Study of HBCU and NON HBCU College Presidents* and most of it relates to management style used by two-year college presidents. But a greater problem exists, the disparity in the opportunities for individuals seeking the college presidency who are of African American descent, working at historically black colleges and universities, and those individuals who have attained the presidency at non-HBCU institutions who are not people of color. An extensive research in area university libraries with higher education curriculum programs, Internet searches using key words (i.e. college presidency – HBCU – Comparisons- White -Black- African American – Presidential Pathways), search tools (Google, ERIC, EBSCO, Info Trac, MSN, Yahoo), and discussions with education faculty at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, it was discovered that no comparative investigation of these two populations had been undertaken. Further investigation into who these leaders are and how they attained their current positions is the subject of both scholarly interest and informal conversation and the focus of this dissertation.

Summary of Study

This was a two-phase, mixed method study that in phase one used quantitative data from a presidential sample regarding preparation, experience, and issues of presidents of HBCUs in comparison to non-HBCU presidents. Based on the findings in phase one, the second phase involved developing an interview protocol and process to help explain the statistically descriptive patterns that were derived from the first phase. Twenty interviews were conducted face-to-face at annual assemblies that grant access to college and university presidents (i.e. American Council on Education (ACE), National Association For Equal Opportunity (NAFEO), and Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU), and in some cases interviews were conducted via telephone. A purposive sampling strategy reflecting size of institution, public versus non-public, region of the country, and institutional mission served as the basis for selecting participants. In this case it was desirable to purposively choose the region and the respondents because this provided information-rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied.

Using open-ended, semi-structured interviews, twenty participants were asked to describe the experiences that shaped their development and led them to the role of president of either an HBCU or Non-HBCU four-year institution of higher education. Two narrative case studies were developed that appeared to represent the unique path to the presidency of an HBCU and to a non-HBCU.

The purpose of this study is to describe the preparations, backgrounds, and crucial work place issues of African American and white presidents of HBCUs and non-HBCUs.

While there is currently discussion in the higher education community to deviate from the term Historically Black Colleges and Universities for the more inclusive Historically Minority Serving Institutions to include tribal colleges, Hispanic serving institutions, etc., in this study the focus was on HBCUs.

Four research questions constitute the focus of the research:

1. What are the patterns of the educational backgrounds of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?

Summary of Findings: The quantitative analysis revealed that presidents of HBCUs and non- HBCUs could not be distinguished on the basis of their educational background. These results strongly suggest that both HBCU and non-HBCU presidents tend to be chosen with less emphasis on strict academic credentials in favor of fundraising acumen and political connections. Qualitatively, the surveys revealed that the pathways these presidents took support the quantitative results. Both groups indicated that they felt having a terminal degree was key in their ability to attain a presidency. Every president in the survey group had a terminal degree with both groups overwhelming reflecting the PhD.

2. What are the patterns of work history of HBCU and non-HBCU presidents?

Summary of Findings: The result of the discriminant function analysis indicates that no patterns of work history could distinguish between HBCU and non-HBCU presidents. This means that both the experiences achieved and the experiences that presidents wish they had more of prior to assuming the presidency were similar. Qualitatively, the surveys revealed similar results – both groups held senior

management positions prior to accepting the presidency. Both sets of presidents indicated a desire to have more training with personnel issues and working with boards of directors.

3. What are the patterns of issues and concerns that dominate the work and actions of HBCU and Non -HBCU presidents?
4. What are the patterns of issues and concerns among African American college presidents of historically black college and universities and presidents of non-HBCUs?

Summary of Findings: Research questions 3 and 4 are concerned with how presidents spend their time and what are their most significant challenges. Only three activities significantly distinguish the work of presidents of HBCUs and non-HBCUs. These were planning, fundraising, and student issues. These results indicate that HBCU presidents compared to non-HBCU presidents spend relatively more of their time on student issues and less on fundraising and planning. By contrast, non-HBCU presidents relative to HBCU presidents, spend more of their time on fundraising and planning, and less on student issues. It should be noted that these trends, while statistically significant, are nevertheless rather modest from a practical standpoint of view. The qualitative results support this finding. When looking at the job challenges, presidents of HBCUs see student issues and student satisfaction as key areas of concern. HBCUs are faced with issues of limited resources on a daily basis and must make decisions on fiscal matters so regularly that it has become a daily part of the president's job. Operating with little to no endowment has become the norm

for many of these schools, and as a result, presidents are always in a fundraising mode just to keep the lights on. Non-HBCU presidents discussed capital campaigns, faculty issues, and legislative directives as key areas of challenge. Student issues were a concern but in many cases were not issues that the president at non-HBCU institutions had to address on a frequent basis. Presidents at these institutions knew that their students would be fed, have comfortable environments to study and learn, and have the necessary resources to become scholars in the academy; as a result, student issues, while important, were not overwhelmingly at the top of the list.

Interpretations

Based on the data collected and analyzed for this study of HBCU and Non HBCU College Presidents, the following interpretations are warranted.

There still exists a leadership crisis in American higher education today. Individuals attaining the level of president are in demand and the educational background that they bring to the table is crucial for their success. Harold Stoke, cited in Kerr (1984) stated, "One thing is clear: colleges must have presidents and it makes a great deal of difference who they are." Ten years ago there were issues related to effective leadership in American colleges and universities. Society had lost faith in many of its institutions of higher education and the individuals chosen as their leaders. There were funding dilemmas, image problems, accountability issues, and a general lack of confidence in the ability of organized groups to work effectively and efficiently (Fisher, 1988).

Other authors have also suggested that a leadership crisis has developed within the American higher education system. "In issue after issue of the *Chronicle of Higher*

Education, we read of another troubled presidency, another leader worn down or driven out, in distress or under fire" (Hahn, 1995). Fisher and Koch (1996) stated, "It is generally agreed today that the college presidency, once the situs of many such powerful, effective, and inspirational leaders, has decayed and all too frequently now is a refuge for ambivalent, risk-averting individuals who seek to offend no one, and as a consequence arouse and motivate no one."

The presidency has become an external job with greater emphasis on fundraising and public relations and less on contact with students and faculty and academic issues. This may be part of the reason so many presidencies turn over at a remarkable rate – as frequently as every seven years in many cases. Long-term presidencies are no longer the wave of the future. These changes are the result of numerous factors which add stress to the job; these factors include keeping the doors open, attracting gifted and talented faculty and students, retention of students, maintaining a competitive advantage over the competition, student unrest, adequate educational equipment, creating and/or maintaining an inviting, academically stimulating living and learning environment, successful fund raising, and meeting the demands of board members each of whom has a different agenda.

The presidency brings with it significant visibility not only on campus but also in the community. With access to the Internet, local news can now become national news in the time it takes to read this sentence. As a result, an isolated incident at a small liberal arts college now becomes national news through web blogs, e-mail messages, and other technological means.

In the case of HBCUs, the issues are even more troubling. There is the perception that the media enjoys negative news because it sells papers and brings in ratings. This negative news is only heightened when race acts as a motivator for the story. Student unrest, no matter how peaceful, at a non-HBCU is shown much more positively than it is at an HBCU – even if the reason for the unrest is the same. Presidents have to deal not only with the unrest, but with what implications this unfortunate media attention is now bringing to their campuses which may negatively affect their ability to raise funds and implement their long-range plan.

