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Black Girl Magic: How Black Women Administrators Navigate the Intersection of Race and Gender in Workspace Silos at Predominantly White Institutions

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BLACK GIRL MAGIC: HOW BLACK WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS
NAVIGATE THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND GENDER IN
WORKSPACE SILOS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

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I dedicate my dissertation to family who has always believed in me since "day one." Thank you all for supporting me in the best way you knew how down a path you've never traveled. To my nieces and nephews: I cannot wait to see what the future holds for each of you. I love you all … and yes, I'm *finally* out of school.

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ABSTRACT

In choosing to look at the impact of white racially homogeneous work environments, if any, in relation to Black women higher education administrators, this research was grounded in Patricia Hill Collins' Black Feminist Thought. Utilizing Black Feminist Thought, rooted in intersectionality, provided a sturdy foundation for one interested in conducting research specific to Black women, whether the discourse is race, gender, and/or any other intersecting identities. Black Feminist Thought conveys the message that Black women have similar yet different experiences from *White women* and similar yet different experiences from *Black men*, while simultaneously having shared yet different experiences than *other Black women* in all aspects of life, racially, sexually, gender-wise, socially and politically.

Through eight (8) semi-structured interviews, a demographic survey, self-selected organizational and departmental perception, the researcher aimed to capture the essence of what it like to work in higher education administration at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) as a Black woman, as a double minority, with limited or no daily interaction with other Black women, Black men, or Black students. Through the course of interviews and subsequent data analysis, four themes emerged: (1) *Increased desire to connect with other Black women*, (2) *Recognized pervasiveness of intersectional discrimination*, (3) *Racially-influenced decision-making*, and (4) *Adherence to a spiritual belief.* Additionally, the researcher has compiled recommendations for hiring, supporting and retaining Black women administrators at PWIs, specifically those in non-ethnic or culturally-centered areas.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Howard-Hamilton & Patitu (2012) ask the following question, "How does the African American woman cope, especially when she is often the lone African American at the top?" (p. 95). According to a 2010 U.S. Department of Education report, women of color comprised only "23% of administrative and managerial staff in higher education" (as cited in Verde, 2011, pp. 68-69). Mosley stated women of color administrators "often face the double jeopardy of racism, ethnic discrimination, and sexism" (p. 4) and the concern that women of color administrators may be seen as "tokens" and have the quality of their contributions questioned (as cited in Lloyd-Jones, 2011). Regarding general leadership roles, Rosette and Livingston (2012) found that when organizations are performing well, African American women, African American men and White women are rated comparably, but when organizations are performing poorly, Black women are disproportionately sanctioned when compared to Black men and white women.

The overlapping, intersectional oppressions of gender and race in these instances are referred to as *double jeopardy* (Rosette & Livingston, 2012), referencing the social subordinate view of women and minorities. Furthermore, Madden expressed concerns "that the intersection of race and leadership often leads to racial and sexual stereotyping, unfair assessment of work performance, token status, and unrealistic expectations that diminish the opportunity for career advancement" (as cited in Lloyd-Jones, 2011, p. 9). Howard-Hamilton & Patitu (2012) argue that African American women in higher education face double jeopardy regularly "whether in it is in the form of racist or sexist comments, sly remarks, harassment, and/or discrimination" (p. 95). Unchecked discrimination (on any front or combination of fronts) can lead to problems in retaining Black women administrators or wanting to join the academy at all.

Statement of the Problem

As a fairly young (and new) recently promoted professional, I am still trying to "take everything in" and "see where I fit" in higher education. Trying to find out where I "fit" has been challenging for me over the last year as I feel like I do not have any help in navigating this next level of my career. Feeling like I don't "fit" anywhere has made me question whether or not a large predominantly White institution is the place for me. And by "me," I mean a Black woman administrator in higher education. Widespread research on Black women in higher education cites the need for mentorship as vital and critical to the retention and advancement of Black women.

A study conducted by Hall, Everett, and Hamilton-Mason (2012), revealed the presence of five basic themes of stressors when African American women face racial and sexual discrimination in the workplace: "(a) being hired or promoted in the workplace, (b) developing relationships with coworkers and mentors, (c) dealing with racism and discrimination, (d) being isolated and/or excluded, and (e) shifting or code switching to overcome barriers to employment" (p. 213). Henry & Glenn argue that "the effects of systematic racism that Black women face in the academy can be directly observed in and attributed to the underrepresentation – or lack of critical mass – of Blacks in higher education in general" (as cited in Howard-Hamilton & Patitu, 2012, p. 95). Hall et al. (2012) assert types of discrimination faced by Black women include "stereotypes, excessive demands, an absence of mentoring, exclusions from work [office] cliques, being ignored and/or harassed, and assumptions that they are incompetent" (p. 211).

As a Black woman higher education administrator, I am invested in finding ways to support the professional and personal development of others like myself on predominantly white campuses. Of particular interest, will be a concentrated focus on recommendations for

recruiting, supporting, and retaining Black women higher education administrators who will not directly do "diversity work," as those types of departments are "home" to a number or Black women higher education administrators.