Both the review of the literature and this research study indicate that earning a doctoral degree is an important component of one's preparation to lead an institution of higher education. While quantitative research supports that fundraising experience and political connections are important in becoming a president, both HBCU and non-HBCU presidents indicate that the terminal degree cannot be dismissed as irrelevant, especially for an individual seeking a presidency at an HBCU. HBCU and non-HBCU presidents had attained doctoral degrees, but the interviews revealed the perception that the degree was necessary for different reasons. In the HBCU world, titles are extremely important, and, as a result, presidents without a terminal degree, especially the title of doctor, would have many on their staff questioning their leadership ability. These titles are also highly respected by boards of directors and perceived to provide some level of credibility when meeting with community members. This need for recognition is historical, and even more than forty years since the passing of the Civil Rights Act, we still find society looking at persons of color as second-class citizens. As a result, the earned terminal

degree provides opportunities for an HBCU president to be heard and taken seriously in a similar way as the president of a non-HBCU (in most cases a person of European decent) would be heard purely by indicating that he or she was president of XYZ College. This situation makes sense when one remembers that HBCUs were established as a result of racism. They were allowed to be created to appease black people or to serve as holding institutions so that black students would not matriculate in historically white colleges and universities. Fortunately, most HBCUs have exceeded these expectations and continue to do so.

Respondents provided data on their major field of study for their highest degree. The majority of presidents from both groups majored in liberal arts. Some authors have suggested that someone who aspires to senior leadership at a college or university needs to complete a doctoral degree program (sometimes an analogy to a union card is used), but the specific area of study is not particularly important. For example, Anthony (1986) stated, "The doctorate as a degree, is important. The subject matter relating to that doctorate is not. So the key is to get the doctorate degree." Both HBCU and non-HBCU presidents in the study echoed this sentiment. Each had a focus on securing the terminal degree with less attention being placed on the specific major.

Interview participants were asked if they had participated as a protégé in a mentor-protégé relationship as part of their preparation for a college presidency. Non-HBCU presidents indicated overwhelmingly how important a role mentoring and networking played in helping them attain this career position. This opportunity, combined with participation in leadership preparation activities outside traditional graduate

programs, was a factor for the success of non-HBCU presidents. HBCU presidents have had to learn much of what they do on the job. Because there is a small number of college presidents of color, they are often asked to represent the “minority viewpoint” on many commissions and boards, and this leaves very little time for them to mentor others, even though the presidents agree there is that need. In addition, the financial constraints these college and university presidents find in managing the day-to-day activities of their institutions leave little or no money available to send upcoming leaders to training institutes.

As efforts are made to increase diversity in the leadership ranks of higher education institutions, at what point does the pool of candidates become sufficient to address these needs? In addition, when does increasing diversity stop becoming the right thing to do? Fortunately, agencies like ACE, Harvard Institute, and several foundations (Bush, Hewlett, Ford, etc.) have seen the need for diversity in leadership positions and have allocated funds to professional development programs for underrepresented groups. Even with this assistance, it becomes difficult for the HBCU manager to be away from the campus for the time period required to develop the skills to be able to lead an institution. On the surface, this pattern could suggest that leadership preparation activities are more meaningful and more readily applied at non-HBCU institutions than at HBCUs.

It appears that there have been and will always be clear distinctions between the culture of HBCUs and non-HBCUs. There have been and apparently will always be disparities in philanthropic support, faculty and staff salaries, securing research grants,

building an endowment, and increasing enrollments. HBCUs must accomplish all these goals while staying true to their mission of helping those less fortunate and the academically under-prepared. Securing funds has always been a problem for HBCU presidents. State funding has been inadequate and federal funding has provided some valuable assistance, especially in the areas of Title III funds. Without Title III funding, many of these institutions would not be in existence today.

Private donations are another area of major difference. Many non-HBCUs have at least modest endowments and in many cases a few individual benefactors who assist in securing major contributions to provide support to the unrestricted needs of the institution. HBCUs do not have the alumni that can give the level of support that other institutions have been able to secure. This situation is made clear by the fact that an HBCU president considers a \$10,000 contribution a major gift and a non-HBCU president considers a \$100,000 donation as a major gift.

Major differences also appear to result in the extremely different culture of the HBCU institutions, which very often determines the hardships (remediation programs, second chance students, keeping the lights on, shared governance, institution viewed as inferior, etc.) these presidents face on an almost daily basis and in turn dictates the decisions they have to make just to survive. Even with these differences, ultimately all presidents found themselves trying to locate a balance point for their institution between a variety of external forces: between religious influence and free-thinking, between diversity and often conflicting ideological beliefs, and between the needs of the college community and the pressures and desires of powerful individuals (trustees, alumni,

faculty, legislators, community leaders). Each president had to find what was right for their institution in order to keep the ideological seesaw in balance.

Implications for Policy

It still appears that the road to the presidency in most cases is the traditional path, which includes attaining a terminal degree (preferably the PhD). If a candidate decides not to limit his/her options to a particular type of institution, the research shows that candidates with almost any combination of professional experiences and education have become presidents in every institutional type. In order to increase his/her attractiveness, the candidate should also gain full-time teaching experience early in his/her career. This is especially true in doctoral institutions of higher education. After gaining this experience in the classroom, the presidential hopeful should seek opportunities that will chart a successful administrative career path with positions of increasing responsibility.

If the decision is to seek a presidency at an HBCU, the individual should be focused more on his/her ability to address sustainability issues (student satisfaction, deferred maintenance, philanthropy, salaries, etc.) versus the candidate at a non-HBCU who would be focused more on strategic planning and capital improvements. HBCU institutions are less interested in presidents who have come up through the faculty ranks; in fact, it appears that faculty members at HBCU institutions recognize the need for fiscal accountability that they too support the need for a president who understands what it will take to bring them out of their current poor financial state.

It is important that aspiring leaders recognize the significance of moral leadership. The president of a college is the moral leader and establishes the tone for the institution. Because minority presidents are held to higher standards and understand that there is an immediate expectation that they will fail, they must enter the field bringing with them the ability to be moral leaders.

It is also important that the competencies of the presidents be made known to the broader community. Too often people of color, and to some degree women, are often viewed as the best candidate because they satisfy a quota based on their ethnic background or gender instead of on their ability to lead the institution as the chief executive administrator. Because minority presidents have been faced with these stereotypes through much of their lives, they must enter the higher education arena bringing the competency issue to the forefront, keeping their focus on the issues that reflect on the job and their ability to be a positive change agent for the institution.

Institutions can help groom promising minority presidential candidates by improving academic advising within faculty ranks that will help promising students develop a program of study relevant to achieving this goal. Students often discuss their desires to become faculty, but rarely do they express an interest in the presidency of a college. The Academy should take a proactive approach in garnering interest by developing programs to attract well-qualified students to the world of education administration. Additionally, programs can be put in place that encourage students' dreams, assign mentors and provide an environmentally warm climate in which to learn, while openly supporting students' administrative career goals.

Legislative initiatives can also be developed. State and federal line item budgets can be implemented that will help level the playing field by funding leadership development programs. While it is crucial that America continues to do all that it can to help those less fortunate in other countries, it is imperative that Congress recognize the situation within the fifty states of a great divide on the education forefront. Well developed, proven training programs that prepare junior executives for futures as higher education presidents can be replicated throughout the United States. Replication models that have a proven track record (ACE, Harvard) currently exist, as reflected in this dissertation. In concert with program administrators from major foundations (Ford, Bush, Hewlett), long-term presidents of HBCU and non-HBCU institutions of higher education who have a track record of mentoring many of the current college presidents can be of valuable assistance in the administration of this program; this would result in an effective and efficient system administered by individuals with a proven track record for success.

Corporate partnerships can also be developed. Many Fortune 500 companies have developed best practices and have been successful in their effort to groom certain individuals for leadership roles. One of the beauties of the corporate America concept is its proactive approach to the succession of their leaders. Rarely does an extended period of time go by when a business operation does not have a new CEO. Higher education, through its process of long drawn out searches and the limited availability of applicants, leaves many institutions in mid-stream – unable to make any real strides with an interim president because in most cases the directives when a permanent president is found will be different.

Implications for Practice

Every decade, several thousand individuals lead this nation's higher education system of colleges and universities. The average term of many of these presidents is now often less than seven years, yet these leaders are expected to serve simultaneously as the chief executive officer, the convener of the campus community, and a public official accountable to a board – sometimes public, sometimes private, sometimes church-related - and responsive to the demands of the many. Balancing these multiple roles has always been difficult. Add to these roles changing demographic trends, fiscal constraints, and unrealistic public expectations, and it becomes virtually impossible for presidents to provide the leadership that is expected from the position.

Still relevant are Kerr's (1963) remarks, which capture the nature of the problem:

The university president in the United States is expected to be a friend of the students, a colleague with the faculty, a good fellow with the alumni, a sound administrator with the trustees, a good speaker with the public, an astute bargainer with foundations and the federal agencies, a politician with the state legislature, a friend of industry, labor and agriculture, a persuasive diplomat with donors, a champion of education, a supporter of the professions (particularly law and medicine), a spokesman to the press, a scholar in his own right, a public servant at the state and national levels, a devotee of opera and football equally, a decent human being, a good husband and father, an active member of the church. Above all, he must enjoy traveling in airplanes, eating his meals in public, and attending public ceremonies. No one can be all of these things. Some succeed at being none.

This study reflected many of the sentiments expressed by Kerr. It is clear that a need exists for presidents to educate and inform their boards of directors and campus community about measures to strengthen the presidency by educating them to the benefits of allocating more control of decision making to the president, encouraging more

support of the president by faculty, minimizing external interference in the daily operations of the campus, and providing a managerial structure that allows the president to accomplish these tasks with the help of an administrative layer of personnel.

Institutions can do more to change this seven-year swing. The make up of the board and the selection of individual trustees greatly affect the leadership capacity of college leaders. Trustees can develop policies that dictate the level of control presidents will have over daily operations of the institution. Many presidents become frustrated with the level of micromanagement that boards and trustees exert during their tenure. In some cases, control is taken away from the president or an overly aggressive trustee usurps the president's power publicly. Developing guidelines that require accountability by the president, while allowing the president control over the operations of the institution, makes for a longer lasting relationship.

Faculty, staff, and students must be made to realize that the job of the president is not one that can be done alone. The individual in this seat cannot snap his/her finger and magically make things different and/or better (these are not necessarily one in the same) just for the asking. The job of president requires a team of individuals who share a vision and dream for the college/university and works together to help see this dream come to fruition. Creating a "Contract for XYZ College," in which everyone provides "buy-in" to a carefully thought out, methodical plan that has periodic measuring points, would prove beneficial. While no plan is perfect, it is a roadmap that allows the president to address the issues unique to the institution and to implement the steps that will move the institution to the next level.

Implications for Further Research

This study generates a number of implications for further research. While this study provided insight on the educational, occupational, and previous work experience of presidents at HBCUs and non-HBCUs, related studies could provide a comparative analysis of the presidents at Hispanic-serving institutions and Tribal Colleges in comparison to HBCU institutions in order to determine if these results are unique to HBCUs or are truly issues related to all minority serving institutions. Additional research would provide insight and understanding about minority serving institutions.

Other implications would include a variety of case studies.

1. Comparative analysis of specialized institutions (i.e. colleges for the deaf and hard of hearing) to determine if the results are unique to specialized institutions or are they also similarly related to Historically Minority Serving Institutions (HMSIs). For example, recent issues at a major university for hard of hearing students stemmed from the selection of a new president who was not deaf or hearing impaired. Students and faculty overwhelmingly wanted someone who could relate to their circumstances and the discrimination they face on a daily basis. Would this be a similar concern to that expressed at an HMSI? Would minority students want a president who not only resembles them but also understands the culture of the institution?

2. Best Practices: Colleges that do it well. This study would elaborate on best practices at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions and programs geared to diversity to determine similarities and differences and the reason for these differences. In addition, why are these programs and schools succeeding?
3. Multiple Presidencies. Are HMSI presidents leaving their positions at a higher rate than non-HMSIs and where do they go? There is a belief that once an individual is a president of an HMSI, he/she is (unfortunately) tracked for any future presidency. Are HMSI presidents only able to find positions at other HMSIs?
4. Higher Education / Corporate World Comparisons: Paths to the Chief Executive Position. In this study, the rise to the CEO position by select Fortune 500 companies in comparison to the rise to the presidency at an HMSI and non-HMSI would be reviewed. What are the factors besides education and fundraising that might be at play? In addition, are there any factors that are more prominent within the corporate structure?
5. Trend Analysis Survey: Developing a trend analysis survey that would be extremely valuable as an early warning indicator of potential problems and of issues within higher education leadership ranks.

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APPENDIX A – PARTICIPATION LETTERS

Participation Letter 1

Dear Dr. <X>:

I am a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Based on information I gathered from <ACE/AACU/NAFEO> you have been identified as a president of <Institution>. As president of <Institution> your story is vital to the development of my research regarding issues around the College Presidency and the pathway taken to ascend to this level. This research is for partial fulfillment of my dissertation requirements. I am interested in gathering pertinent data about the educational background, work history, and the issues and concerns that dominate presidents at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions of higher education.

This will be a two-phase, sequential mixed methods study to obtain statistical, quantitative results from a presidential sample, which will be followed up with a sample of college presidents to explore those results in more depth. Your participation is most relevant for Phase Two, which involves an interview to elaborate and inform the statistically significant quantitative differences noted in the first set of analysis. Your interview will be tape recorded (with your permission) and held in the strictest confidence. Once your interview has been transcribed and coded, this information will be analyzed along with other participants. All written documents pertaining to the study will be shredded and all audiotapes will be erased after the study. You will not be identified by name nor will your college/university be identified.

Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite intense, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who seek this chief administrative position. This study is expected to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential and occupational backgrounds.

I would be truly appreciative of your willingness to participate in this study. I am enclosing a consent form, which outlines the study in greater detail. If your schedule permits, I would like to meet with you on <DATE and TIME> during your participation in the <ACE/AACU/NAFEO> Annual Assembly. I am sure we can find a convenient location for the interview. I am keeping that date and time open just for you, prior to making any additional appointments.

Thank you <NAME> for your consideration of this request. I look forward to meeting with you and learning from your experiences. If you have any questions or comments concerning your participation do not hesitate to contact me by calling <PHONE>.

Sincerely,

Kenneth W. Chandler
UNCG Doctoral Student

Enclosure: Consent Form

Participation Letter 2

Dear Dr. <X>:

Thank you for agreeing to take some time from your very busy schedule to meet with me in an interview setting to discuss issues around the College Presidency. As I indicated, I am completing my doctoral degree at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. I require your assistance in gathering pertinent data about the educational background, work history, and the issues and concerns that dominate presidents at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions of higher education.

This will be a two-phase, sequential mixed methods study to obtain statistical, quantitative results from a presidential sample, which will be followed up with a sample of college presidents to explore those results in more depth. Your participation is most relevant for Phase Two, which involves an interview to elaborate and inform the statistically significant quantitative differences noted in the first set of analysis. Your interview will be tape recorded (with your permission) and held in the strictest confidence. Once your interview has been transcribed and coded, this information will be analyzed along with other participants. All written documents pertaining to the study will be shredded and all audiotapes will be erased after the study. You will not be identified by name nor will your college/university be identified.

Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite challenging, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to this chief administrative position. This study is expected to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential and occupational backgrounds.

Thank you for your support and participation in this research project. The time required to participate in this study is estimated to be 45 minutes. I am truly appreciative of your willingness to participate and look forward to seeing you at your office at <TIME> on <DATE>. If you have any questions or comments concerning your participation do not hesitate to contact me by calling <PHONE>.