Reason, Walker & Robinson note that "women and people of color" (p. 101) are not employed as CSAO (Chief Student Affairs Officer) at a rate equal to white men (as cited in Pasque, 2010), while King & Gomez (2008) note women are more likely to be employed as chief diversity officers instead. Though a vast body of research exists on Black women higher education administrators at Predominantly White Institution (PWIs), a large portion of participants report working in an ethnic-, cultural-, racial, or gender-specific workspace. Examples of these places include: African American Cultural Centers, International Student Cultural Centers, Women's Centers, Offices of Diversity, Multicultural Affairs and so on. Jackson and Knorad & Pfeffer acknowledge the growing number of Black women higher education administrators but are careful to add the caveat that these women are employed "as a result of special initiatives and outreach programs designed to recruit, hire, and retain administrators of color" (as cited in Glover, 2012, p. 12).

Research Questions

The research questions that will be used to guide this phenomenological study are: (*1*) *what is the impact, if any, of white racially homogenous work environments on Black women administrators at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?* and (2) *how do Black women administrators navigate the intersectionality of race and gender at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?* Given the support of working alongside other Black women, Black men, and/or servicing students of color that has been outlined in current literature, this research aims to see what are the effects, if any, of not having daily or limited interactions with other Black

women, women in general, and other people of color. A concerted effort is needed to recruit and retain additional Black women higher education administrators who will work in departments where they may have very limited interaction with other women like themselves on a daily basis, where the validation of shared experience is not available and isolating.

Brief History of Black Women in Higher Education

Historically Black women have always had to find their place in higher education as traditional colleges (those that are predominantly White and those considered to be "Ivy League" colleges) were not created to educate Black women (Dawkins, 2012). As Black women enrolled in college, they regularly chose studies that prepared them to become teachers in an effort reclaim educational capital (withheld during slavery) that would be used to educate other Black men and women (Glover, 2012). Thirty years after opening admission to white women, Oberlin College opened their doors to Black women. Oberlin College would go on to be welcoming to Black women, granting Lucy Sessions a literary degree in 1850 distinguishing her as the first Black woman in the United States to earn a college degree. Shortly after the graduation of Lucy Sessions, Collins and Evans both note that Mary Jane Patterson earned her bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in 1862 (as cited in Glover, 2012).

As Black women began to teach and educate their local communities, Wolfman posits that some began to take on administrative roles either due to their potential or their husband's influence (as cited in Glover, 2012). Mosley (1980) traces the first Black woman administrator back to Catherine Ferguson of Katy Ferguson's School for the Poor in New York City in 1793. According to Glover (2012), Black women's presence offered a sense of "support and encouragement to students of color attending PWIs, which are often characterized as having "chilly climates" for students of color" (p. 11). The dean of women position became popular

among Black women who sought fulfill their desire to nurture, support, and provide guidance to female students outside of classroom settings (Glover, 2012).

As the number of Black women on college campuses grew, many notable feats were accomplished such as Lucy Diggs Slowe (first Black woman in the National Association of Deans of Women) becoming "the first dean of women at Howard University" (Glover, 2012, p. 11). Other milestones include the first Black woman to become president of two historically Black colleges for women (Dr. Johnetta Cole), the first appointment of a Black woman as president of a "four-year liberal arts college" in the U.S. (Dr. Willa B. Player), and 1865 being the year where a college was led by a Black woman (Fanny Jackson Coppin) for the first time (Glover, 2012; Becks-Moody, 2004) among many others. For a more exhaustive list of incredible milestones by Black women in higher education, please see Appendix A.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as a Necessity

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were created for Black people (men and women) as an option for higher education as the Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) were "purposely structured for elite men, excluding any man without social status and excluding all women" (Dawkins, 2012, p. 107) through several legislative acts, including the Morrill Act of 1862, the Morrill Act of 1890, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Glover, 2012; Dawkins, 2012; Anderson, 1988). During the post-Civil War era, America saw an almost instantaneous rapid increase of freed slaves with no immediate plans for the influx of new citizens. At the time, there was no organized format for educating the newly freed slaves on social order and class, wealth or simply how to function as a working, contributing "citizen" as opposed to a slave. Thus arose the need to formally educate blacks on a broader scale, not because blacks were seen as equal citizens deserving equal educational opportunities, but to

"socialize" them by teaching them a skill to contribute and the unspoken hierarchy of society at the time (Anderson, 1988).

Samuel Chapman Anderson began the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute located in Virginia in 1868 to educate blacks in courses covering mathematics, the sciences, a course on agriculture and a mechanical course among other courses (Anderson, 1988). In addition to covering academic coursework, the Hampton Institute also sought to teach "all the basics of hygiene and the living customs of white homes, such as the use of beds, sheets, and other linens, which were unknown in slave quarters" (Unger, 2007). Arguably one of, if not the, most notable graduates of the Hampton Institute is Black scholar Booker T. Washington. After Washington's graduation from the Hampton Institute in 1878, he served on the board until founding Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama in 1881 (Anderson, 1988, p.33).

Washington's educational focus remained the same for Tuskegee as the education he received at the Hampton Institute except for the addition of the training of common school teachers to teach blacks in the South (Anderson, 1988; Unger, 2007). Under the guise of educating blacks for agricultural, mechanical and industrial jobs, Washington was able to run an extremely effective teaching institute with 84% of Tuskegee's first twenty graduating classes becoming teachers (Anderson, 1988, p.34). The specific and intentionally directed training of blacks by Tuskegee and the Hampton Institute all but directed blacks to specific employment opportunities: manual labor occupations (including agriculture and mechanics) and to be teachers who perpetuated the cycle to other blacks. The first HBCUs were private, non-profit institutions with no financial or structural support from state government and were funded by donations from wealthy white philanthropists and religious organizations such as the African Methodist

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Episcopal (AME) church (Redd, 1998). The first students of these institutions were newly freed

slaves and were more than likely educated about, in some capacity, about the importance of the

training of black teachers to educate black youth, provided skills to be employed in agricultural

and mechanical occupations, manual trades and instructed in religious studies (Redd, 1998).

HBCU or PWI?

A common question posed to (or by) Black women higher education administrators is

what type of institution will they spend their career at? This question could be asking whether

the institution is two-year or four-year college, community, public, or private college, but

generally hints asking the choice to be made between an HBCU (Historically Black College and

University) or a PWI (Predominantly White Institution). The answer to this question can be

shaped by a myriad of things and will vary from solely HBCU, to solely PWI, to a hybrid of the

two and will largely depend on the lived experiences of each Black woman. Dawkins (2012)

writes, "Black women administrators mapping out their career trajectories must be aware of the

differences and potential challenges related to institutional philosophies, institutional

environments, and institutional role models" (p. 109).

According to Bower & Wolverton (2009) "22% of the nation's 120

historically/predominantly Black institutions are led by African American women, but only 8

predominantly White, 4-year institutions have African American women at the helm" (p. 2).

Historically, as Mizra points out, "Black women strategically evaluate educational opportunities

and opt for gender- and race-appropriate careers that are realistically and historically accessible

to them" (as cited in Dawkins, 2012, p. 104). However, once Black women begin to pursue

employment opportunities, Germany asserts deciding factors change to "include the challenge,

the need for and the desire to mentor, and simply the desire to be an administrator" (as cited in

Dawkins, 2012, p. 104). For Black women administrators who are trying to decide which type of institution start or further their career at, Dawkins (2012) poses several questions:

> What type of institution will provide the necessary resources and support? In which setting will you be most influential and effective as a supervisor, mentor, and leader? Which institution is more closely aligned with your specific values and work ethic as a Black woman administrator? (p. 103)

Black women administrators should search within themselves, define their end goal, and make a choice that keeps the passion for higher education burning within. There is no "right" answer.

Current State of Black Women in Higher Education

Lloyd-Jones (2011) discussed the problematic "lack of gender, racial, and ethnic diversification" (p. 4) in the increasing diverse realm of academe. This disparity, voiced in a report from Minorities in Higher Education (Kim, 2011) revealed the following composition for women of color higher education administrators: African American women comprised 6%; Hispanic women totaled 2.7%; 1.6% were Asian American women; and American Indian women totaled 0.3%. King & Gomez (2008) revealed women of color only make up 7% of all senior administrators and 3% of chief academic officers at institutions across the country. McCray (2011) argued higher education is historically known for promoting men and white women, stating "in higher education, which is a traditionally patriarchal and White enterprise, women of color are a novelty because so few are in faculty and high-level administrative positions" (p. 100).

It is the uniqueness of multiple intersectional, and often overlapping, layers of Black women higher education administrators that makes their collective experiences widely varied, multifaceted, and inherently more complex. Given there are so many intersectional layers to each Black woman such as class, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, even hair style type, etc. (Collins, 1998; Collins, 2000; Moore, 2012;

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Wilkins, 2012; Choo & Ferree, 2010; Battle & Ashley, 2008) , it is impossible to have one single person shoulder the weight of speaking for all Black women. In this study, the researcher will focus on the intersecting identities of Black women in regards to race and gender. The researcher has chosen to focus on these three intersectional layers as they are oftentimes the minority and historically oppressed categorical identities. Although, there are many other intricate layers that make up the varying intersectional identities of Black women which could be included, for this research study the scope will be limited to the two aforementioned intersectional identities.

Considered Theoretical Frameworks

Though there are many feminist theories (ranging from lesbian feminist to essentialist and many others), Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy, & Sockloskie, (1998), developed a scale to measure the diversity of feminist attitudes across six perspectives of feminism. The six perspectives developed by Henley et al. (1998) are as follows: *conservatism*, which strongly holds dear to traditional roles and typically is supported by biological and religious beliefs; *liberal feminism*, which is rooted in liberty and equality; *radical feminism*, also considered the first form of feminism, is rooted in opposition to widespread and deep-rooted forms of oppression; and *socialist feminism*, which attempts to be a bridge between socialist and radical feminists, as socialist feminism asserts sexism and class oppression should be opposed simultaneously. Furthermore, *cultural feminism* seeks to see a more "female-valued society" where traditional women's values" such as "peace and gentleness, emotionality and caring for others" while not alienating assumed "masculine values" such as "force, aggressiveness, emotional inexpressiveness." Lastly, *women of color feminism/womanism*, which includes the criticism of White women for their exclusionary practices and hold differing views on who is considered an oppressor (Henley et al., 1998, p. 6).