Sincerely,

Kenneth W. Chandler
UNCG Doctoral Student

Enclosure: Consent Form

APPENDIX B – CONSENT FORM

**THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO**

CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT: LONG FORM

Project Title: The American College President: A Study of HBCU
and Non-HBCU College Presidents

Project Director: Kenneth Wilfred Chandler

Participant's Name: _____

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION OF PROCEDURES:

Colleges continue to face an environment that is increasingly multicultural however the leadership ranks are dominated by Anglo-European males (89.3 percent as reported by ACE). As these same institutions incorporate in their mission, strategic plan and philosophy a movement toward achieving a more diverse community of learners, there remains a lack of ethnic and gender diversity within the leadership ranks. Thus the study is expected to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential and occupational backgrounds.

The analytical procedures employed in this investigation will be in two phases: phase one involved determining which demographic, occupational, and other characteristics of presidents of HBCU and majority institutions differ from each other. The data elements used in this study are provided by the American Council on Education - Washington DC by permission.

Your participation is most relevant for Phase Two, which involves an interview to elaborate and inform the statistically significant quantitative differences noted in the first set of analysis.

You may withdraw from participation in this study at any time without penalty. You may ask questions of the researcher at any time. The time required to participate in this study is estimated to be 45 minutes. Data generated in this study will remain confidential for a period of three years from the study, at which time the written data will be shredded and any audio data will be erased. The data will be stored in a locked file in Morrisville, NC. The results of this study may be published in educational journals or presented at

professional meetings, but, if this happens, the identity of the participant will not be disclosed.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:

There are no known psychological, sociological or physical risks associated with participation in this project. Data will be kept confidential by eliminating direct or implied identifying information. All written documents pertaining to the study will be shredded and all audiotapes will be erased one year after the study. Data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet until completion of the study.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite fierce, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to this chief administrative position.

CONSENT:

By signing this consent form, you agree that you understand the procedures and any risks and benefits involved in this research. You are free to refuse to participate or to withdraw your consent to participate in this research at any time without penalty or prejudice; your participation is entirely voluntary. Your privacy will be protected because you will not be identified by name as a participant in this project.

The research and this consent form have been approved by the University of North Carolina at Greensboro Institutional Review Board, which insures that research involving people follows federal regulations. Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this project can be answered by calling Mr. Eric Allen at (336) 256-1482. Questions regarding the research itself will be answered by Kenneth W. Chandler by calling 919.740.0186. Any new information that develops during the project will be provided to you if the information might affect your willingness to continue participation in the project.

By signing this form, you are agreeing to participate in the project described to you by Kenneth W. Chandler.

Participant's Signature

Date

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project: The American College President: A Study of HBCU and Non-HBCU College Presidents

Date of Interview: _____

Time of Interview: _____

Location for Interview: _____

Interviewer: _____

Interviewee: _____

Description of Study: Colleges continue to face an environment that is increasingly multicultural however the leadership ranks are dominated by Anglo-European males (89.3 percent as reported by ACE). As these same institutions incorporate in their mission, strategic plan and philosophy a movement toward achieving a more diverse community of learners, there remains a lack of ethnic and gender diversity within the leadership ranks. Since the position of president is a highly sought after position and the competition is quite challenging, insight into the preparation for the presidency can be a valuable tool to those who aspire to this chief administrative position. This study is expected to add to the limited literature available on HBCU and non-HBCU presidential preparations, backgrounds and crucial workplace issues. Thus the study is expected to aid in the understanding of those who aspire to become college presidents by providing them with information about the preparation strategies of incumbent presidents with regard to educational, experiential and occupational backgrounds.

Questions:

1. What preparations did you receive that equipped you for the position of college president?
2. What experiences in your background prepared you for the position of College president at your institution of higher education?
3. What workplace issues keep you awake at night on a regular basis?
4. Describe a typical day in your life as college/university president.

5. What additional training, experience do you believe would have been beneficial to you in preparing to take on this leadership position?
6. When did you feel you were best prepared to become a college president?
7. What are your recommendations for an individual aspiring for a college presidency?
8. Are the recommendations different if the individual is a person of color?
9. Are the recommendations different if the individual is seeking a presidency at an HBCU versus non-HBCU institutions?
10. What advice would you offer to a candidate preparing to fill a campus presidency?

(Thank you for participating in this interview. I again assure you of the confidentiality of your responses).

Notes:

APPENDIX D – ACE AGREEMENT NOTICE

American Council on Education

Center for Policy Analysis

September 17, 2002

Kenneth W. Chandler

Kenneth,

Once again, it was a pleasure to finally speak with you regarding your work and the ACE Presidents' Study. As we discussed, I have enclosed copies of the five National Presidents' Surveys that have been concluded since 1986. After you have had an opportunity to review them and discuss with your advisor what data elements may be helpful, we can move forward to put a data file together for you.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call or e-mail. I hope you are enjoying a relaxing, but productive fall.

Regards,

Melanie Corrigan

Assistant Director, Center for Policy Analysis
American Council on Education

One Dupont Circle NW. Washington DC 20036-1193

APPENDIX E – IRB APPROVAL

6/17/2005

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO

JUN 28 2005

IRB File NUM:

045314

TITLE: The American College President: A Study of HBCU and Non-HBCU College Presidents

PI: Chandler, Kenneth W.

DEPT: CUI

CO_PIS:

FACULTY SPONSOR: Ponder, Gerald

Action Taken:

Disposition of Application:

Exempt from Full Review

Approved

Expedited Review

Disapproved

Full IRB Review

MODIFICATIONS AND COMMENTS:


IRB Chair/Designer

APPROVAL DATE*: 6/28/05

EXPIRATION DATE*: 6/28/06

*Approval of Research is for up to ONE year only. If your research extends beyond one year, the project must be reviewed before the expiration date prior to continuation.

APPENDIX F – SURVEY PARTICIPANTS’ QUOTES

Education and Work Experience

- I. The desire to hire a female should not over shadow the fact that I was the best qualified.
- II. The reason I was told I was hired is because I was a good fundraiser... two days after I started I understand why that was important.
- III. I went to College with plans to teach and somehow got pulled into this thing called administration.
- IV. I have only worked at one... institution... from which I moved up the ranks from faculty, then chair, dean, provost and president.
- V. My work in higher education allowed me to develop relationships with people who later served as mentors and advocates for my career move. I was one of the lucky ones.
- VI. The college took a chance on me... I mean after all I am... I think...the youngest person to serve as a college president.
- VII. Believe it or not... and I like telling this story...I was the search committees third choice and look...I have been president for 10 plus years.
- VIII. I think a doctorate is extremely helpful not essential but extremely helpful....
- IX. Some will say get your PHD in a discipline like chemistry or political science...because search committees are usually made up of faculty who don't respect many other degrees. I was an example of someone who got to the presidency not doing that.
- X. I should have... wish I could have fired many of my trustees.
- XI. Understand tenure and issues related to it.

Personal Attributes

- I. College presidents and those aspiring for the position should have “vision” connected to the mission of the university and moves the university toward that mission.
- II. I am determined and driven.

- III. I schedule time for myself.
- IV. If I allowed them... every minute of everyday would be taken from me for someone else.
- V. You will be seen as a role model by many, but you have to choose how much you can personally take on and still accomplish the work that you ...have on your plate.

Recommendations

- I. Know the Academy – teaching is essential and complemented by academic administration.
- II. Learn how to be what you're going to manage.
- III. Develop sensitivity to faculty and study needs.
- IV. Try to find as many kinds of experiences as you can...get your PHD in a discipline like Chemistry or Political Science, although I did not do what I am advising you to do – yet I am a President.
- V. You have to be very diplomatic and you have to be careful of what you know
- VI. You better be a person who can make difficult decisions and deal with difficult issues because ... the tough ones always land on your desk and you have to have the value set and the confidence to make those decisions.
- VII. The best presidents are those that have just done their job and then all of a sudden something has happened in their life that all of a sudden a presidency looks like the next step.
- VIII. A person of color and to some degree women should not foreclose the presidency just because you haven't done the traditional route that everybody says you are suppose to.
- IX. Develop a network and a reputation for integrity.
- X. I think HBCUs are willing to look beyond the those things (for women and people of color) where they might not for a white male
- XI. I don't know the HBCU culture at all.