Origins of Feminism

French dramatist Alexander Dumas coined the term *feminist* in 1872 (Chowdhury, 2009) and its conceptual use has continued throughout history in writings, by early writers such as Simone de Beauvoir. Regarding feminism, de Beauvoir famously penned, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature…" (Leighton, 1975, p. 34). Chowdhury (2009) went on to describe feminism as follows:

> 'Feminism' is not a homogenous, singular concept, but is rather a multifaceted, multidimensional and diverse grouping of heterogeneous ideas that are often contradictory to each other, and hence, pose a problem in rendering a unitary definition of this challenging field of theory. But, however diverse the ideas may be, all are concerned with women's inferior position in society and the discrimination faced by them because of the social, economic, political or cultural order (Description section, para. 2).

Feminism is described as happening in responsive "waves" (Allan, 2012; Chowdhury, 2009) to cultural, socio, and political oppressions. Feminist research is widely collected through ethnography, as it employs methods such as participant observation, informal interviewing and documentary analysis (Allan, 2012, p. 94).

Traditional Feminist Approaches. There are a number of reasons why some women shy away from the term *feminism*: women of oppressed ethnicities and racial backgrounds avoid participation for fear of being called out for supporting an oppressive dominant race group; some heterosexual women find the feminism label akin to pro-lesbianism and back away; and, lastly some women would rather not engage in "radical" politics, if any politics at all (hooks, 1984). Black women traditionally choose their race over their gender and are often alienated from, left out of, or forgotten about when White feminist scholars create theories frequently by a pattern of suppression known as omission (Collins, 2000). "Theories advanced as being universally

applicable to women as a group upon closer examination appear greatly limited by the White, middle-class, and Western origins of their proponents" (Collins, 1999, p. 5). Henley et al. (1998) continue by asserting their support of women of color feminism/womanism (as cited in Chow, 1987; hooks, 1984; LaFromboise, Heyle, & Ozer, 1990; Vasquez, 1984; Welch, 1988):

> They include the recognition of poverty, racism, and ethnocentrism as equal concerns with sexism; the importance of decent jobs, health care, and schooling for men, women, and children of color; the examination of racism within the women's movement; and an opposition to the criticism of single-parent families as pathological. Women of color do not tend to see men of color as oppressors but as brothers in oppression and consequently hold closer ties to men of color than White/Anglo women do to White/Anglo men. (p.6)

Concerning traditional feminist approaches, Hurtado (1997) writes, "Many Chicanas and other women of Color embraced aspects of the feminist movement to understand their role as women, but their concerns were never fully integrated into their respective ethnic/racial movements nor were feminists' concerns integrated into our understanding of cultural transformations" (p. 303). Given the necessity of a framework that includes the totality of issues concerning Black women (as listed above); a traditional feminist approach will not be utilized in this study. Historically, traditional feminist approaches are centered on white women and would not allow the researcher to analyze the stories of potential participants without devaluation of their experiences. Lorde (1984) asserts traditional feminism pushes women of color to a space relegated for "others" as their experiences do not align with a white woman's definition of feminism that does take in to account the experiences of women of color. In selecting a feminist approach specific to women of color to root the study in, the researcher seeks to remain cognizant of "historical, educational, and sociopolitical dynamics within their own communities of origin, as well as in relationship to each other, including opposition to and at times in concert with the white feminist movement" (Pasque, 2011, p.22).

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Womanism/Womanist Theory

      Womanist theory, while focusing on the experiences of Black women, will not be utilized by the researcher in this study. According to Pasque (2011), "while each feminist theory focuses on power, patriarchy, oppression, and agency in some form, each intentionally centers a different perspective, approach, and/or identity" (p.23). Nash (2011), reiterating Walker's differentiation between womanism/womanist theory and traditional feminism, writes "if womanism is serious, grounded, universal, and purposeful, feminism is its opposite, somehow trivial, diminished, selective, silly" (p. 8). Womanist theory typically posits a counter position or presents a counter narrative or provides a comparison to traditional feminist epistemologies (Pasque, 2011; Collins, 1996), which the researcher believes still centers the theory round white women.