- XII. I received a letter from one of my mentors with advice – remember that the same skills that got you this job are the ponies that are going to help you get through it.
- XIII. Spend a lot of time listening.
- XIV. Always do what you believe is right for the institution not what you think is going to please the alumni, faculty senate or student body.
- XV. You're going to have to fall in love with the institution, you're going to have to love it but don't expect it to love you back.
- XVI. Every institution has its culture and you gotta figure out what that is before you can really be successful
- XVII. Be aware that the decisions you make are going to please some people and disappoint others; the people it pleases will rarely if ever thank you for it.
- XVIII. Attend presidential training workshops to get foundation on issues facing the presidency and hear from the experts.
- XIX. Develop a mentoring group to lean on ... experienced people.
- XX. Get the top administration to do a SWOP analysis – telling you what are the major strengths weaknesses and opportunities for the university.
- XXI. In your first few years, treat the presidency as if you are in a room of rattlesnakes – take small careful steps.
- XXII. Make sure your board understands the difference between policy and administration. We have a line – all policies will come through the Board of trustees; all daily operations and problems are handled by the president.
- XXIII. Meet personally with each board member (at their place) to understand where they are in the commitment to the school.
- XXIV. Avoid being blind-sided by political agendas.
- XXV. Develop thickness of skin to criticism.
- XXVI. Take time away from the job.

Typical Day

- I. Meetings meetings meetings and more meetings.
- II. The other thing that really absorbs your day on a very regular basis are evenings ...I would say are social things... the functions that you really need to attend so that people see you're interested.
- III. 3 – 4 mile daily run; Prayer reflections, followed by appointments and planning with my vice presidents especially the vice president for development.
- IV. Events, speeches, teaching, attending campus events, unannounced visitors.
- V. Legislative meetings at the Capital, student issues, student concerns and mentoring of current students, open door policy to vice presidents and campus community.
- VI. Appointments, telephone calls to community leaders and campus based, board issues, student issues. Faculty issues, attending student sponsored activities.
- VII. I travel a great deal on college business and schedule meetings with students in their residence halls a couple of times each month, foundation and corporate meetings and boards.
- VIII. I am not sure there is a typical day. Things spill over from...the things that I cannot control, especially issues from my vice presidents who are not sure how to resolve an issue.
- IX. I get up at 5:00Am and send e-mails to senior management - they know this is what I do so they are required to check their e-mails first thing every morning.
- X. Legal matters, personnel issues, calls from parents to the presidents office for even mundane issues, strategic planning,
- XI. Rotary and other civic groups, public relations issues, student contact, recruitment of new students, reading academic journals for awareness of issues in higher education to stay on the cutting edge.
- XII. Begin each day and meeting with prayer.
- XIII. College presidents are always in the fund raising mode so meetings with prospects is a given; external relations with corporate community to discover

the “win win;” internal staff meetings assess if we’re using the strategic plan as our guide.

Critical Issues

- I. Public relations on the perception and worth of my institution in comparison to Which is right down the street.
- II. Hiring competent personnel and addressing salary issues of current staff.
- III. Finding good people who will stay, especially in finance and budgeting.
- IV. Finding enough need based financial aid to offset the spiraling costs to attend...
- V. Too dependent on federal funding.
- VI. Keeping the lights on and meeting payroll on a monthly basis.
- VII. Campus is in a state of serious problems due to deferred maintenance.... The tough decision was to determine which bill to pay this month – painting the professors office or paying the utility company.
- VIII. Violence in residence halls.
- IX. Fraternity and sorority hazing on campus
- X. You wonder what do you do when you have to balance the due process issues against knowing that you have to move quickly because students are at risk....
- XI. I toss and turn about personnel issues when I have to terminate someone or discipline someone.
- XII. My students need so very much - remediation, money to buy books, developing study skills, advice, and role models.

Family/Spirituality

- I. Remember you are always a public figure and criticism can be difficult on family, especially your children.
- II. My parents always said to get a good education that was my only way out of poverty.

- III. There was no question in my mind that I was going to college. Mom and Dad said it and it came to be.
- IV. I was the first in my family to go to college.
- V. ...they would do everything within their power to help ..., regardless of how limited their personal financial situations was at the time.
- VI. Family constantly said you can do anything you put your mind to.
- VII. My grandmother was very much pro-education.
- VIII. My husband encouraged me to seek this presidency...he took over primary responsibility for our young children...which I thank him.
- IX. They were always there for me.
- X. Wow...I took what I thought was my dream job, moved across country, lived by myself for several months; I can't believe I did it... without my family.
- XI. I regret how tough this move was on my family, my wife gave up a great job and never hear the end of it.
- XII. If I had it to do again, I would never have moved my daughter during her senior year of high school.
- XIII. I am grateful to God everyday for the blessings he has bestowed upon me – the one's I know and most importantly the one's I don't know
- XIV. I have a lot of blessings in my life and I try not to forget to give thanks... spiritual thanks that is.
- XV. Pray!!!!
- XVI. I attend regular mass to find strength and guidance.
- XVII. I have to serve God in my personal life
- XVIII. Please make sure your spouse is in support of your work.

APPENDIX G – HBCU FACTS

HBCUs and Founding Years

Legend for chart:

A - College/University

B - Public or Private

C - Year

	A	B	C
1.	Alabama A&M University	Public	1875
2.	Alabama State University	Public	1874
3.	Albany State University	Public	1903
4.	Alcorn State University	Public	1871
5.	Allen University	Private	1870
6.	Arkansas Baptist College	Private	1873
7.	Barber Scotia College	Private	1867
8.	Benedict College	Private	1870
9.	Bennett College	Private	1873
10.	Bethune-Cookman College	Private	1872
11.	Bishop State Community College	Public	1965
12.	Bluefield State College	Public	1895
13.	Bowie State University	Public	1865
14.	Central State University	Public	1887
15.	Charles R. Drew University of Medicine and Science	Public	1966
16.	Cheyney State University	Public	1837
17.	Chicago State University	Public	1867
18.	Claflin University	Private	1869
19.	Clark Atlanta University	Private	1865
20.	Clinton Junior College	Public	1894
21.	Coahoma Community College	Public	1949
22.	Concordia College	Private	1922
23.	Coppin State College	Public	1900
24.	Delaware State University	Public	1891
25.	Denmark Technical College	Private	1948
26.	Dillard University	Private	1869
27.	Edward Waters College	Private	1866
28.	Elizabeth City State University	Public	1891
29.	Fayetteville State University	Public	1867
30.	Fisk University	Private	1867
31.	Florida A&M University	Public	1887
32.	Florida Memorial College	Private	1879
33.	Fort Valley State University	Public	1895
34.	Grambling State University	Public	1901

35. Hampton University	Private	1868
36. Harris-Stowe State College	Public	1857
37. Hinds Community College	Public	1917
38. Howard University	Public	1867
39. Huston Tillotson College	Private	1876
40. Interdenominational Theological Center	Private	1958
41. L F. Drake State Technical College	Public	1961
42. Jackson State University	Public	1877
43. Jarvis Christian College	Private	1912
44. Johnson C. Smith University	Private	1867
45. Kentucky State University	Public	1886
46. Knoxville College	Private	1863
47. Lane College	Private	1882
48. Langston University	Public	1897
49. Lawson State Community College	Public	1965
50. LeMoyne-Owen College	Private	1862
51. Lewis College of Business	Private	1862
52. Lincoln University, MO	Public	1866
53. Lincoln University, PA	Public	1854
54. Livingstone College	Private	1879
55. Mary Holmes College	Private	1892
56. Meharry Medical College	Private	1876
57. Miles College	Private	1905
58. Mississippi Valley State University	Public	1946
59. Morehouse College	Private	1867
60. Morehouse School of Medicine	Private	1975
61. Morgan State University	Public	1867
62. Morris College	Private	1908
63. Morris Brown College	Private	1881
64. Norfolk State University	Public	1935
65. North Carolina A&T State University	Public	1891
66. North Carolina Central University	Public	1909
67. Oakwood College	Private	1896
68. Paine College	Private	1882
69. Paul Quinn College	Private	1881
70. Philander Smith College	Private	1868
71. Prairie View A&M University	Public	1878
72. Rust College	Private	1866
73. Savannah State University	Public	1890
74. Selma University	Private	1872
75. Shaw University	Private	1875
76. Shelton State Community College	Public	1953
77. Shorter College	Private	1873
78. South Carolina State University	Public	1896