Critical Race Theory

      As typical for the development of new intellectuals, Critical Race Theory was birthed out of response by a group of Black lawyers to historical developments of the leading up to the late 1980s (Brown & Jackson, 2013). Popular in the 1970s emerged Critical Legal Studies (CLS) which was which designed to challenge existing assumptions of neutrality of legal reasoning despite social, economic, political, and cultural influences (Brown & Jackson, 2013). In contrast to its intended purpose, Brown and Jackson (2013) reveal:

> CLS pointed out that the law tends to enforce, reflect, constitute, and legitimize the dominant social and power relations through social actors who generally believe that they are neutral and arrive at their decisions through an objective process of legal reasoning. Thus, for CLS proponents, American law and legal institutions tend to serve and to legitimize au oppressive social order. (p. 12)

According to Brown and Jackson (2013), this is where it was there was a lack of information addressing the plight of peoples of color and where the idea for the first meeting for Critical Race Theory materialized.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) compare Critical Race Theory to CLS stating "like its antecedent in legal scholarship, is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms" (p. 62). It is important to note that Ladson-Billings and Tate conducted the inaugural presentation on Critical Race Theory in education with a session entitled "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education" at the 1994 AERA conference (Ladson-Billings, 2013). Distinguishing Critical Race Theory from other academic disciplines is its focus on activism, changing existing social structures and transforming hierarchical systems (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).

Critical Social Theory

Leonardo (2004) defines Critical Social Theory as "a multidisciplinary knowledge base with the implicit goal of advancing the emancipatory function of knowledge" (p. 1) and asserts criticism and quality education are intertwined. This theory encourages the learner to critique intact social, cultural economic, legal and other systems to arrive at a liberating "truth." Regarding Black Feminist Thought as a Critical Social Theory, Collins (1999) writes:

> But the legacy of struggle among U.S. Black women suggests that a collectively shared, Black women's oppositional knowledge has long existed. This collective wisdom in turn has spurred U.S. Black women to generate a more specialized knowledge, namely, Black feminist thought as critical social theory. (p. 11).

Summary

After researching the above possible theoretical frameworks, the researcher has opted to anchor the study in a theoretical framework created by a Black woman for Black women. This

research will utilize Black Feminist Thought as its theoretical framework, developed by esteemed scholar and author Patricia Hill Collins.

Black Feminist Thought

The need for Black Feminist Thought is pressing, as the totality of the Black woman's plight has traditionally been excluded from traditional feminist theories (Henley et al., 1998). According to Collins (1986), Black Feminist Thought places a special emphasis on self, family, and society while exploring three characteristic themes: (1) Black women's self-definition and self-valuation; (2) the interlocking nature of oppression; and (3) the importance of Afro-American women's culture" (p. S14), while being "centered around core themes of work, family, sexual politics, motherhood, and political activism" (Collins, 1999, p. 251). Collins (1986) encouraged other sociologists to immerse themselves into the creative niche that Black women have cornered by embracing their "marginality" to redefine themselves. "As outsiders within, Black feminist scholars may be one of many distinct groups of marginal intellectuals whose standpoints promise to enrich contemporary sociological discourse" (p. S15) wrote Collins (1986). Black women's stories are usually added to existing frameworks to show varying degrees of plight across the framework but never positioned as a central component (Collins, 2000). Reasons offered by Collins (2000) as to why Black women have such difficulty in having a framework representative of their shared, yet varied, experiences include lack of access to social capital and political power. Due to lack of social and political power, when Black women have the opportunity to vocalize their own stories, they have to be validated through a socially constructed world that is dominated by heterosexual White males. Collins (2000) went on to state:

No scholar can avoid cultural ideas and his or her placement in intersecting oppressions

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of race, gender, class, sexuality and nation. In the United States, this means that a scholar making a knowledge claim typically must [con-vince] a scholarly community controlled by elite White avowedly heterosexual men holding U.S. citizenship that a given claim is justified. Second, each community of experts must maintain its credibility as defined by the larger population in which it is situated and from which it draws its basic, taken-for-granted knowledge. This means that scholarly communities that challenge basic beliefs held in U.S. culture at large will be deemed less credible than those that support popular ideas. (p. 253).

In a world where Black women have been defined by everyone but themselves, if they speak up with a story too different from what has already been constructed for them, they gamble their creditworthiness (Collins, 2000). Although progress has been made in the advancement of Black Feminist Thought, the struggle to inject a pragmatically-centered epistemology about Black women in a White male-led world still exists (Collins, 2000). This harsh reality is in opposition to what Collins (2000) deems critical to being able to speak on behalf of Black women, which includes having to have lived life as a Black woman, garnering wisdom and knowledge throughout life while moving through oppressive systems, something that is regarded as "essential" to the Black Woman in the U.S.'s survival.

Interpretive Lens: Intersectionality

For this study, the researcher has chosen to use Patricia Hill Collins' Black Feminist Thought with *intersectionality* as the theoretical lens to frame the experiences expressed by the participants and the researcher alike. Creswell (2009) defined a theoretical lens as an interpretive, holistic approach that shapes and frames emergent data based on participants' answers. Creswell (2009) further stated the use of a theoretical lens "becomes an advocacy perspective that shapes the types of questions asked, informs how data are collected and analyzed and provides a call for action or change" (p. 62). Black scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), who coined the term *intersectionality*, described the concept in the following passage:

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It seems that I have to say that Black women are the same and harmed by being treated differently, or that they are different and harmed by being treated the same. But I cannot say both. This apparent contradiction is but another manifestation of the conceptual limitations of the single-issue analyses that intersectionality challenges. The point is that Black women can experience discrimination in any number of ways and that the contradiction arises from our assumptions that their claims of exclusion must be unidirectional. Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination. (pp. 148-149)