79. Southern University and A&M College	Public	1880
80. Southern University at Shreveport	Public	1964
81. Southern University at New Orleans	Public	1956
82. Southwestern Christian College	Private	1949
83. Spelman College	Private	1881
84. St. Augustine's College	Private	1867
85. St. Paul's College	Private	1888
86. St. Philip's College	Private	1889
87. Stillman College	Private	1876
88. Talladega College	Private	1867
89. Tennessee State University	Public	1912
90. Texas College	Private	1894
91. Texas Southern University	Public	1947
92. Tougaloo College	Private	1869
93. Trenholm State Technical College	Public	1963
94. Tuskegee University	Private	1881
95. University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	Public	1873
96. University of the District of Columbia	Public	1851
97. University of Maryland, Eastern Shore	Public	1886
98. University of the Virgin Islands	Public	1962
99. Virginia State University	Public	1882
100. Virginia Union University	Private	1865
101. Voorhees College	Private	1897
102. West Virginia State College	Public	1891
103. Wilberforce University	Private	1856
104. Wiley College	Private	1873
105. Winston Salem State University	Public	1892
106. Xavier University (La.)	Private	1915

Information taken from the World Almanac 2000, the Time Almanac 2000 and the World Almanac 1991 as cited in Evans, 2002.

HBCU Enrollments and Number of Faculty in 1990 and 1999

Legend for chart:

A - College/University

B - 1990 N Students

C - 1990 Faculty

D - 1999 Students

E - 1999 Faculty

	A	B	C	D	E	
1. Alabama A&M University		4500	314	5128	298	+**
2. Alabama State University		4456	270	5552	357	+
3. Albany State		2306	150	3200	173	+
4. Alcorn State		2847	183	2860	222	+
5. Arkansas A&M		3077	202	3669	216	+
6. Benedict		1616	118	2208	142	+
7. Bethune-Cookman		2145	174	2481	215	+
8. Bluefield State		2558	160	2405	158	-
9. Bowie State		3748	155	5024	295	+
10. Central State		2550	140	1026	102	-
11. Cheyney State		1646	107	1743	132	+
12. Chicago State		6034	387	8416	482	+
13. Claflin		850	59	1161	84	+
14. Clark Atlanta		6434	408	5410	482	-
15. Coahoma Community		1478	85	1141	85	-
16. Coppin State		2229	158	3765	202	+
17. Delaware State		2610	158	3765	202	+
18. Dillard		1668	NR	1722	174	+
19. Elizabeth city St.		1694	133	1932	149	+
20. Fayetteville State		3024	192	3429	234	+
21. Florida A&M		7469	670	11828	732	+
22. Fort Valley State		2097	160	2689	174	+
23. Grumbling State		6205	275	5070	224	+
24. Hampton		5342	380	5704	378	+
25. Harris-Stowe State		1881	110	1723	130	-
26. Howard		11452	1100	10211	1242	-
27. Jackson State		7150	395	6292	382	-
28. Johnson C. Smith		1310	97	1443	98	+
29. Kentucky State		2190	158	2303	157	+
30. Lawson State Comm.		1470	54	1643	105	+
31. Lincoln, MO		3063	160	3214	202	+
32. Lincoln, PA		1304	131	2084	187	+
33. Mississippi Valley		1691	136	2447	155	+

34. Morehouse	2620	150	2925	252	+
35. Morgan State	4399	NR	6299	340	+
36. Morris Brown	1805	NR	1210	121	-
37. Norfolk State	7721	511	7115	545	-
38. North Carolina A&T	6536	443	7465	533	+
39. North Carolina Cent.	5343	405	5743	413	+
40. Oakwood	1223	110	1805	163	+
41. Prairie View A&M	5686	314	5996	355	+
42. Savannah State	2075	147	2745	155	+
43. Southern U. and A&M	9811	NR	9567	539	-
44. Spelman	1789	136	1899	209	+
45. St. Augustine, NC	1885	112	1598	108	-
46. Tennessee State	8270	444	8750	369	+
47. Texas Southern	9100	448	6316	386	-
48. Tuskegee	3500	318	3080	306	-
49. Virginia State	4073	239	4341	241	+
50. Virginia Union	1200	NR	1700	104	+
51. West Virginia State	4636	221	4817	276	+
52. Winston Salem State	2576	186	2778	250	+
53. Xavier	2906	224	3655	250	+
Total 53				14-	39+

*Information taken from the World Almanac 2000, the Time Almanac 2000, and the World Almanac 1991. ** The plus (+) means that the school had an increase in enrollment and the minus (-) means that the school had a decrease in enrollment during 1990 and 1999 as cited in Evans, 2002.

Top 50 Colleges for Black Students*

Legend for chart:

A - Rank, Name, Location

B - N Students

C - % Black

A	B	C
1. Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga	1961	95
2. Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.	2889	99
3. Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, Fla.	10206	88
4. Clark Atlanta, Atlanta, Ga.	5311	96
5. Howard University, Washington, D.C.	10332	91
6. Xavier University, New Orleans, La.	3463	90
7. Hampton University, Hampton, Va.	6035	84
8. Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, Alabama	3100	92
9. North Carolina A&T Univ., Greensboro, N.C.	7947	87
10. Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.	16003	05
11. Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.	12618	06
12. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio	2892	08
13. Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.	1353	06
14. Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	2346	06
15. Columbia University, New York, N.Y.	19302	06
16. Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.	11308	12
17. Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.	1623	07
18. Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N.C.	1398	99
19. North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.	24439	09
20. Duke University, Durham, N.C.	11512	07
21. Morgan State University, Baltimore, Md.	6016	94
22. Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn.	3244	07
23. Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	879	99
24. Tennessee State University, Nashville, TN.	8464	65
25. Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.	1821	05
26. Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fl.	30155	10
27. Bethune-Cookman, Daytona, Fl.	2402	93
28. Harvard University, Cambridge, Ma.	24687	06
29. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.	15765	07
30. University of Southern Calif., Los Angeles, Ca.	27971	06
31. North Carolina Central Univ., Durham, N.C.	5555	83
32. Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	2065	96
33. Southern University, New Orleans, La.	10359	93
34. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.	22148	06
35. Williams College, Williamstown, Ma.	2055	06

36. George Washington Univ., Washington, D.C.	19670	08
37. Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	1562	98
38. Jackson State University, Jackson, Ms.	6313	94
39. Grambling State University, Grambling, La.	6800	95
40. Wellesley College, Wellesley, Ma.	2257	06
41. Yale University, New Haven, Ct.	10893	06
42. Univ. of Calif. Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Ca.	34713	06
43. New York University, New York, N.Y.	35835	07
44. Smith College, Northampton, Ma.	3189	04
45. Mass. Institute of Techn., Cambridge, Ma.	9960	04
46. Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Ma.	1896	04
47. Lincoln University, Lincoln Univ., Pa.	1553	92
48. South Carolina State Univ., Orangeburg, S.C.	4993	92
49. Alabama A&M University, Normal, Al.	5400	76
50. Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.	11865	04

Total 50

Information taken from the World Almanac 2000, the Time Almanac 2000 and the World Almanac 1991 as cited in Evans, 2002.