Collins (1998) argued, "As opposed to examining gender, race, class, and nation, as separate systems of oppression, intersectionality explores how these systems mutually construct one another" (p. 3). Intersectionality refers to particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example,

Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice. In contrast, the matrix of domination refers to how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized. Regardless of the particular intersections involved, structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression. (Collins, 1999, p. 18)

Black women uniquely have the opportunity to become a victim of quadruple oppression and that harsh reality is true for poverty-stricken, non-heterosexual (lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, questioning/androgynous) Black women. Collins (2000) placed other prominent depictions of Black women as perfect examples of oppression by race, class, and gender such as the mammy and the matriarch.

Collins (2000) references the alienation (first discussed by McKay) that Black women face when Black women stand up for themselves against Black men, a male-dominated judicial system, and an opportunistic feminist agenda with the following words: "Choosing one or the

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other, of course, means 'taking sides against the self' yet they have almost chosen race over the other: a sacrifice of their self-hood as women and full of humanity, in the favor of race" (p. 124). As Black women generally exclude themselves from talks aligned with White feminists in favor of race, many Black women deny their womanhood with the desire to pursue a relationship with a Black man but many end up alone (Collins, 2000).

Summary

In choosing to look at the impact of white racially homogeneous work environments, if any, in relation to Black women administrators, this research will be grounded in Patricia Hill Collins' Black Feminist Thought. Utilizing Black Feminist Thought, rooted in intersectionality, provides a sturdy foundation for one who is interested in conducting research specific to Black women, whether the discourse is race, gender, sexual orientation, and/or any other intersecting identities. Pasque (2011) and Wheeler (2002) state the importance of the connections bridging Black Feminist Thought, academic intelligence and political, a phenomena that resonates deeply with the researcher. Black Feminist Thought conveys the message that Black women have similar yet different experiences from White women and similar yet different experiences from Black men, while simultaneously having shared yet different experiences than other Black women in all aspects of life, racially, sexually, gender-wise, socially and politically.

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Concluding Thoughts

</div>

Given the multiplicity of historically oppressed identities that any one Black woman can carry in her being, Collins (1998) suggests the following regarding the need for an intersectional approach, "rather than examining gender, race, class, and nation as distinctive social hierarchies, intersectionality examines how they mutually construct one another" (p. 62). The need for epistemologies such as Black Feminist Thought is paramount as "everyone has spoken for Black

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women, making it difficult for us to speak for ourselves" (Collins, 1999, p. 123). Scholar Dr. Evangeline Wheeler (2002) argues the need for Black feminists as well stating:

> A black feminist is a person, historically an African American woman academic, who believes that female descendants of American slavery share a unique set of life experiences distinct from those of black men and white women. Black feminists believe the lives of African American women are oppressed by combinations of racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism. In order to help them gain political power, black feminists advocate a separate area of study that focuses exclusively on the lives of black women. Black feminists believe that when the lives of African American women are improved, there will be progressive development also for African American men, families, and communities. (p.118)

For the courageous Black women who walk into predominantly/historically white institutions, braving racism and/or sexism and are willing to share their voice to encourage and motivate other Black women, I plan to give them the opportunity to do so. For my study, I will be utilizing a qualitative approach through semi-structured interviews, allowing the experiences and emotions of the participants to explore where our conversation. It is only my hope that I capture the essence of the joy, pain, angst, fulfillment, discouragement, and hope that keeps Black women higher education administrators daily venturing into what is sometimes a very unwelcoming place.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will discuss some of the barriers identified by Black women administrators to success in higher education administrative positions. These barriers include intersectional discrimination, sexism, racism, microagressions, racial battle fatigue, lack of social capital, tokenism and hyper/hypovisibility. McClinton & Dawkins (2012) assert the constant battling of multiple acts of discrimination and isolation has led to women leaders having to develop coping mechanisms, such as a dry sense of humor. Additionally, Black women have to learn to navigate the politics of institutional terrains, practicing differential consciousness (Sandavol, 1991) to create strategic alliances for not only progression but survival as well. As an unspoken skillset, differential consciousness allows for Black women to function "within, yet beyond, the demands of dominant ideology" (Sandavol, 2000, p.44) in the academy, which is generally represented by the thoughts of white males.

Intersectional Discrimination, Margins, & Centers

At birth one is legally assigned a race and gender on their birth certificate, with the requirement that both fields bear a selection for the document to be considered valid. One can reasonably assume that race and gender having to be mandatorily acknowledged could be taken as a sign of their equal importance. In specific context to the United States of America, it is at this moment that one officially "enters" into a racially divisive, heteronormative, patriarchal system that places white males at the *center* of what is considered normative American culture. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) assert that by placing certain cultures, customs, values, and ideologies of white males in the center of a collective American paradigm and deeming those characteristics "normal," we also speak to what is *not* normal. Those cultures, customs, values, and ideologies that are not considered normal and fall outside of the center into the *margins*. The

work of Gayatri Spivak on "margins and centers" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) recognizes that in some spaces a Black woman administrator could be in the *margin* (in the area excluded from the "normative" culture of a space) and in another situation could be the *center* (in the "normative" space of a culture). The concept of "margins and centers" is important for Black women administrators as it allows various avenues of advocacy for other marginalized communities in spaces they may not traditionally have access to.