APPENDIX H – NAFEO HBCU HIGHER EDUCATION GUIDE

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

(from the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Guide)

Creation

Before the Civil War, higher education for black students was virtually non-existent. The few, such as Fredrick Douglass, who did receive schooling, often studied in informal and sometimes hostile settings, or were forced to teach themselves entirely. Southern whites strongly opposed the education of black students, and formal education for blacks was only slightly more common in the North. Some schools for elementary and secondary training existed, such as the Institute for Colored Youth, a school started in the early 1830s by a group of Philadelphia Quakers. It was renamed Cheyney University many years later after becoming an institution of higher learning. College educations were also available to a limited number of students at schools like Oberlin College in Ohio and Berea College in Kentucky. Only two historically black private colleges, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Wilberforce University in Ohio, existed prior to the Civil War.

In the years following the Civil War, with the 13th amendment's abolition of slavery and reconstruction in the South, things were beginning to change. In 1862, Senator Justin Morrill spearheaded a movement to improve the state of public higher education throughout the United States, putting an emphasis on the need for institutions to train Americans in the applied sciences, agriculture, and engineering. The Morrill Land-Grant Act gave federal lands to the states for the purpose of opening colleges and universities to educate farmers, scientists, and teachers. Although many such institutions were created, few were open or inviting to blacks, particularly in the South. Only Alcorn State University in Mississippi was created explicitly as a black land-grant college. It would be 28 years before Senator Morrill rectified this problem. The solution came with the second Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1890, which specified that states using federal land-grant funds must either make their schools open to both blacks and whites or allocate money for segregated black colleges to serve as an alternative to white schools. A total of 16 exclusively black institutions received 1890 land-grant funds.

Most of these public schools were founded by state legislatures between 1870 and 1910. Prior to this, it was the initiative of many blacks themselves, along with the support of the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the Freedmen's Bureau that was responsible for setting up private colleges and universities for the education of blacks. African-American churches ran their own elementary and secondary educations for southern blacks, preparing them for vocations or advanced studies. This created a demand for higher education, particularly for the

institutes to train teachers for work in black schools. Between 1861 and 1870, the AMA founded seven black colleges and 13 normal (teaching) schools. Many of these institutions, along with the private HBCUs founded later by the AMA, the Freedmen's Bureau, and black churches, became the backbone of black higher education, producing African-American leaders for generations to come.

Conflict

Two graduates from the first generation of students to attend these new black institutions of higher learning came to the forefront in the early twentieth century, each espousing a different course for the black college to take.

Booker T. Washington, a freed slave from Virginia, attended the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. There he was exposed to one of the best examples of elementary and secondary black vocational education in the nation. Hampton, founded by the AMA and the Freedmen's Bureau, focused its efforts on preparing young blacks throughout the South to fill jobs in the skilled trades. Washington became an apprentice of Hampton's president and decided to lead his own school after graduating. In 1881, he took the helm at the fledgling Tuskegee Institute. Tuskegee quickly became famous for its practical curriculum and focus on preparing blacks for many agricultural and mechanical trades. Washington gained notoriety and was soon a celebrity among blacks and whites as the proponent of black advancement through vocational training and racial conciliation. He believed firmly that the best way for freed slaves and other blacks to attain equality in the United States was through the accumulation of power, wealth, and respect by means of hard work in practical trades. The inscription on the Tuskegee University monument to Booker T. Washington reads, "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry."

W.E.B. DuBois took a very different view of how blacks ought to function in society. Raised in Massachusetts and first exposed to real segregation during his undergraduate work at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, DuBois believed that it was essential that blacks be allowed training not only in vocational fields, but also in the liberal arts. A fierce advocate for civil rights, DuBois feuded very openly with Washington over the proper strategy for educating black university students. DuBois felt quite strongly that Washington's universal vocational training only perpetuated the servitude of slavery. He believed equality and a sense of purpose would only come if talented blacks were allowed to study the arts and sciences. Then they could become leaders and teachers for the next generation.

It is impossible to say which of these views triumphed. Each, in its own way, lives on today in modern HBCUs. Many colleges and universities seem to be embracing both—students receive practical, technical training grounded in the

liberal arts. Throughout the period of this debate, attendance at HBCUs increased substantially, as did financial support from the government and individual philanthropists such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. HBCUs also gained credibility and respect when the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools began formally surveying and accrediting them in 1928.

Courts

HBCUs would soon face many new challenges, though. The Great Depression and World War II left many black colleges in a financial crisis. Despite improvements in funding in previous years, most land-grant HBCUs were still dismally under-funded when compared to their white counterparts. Private HBCUs were in an even tougher bind. The depression had wiped out many of their sources of philanthropy. Fundraising was becoming very difficult and distracting administrators from issues of improving education. In 1943, Dr. Fredrick D. Patterson, president of the Tuskegee Institute, published an open letter to the presidents of private HBCUs urging them to band together, pooling their resources and fundraising abilities. The next year, the United Negro College Fund began its activities soliciting donations to private HBCUs, with far greater efficacy than any one of its member colleges alone.

Ten years later public HBCUs, and black students across the nation, became the beneficiaries of the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The court's ruling that "separate but equal" schooling was anything but equal meant that states would be forced to better fund the HBCUs and open their other universities to black students. The case, won by lawyers trained at Howard University, didn't bring immediate relief in many cases, as states protested the ruling. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave the federal government greater power to enforce desegregation.

In 1965, the federal government provided for aid to HBCUs through the Higher Education Act. It was followed by another important judicial decision, *Adams v. Richardson*. This case found ten states in violation of the Civil Rights Act for supporting segregated schools. The states were ordered to work actively to integrate institutions, so long as that integration was not carried out at the expense of HBCUs, which were deemed to play an important and unique role in the education of African Americans.

The Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations thought that HBCUs were significant too. President Carter established a program aimed at strengthening and expanding the capacity of HBCUs. Reagan issued an executive order aimed at further reversing the effects of previous discriminatory treatment towards black colleges. Congress supported the Reagan order with increased federal funding to HBCUs. Reagan's successor, George Bush, also issued an executive order, this time building on the Reagan order and establishing a commission in the

Department of Education responsible for advising the president on matters regarding historically black colleges and universities.

Another pivotal court ruling came in 1992 with the United States Supreme Court's ruling in *United States v. Fordice*. The court's decision required that Mississippi do away with the remnants of a dual, segregated system of education. This was similar to the Adams decision, except that no special circumstances were outlined for the treatment of HBCUs. Supporters of black colleges worried that the decision might hurt African-American students in the long run if the support and attention they received at HBCUs was taken away. Desegregation is important, in their view, but should never be viewed a reason for putting black students in a disadvantageous situation. Black colleges provide a unique education for African Americans.

APPENDIX I – AAUP CONFERENCE ON SHARED GOVERNANCE

This article presents an expanded version of an address delivered by Ivory Paul Phillips at the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) 2001 conference on shared governance:

The critical areas of shared governance in which HBCUs come up short include (a) faculty representation on policy and decision-making bodies; (b) searches and hiring of academic personnel; (c) faculty grievances; (d) promotion, tenure, and post-tenure hearings and procedures; (e) evaluations of peers and administrators; (f) salary determination and other budgetary matters; (g) program development, review, and revision; (h) development and revision of faculty handbooks; (i) access to information needed for decision making; and (j) the status of the faculty senate as a decision- and policy-making unit.

Those who have lived through the civil rights and black power movements are well aware that, in fundamental ways, historically African American colleges and universities differ from predominantly white institutions in how they are perceived and run. The fact that almost all HBCUs are located in the southern and border states should provide a hint as to why they are so different.