The more one moves from a *center*, the more marginalized they become due to intersecting layers of their identity. Lorde (1984) pens, "I find I am constantly being encouraged to pluck out some one aspect of myself and present this as the meaningful whole, eclipsing or denying the other parts of myself" (p. 120). Not participating in a racial or gender dominant group as a part of their identity can lead to Black women being seen as "objects lacking full human subjectivity" (Collins, 1986, p. S18). Suggs and Mitchell (2011) argue "to this end, Black women were, in many ways, required to pursue an economic, political, and educational space to share the burden of systemic racism alongside Black men in ways White women had never been required" (p. 146). White women may experience patriarchy from white men yet they can still bond over their racial background. Black men may experience racism from white men yet they may still be able to bond over their gender. Black women have neither race nor gender in common with white males, pushing them further from the center than white women and Black men. Collins (1986) writes "unlike white women, they [Black women] have no illusions that their whiteness will negate female subordination, and unlike Black men, they cannot use a questionable appeal to manhood to neutralize the stigma of being Black" (p. S19). hooks (1984) writes "frequently white feminists act as if black women did not know sexist oppression existed until they voiced feminist sentiment. They believe they are providing black

women with "the" analysis and "the" program for liberation" (p. 10). Even if Black women are able to bond with white women over gender, they may still experience racism from them. Lorde (1984) beautifully illustrates:

> Some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you, we fear out children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying. (p. 119)

Additionally, Black women may bond with Black men over race yet they may still experience patriarchy from them. Black women have been encouraged to continue in the fight for racial equality but are deemed divisive when wanting to address issues of patriarchy (Collins, 2000; Lorde, 1984) and others such as "rape, incest, misogyny in Black cultural practices, and other painful topics that might implicate Black men remain taboo" (Collins, 2000, kindle location 3051). Collins (2000) further articulates:

> In all of their lives in America … black women have felt torn between the loyalties that bind them to race on one hand, and sex on the other. Choosing one or the other, of course, means taking sides against the self, yet they have almost always chosen race over the other: a sacrifice of their self-hood as women and of full humanity, in favor of the race" as cited in McKay, 1992, pp.277-278.

The above descriptions mimic the intersectional discrimination often experienced by Black women given their "outsider" within status. Sesko & Biernat (2010) argue Black men are often seen as primary targets of racism while white women are seen as primary of sexism, yet Black women experience discrimination on both fronts but are rarely seen as targets of either. Black women are a part of two oppressed groups, giving them a unique access into the group while they are also excludes them from certain privileges of those same groups due to their race and gender (Collins, 1986; hooks, 1984). This ability to partially participate and observe without

disturbing the normality of the setting has underscored the need for Black Feminist Thought, a framework fully inclusive of the racial and gender issues plaguing Black women. Black Feminist Thought has long been (and continues to be) an advocate for Black women to share their lived experiences as expertise concerning themselves while simultaneously dismantling negative stereotypes typically associated with Black women such as "mammies, matriarchs, welfare recipients, and hot mommas" (Collins, 2000, Kindle Location 1809).

Microaggressions

Robinson, Zigler, & Gallagher (2000), along with Galupo, Henise & Davis (2014) and Stambaugh and Ford (2015) offer that individuals who differ from what is considered normal, for example in race or ethnic makeup (among other categorical spectrums), are more likely to experience microaggressions. For Black women (as well as Black men and other racial or ethnic minorities), racial discrimination has morphed from the more overt forms (such as historically offensive words, i.e., the *n-word*) to much more covert and subtle insults or microaggressions. Sue et al. (2007) define microaggressions that target race as "brief and commonplace, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color" (p. 271). Grier-Reed (2010) continues the discussion asserting "racial microaggressions create race-related stress and can be described as the everyday, commonplace, and often ambiguous forms of racism faced by people of color" (p. 182). Sue, Capodilupo & Holder (2008) argue that "racial microaggressions cause considerable psychological distress among Black Americans and are manifested in nearly all interracial encounters" (p. 329). Young, Anderson & Stewart (2014) assert that given the subtleties in which microaggressions occur, they are often not recognized by one or more parties

involved or they are denied by one party, further perpetuating the behavior (as cited in Sue, 2010; Hunter, 2011).

Racial minorities experience three forms of racially charged microaggressions known as *microassaults*, *microinsults*, *microinvalidations* (Sue et al., 2007) in conversations, spaces and environments with racially dominant groups. *Microassaults* are "an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274) and can be considered as an overt form of racism. Concerning microassaults there is little room for denial whether or not an offensive occurrence has taken place, with acts such as referring to a non-white person by a historically derogatory term, ignoring people of color in service situations and proudly displaying racially charged propaganda (flags, pamphlets, etc.). Sue et al. (2007) refer to microassaults as "old fashioned" racism (p. 274) before noting under which conditions they usually occur in public: when the perpetrator "(a) lose[s] control or (b) feel relatively safe to engage in a microassault" (p.274).