Most colleges for African Americans were started by religious groups or by the federal government through Reconstruction legislation and the Morrill Act. State and local governments got into the act later, and only reluctantly. Over the years, the historical attitude toward American black higher education continued to influence the endeavor. In the mid-1770s George Washington said that teaching slaves would create a troublesome property. And in the early 1900s Booker T. Washington shied away from advocating a liberal education for freedmen, championing instead training the hands. Higher education, then, was not a natural societal expectation when it came to African Americans.

The colleges that were to serve them were therefore segregated and not designed to be fully developed. To ensure this retardation, the institutions were given meager funding and administrators who would follow the dictates of racist boards and community leaders. The segregation has not changed. The poor funding has not changed. The dictatorial and racially oppressive manner in which HBCUs are run has not changed.

A word of explanation is needed, however, regarding the segregation of the black colleges. They are not segregated in terms of laws or customs restricting enrollment and employment to black people. They are segregated in the sense that

their funds and, consequently, their programs and facilities are such that few non-black students want to attend them. They are segregated in the minds of society, especially white society.

Problem Administrators

Many administrators of black colleges have served previously at other black institutions as presidents, provosts, or academic vice presidents. Some have served at several colleges. At least one veteran black educator from Alabama referred to them as "academic refugees." It almost never seems to matter whether they have been accused of wrongdoing, received votes of no confidence from their faculty, or been fired at a previous college. The game of musical chairs for incompetent presidents continues. One black college had three presidents in succession that followed the pattern. The first was pushed out over budgetary matters—and almost immediately rehired by another black college. Meanwhile, the president who replaced him had been castigated by an earlier black college faculty and community. When this second president left the institution, the college appointed a person who had received a vote of no confidence from faculty at his previous institution. This third president, in the course of time, received votes of no confidence from the faculty at the new college. Similar stories can be told about other black colleges, because most are chosen by boards that seem to have little regard for the historical mission or development of black colleges.

Boards of trustees at both private and public HBCUs continue to exercise a much tighter reign over their institutions than do their counterparts at white colleges. The public boards follow the wishes of racially insensitive legislatures and community leaders who have no desire to see HBCUs expand their traditional missions. The private boards try to please wealthy benefactors, many of whom turn out to be white and, at the very least, racist in deed if not in thought. Several recent articles on black colleges have underlined the plantation mentality that has been fostered on these campuses. To encourage black college administrators to help dampen aspirations and activism among faculty and students, the administrators are paid fairly well. The salary gap between black college presidents and those at predominantly white institutions is much smaller than the salary gap between black college faculty and their counterparts on white campuses.

When one looks at the compensation of the black college presidents, the racist history of black higher education, and the willingness to use police violence to keep black students in check—as was done at Jackson State University, South Carolina State University, and elsewhere—it is easy to conclude that the main job of black administrators is keeping a lid on black college faculty and students. Such circumstances directly affect the nature of shared governance, or the lack thereof, on black college campuses.

Unshared Governance

HBCU policy, including academic policy, is generally made by deans' councils and presidents' cabinets. In the wider higher education community, faculty senate leaders often have representation on such boards. But at historically African American colleges, such representation is uncommon. Academic policy flows from the top down, with administrators feeling put upon when the question of such involvement is even raised.

This situation exists on black campuses because significant faculty involvement in academic policy making could easily push the institutions beyond the desires or expectations of college boards, many of which are dominated by racists. That is exactly what happened at one Mississippi University when its black president tried to expand the role and mission of the institution. The board terminated the president and has made sure that such an occurrence will not be repeated by any other ambitious faculty or president. Had faculty senates been meaningfully involved in the recent settlement of Mississippi's long-standing desegregation case, *Ayers v. Fordice*, the missions of the three African American universities involved would have been greatly expanded. (The *Ayers* case was filed in 1975 by a man who contended that the education his son received at one of the state's HBCUs was not equivalent to the education received by students at traditionally white institutions in Mississippi.)

Similar lack of faculty participation in academic policy making has freed more than a few black colleges to curtail academic programs through "program reviews" ordered by boards of trustees. Such draconian measures would probably not have taken place had faculty senates been fully involved. It is for such purposes that shared governance has been almost completely blocked on black campuses.

At the lower levels of institutional governance, where faculty may be involved in decisions about developing and revising handbooks, due process matters, salary and budget issues, and administrative searches, the role of the faculty senate is often usurped by administrators who hand-pick the faculty representatives on the relevant committees. The shared governance process is further compromised by the faculty's being greatly outnumbered on the decision-making bodies. Even in conservative southern states, faculty at predominantly white universities selects their own representatives on such committees. Furthermore, faculties dominate these committees when they deal with academic matters and academic personnel.

Although it would be unheard of on predominately white campuses, the development of faculty handbooks is seen as an administrative matter at HBCUs. Likewise, academic administrators—chairs, deans, and vice presidents—assume

primacy in determining who on the faculty gets hired, promoted, and tenured. Even when administrators "allow" faculty committees to assist with such matters, the administrators exercise veto power and feel no need to explain the reasons behind their vetoes or substituted decisions. This situation exists because administrations want to have a way to deal with dissidents. And the boards, of course, want the dissidents dealt with. All of this helps keep the lid on.

Periodically, news stories recount how faculty senates on college campuses have taken positions on issues and prevailed. That almost never happens on black college campuses. As a matter of fact, the more that faculty senates at HBCUs try to assert themselves in institutional governance, the more resistance they encounter from boards and administrators. Administrations have gone so far as to establish ad hoc committees to do tasks that should be done by faculty senates, to appoint faculty to committees instead of permitting their election by colleagues, to refuse to provide independent budgets and offices, and even to suspend the faculty senate itself.

The faculty senate at Virginia State University was abolished in 2001. The administrations of other colleges have created "superbodies" to encompass and thus overshadow the senate's and the faculty's interests. On virtually every campus on which I have talked to faculty senate leaders, the administration has also used the tactic of ridiculing and bad-mouthing the senate and its leaders. Such blatant undermining of shared governance rarely occurs on white college campuses.

Moreover, information that is legally public is often deliberately kept from faculty, students, and others on black college campuses who are affected by it. Even if an administrator decides to give lip service to shared governance, the gesture is meaningless if faculty do not have the information necessary to participate intelligently and effectively in making decisions. For example, information on budgetary matters is often withheld. On most black college campuses, the budget is considered to be outside the purview of the faculty and the faculty senate. As a result, not only is the budget committee closed to the faculty, but the budget book is also kept strictly from the faculty's view.

In yet another area of concern, few of those who participated in the AAUP's governance conference reported that faculty at their colleges routinely evaluate their administrators—chairs, deans, vice presidents, and presidents—or have access to the evaluation results and the assurance that those results will affect administrators' compensation or future employment. Such lack of influence sends a clear message that the boards and the presidents—not the faculty, staff, or students—are responsible for all administrators. It also conveys the message that administrators need not be concerned about the opinions of faculty, staff, or

students, nor be responsive to them. This kind of atmosphere most certainly undercuts the concept of shared governance and destroys its effectiveness.

Possible Solutions

This sad state of affairs on black college campuses has not gone unnoticed or unchallenged. Almost every issue of *University Faculty Voice* chronicles the circumstances on one or several campuses. Occasionally, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Black Issues in Higher Education*, or some local newspaper will also report on an individual case. Usually, however, little is done to correct the situation.

Today, many colleges and universities—both black and white—are moving toward more corporate models of institutional governance. Consequently, the struggle for shared governance must continue to be a major endeavor on all college campuses. It will, however, clearly be more difficult for those on black college campuses.

The sooner the public understands how it loses when the academy becomes a mere factory or training plantation, the better off we will be as a society. And the sooner those who toil on white college campuses realize that the forces that ignore and trample upon black college faculty can and will turn upon them after dealing with the black institutions, the sooner they will join with these suffering allies. Together, we will stand; divided, we will be defeated.