Microinsults are "characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity"(Sue et al., p.274) and even when intended as a "compliment" may be received as an insult due to an assumption that "Black individuals are not as intelligent or successful as White individuals" (Mercer, Ziegler-Hill, Wallace & Hayes, 2011, p. 458). Other examples of microinsults include the act of alluding to second-class citizenship of Black people, cultural superiority complexes held by non-white persons, and the assumed criminality of Black people (Mercer et al., 2011). Sue et al. (2007) describe *microinvalidations* as being "characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (p. 274).

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Examples of this occurrence can be assuming that all Black people in a particular setting know each other and/or share a similar set of experiences and a non-white person asserting their "color-blindness" (Mercer et al., 2011). Additionally, Mercer et al. (2011) posit that meritocracy, or the belief that "hard work" is the only thing necessary for one to be successful, is a type of microinvalidation (as cited in Sue et al., 2007). Microinvalidations seek to diminish or eradicate the individual experiences of people of color, ignoring the intersectionality of historically marginalized and oppressed groups.

Racial Battle Fatigue

The subtlety of microaggressions (whether microassaults, microinsults, or microinvalidations), make it difficult for whites to realize when they are occurring and "as a result, it is easier for Whites to find other reasons for their beliefs and actions rather than entertain the possibility of racial bias" (Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal & Torino, 2008, p. 277). Pierce asserts the space, time, energy, and motion (STEM) of Black people are constantly challenged as they continuously confront agents of oppression (as cited in Smith, Hung & Franklin, 2011). For Black persons constantly having to decipher whether perceived microaggressions were intentional can take a physical and psychological toll as "victims are often uncertain about how to respond because they have difficulty determining the intentionality of the offense" (Mercer et al., 2011).

Hall et al. (2012) note "Black women can easily be singled out and treated differently that their colleagues" (p. 209) because of the way they are affected by particular stressors such as "their distinct history, sociocultural experience, and position in society" (Hall, Everett, & Hamilton-Mason, 2012, p. 209). The manifested health risks associated with microaggressions is commonly referred to as *racial battle fatigue*, which is defined as "the result of constant

physiological, psychological, cultural, and emotional coping with racial microaggressions in less-than-ideal and racially hostile or unsupportive environments" (Smith, Allen & Danley, 2007, p. 555). Fasching-Varner, Albert, Mitchell & Allen (2014) echo the physical toll that racial battle fatigue can elicit stating, "people of color and their white allies who endure these environments experience a level of mental and physical anxiety, diabetes, hypertension, and other chronic health conditions if untreated can be personally and professionally fatal" (p. xvii).

Though there is research pertaining to racial battle fatigue, there is not as much research with Black women at the center. McCray (2011) shares the experience of one of her participants, Corinne, "for a period of nearly two years, she became physically ill and lost sleep related to teaching, generally content dealing with issues of race and ethnicity (p. 114). Black women are *literally* becoming sick and tired of fighting racial microaggressions.

Sexism

Audre Lorde (1984) defines sexism as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one sexes over the other and thereby the right to dominance" (p.115) and this notion can be transferred to sexual orientations. Collins (2000) highlights heterosexism as being recognized as a system of oppression to progress made by social movements of the LGBT community. Collins (2000) adds that "Black men decry racism yet see sexism as being less objectionable, heterosexual African-American women may perceive their own race and gender oppression yet victimize lesbians, gays, and bisexuals" (p. 125). Collins (2000) further states there are distinct hierarchies within the African American community, including sexual orientation, that shape the history of all Black women while impacting each Black woman individually. Lorde (1984) acknowledges this sentiment noting "we speak not of human difference, but of human deviance" (p.116). By articulating the powerful but hidden dynamics of black feminist thought, Collins

highlights the underlying assumed whiteness of both feminism and academia and reminds white women in particular that they are not the only feminists. In addition, however, black feminist thought disrupts the masculinist underpinnings of Afrocentrism. Collins maintains that in the same way that European theorists have historically prioritized class over race or gender, and feminists have prioritized gender over either race or class, Afrocentric scholarship, although formally acknowledging the significance of gender, relegates it as secondary to the more pressing fight against racism. (Smith, 1987, p. 335)

Collins (2000) referenced "taking sides against the self" (as cited in McKay, 1992) in reference to the sexual harassment case brought against Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas by law professor Anita Hill. Sadly, some Black women "often cooperate, and consciously or through silence" (Ronai, Zsembik, & Reagin, 2013, p. 161) in order to retain their positions.

Despite her bravery, Hill was used by white women as a pawn on the feminist agenda that oftentimes did not focus on issues of concern for Black women. The intersectional make up of Black women would not allow them to forfeit the ally relationship of Black men for the sake of participating in the feminist movement spearhead by white women. The ignoring of racial ties to black men by white feminists were detrimental to a more inclusive kind of feminism; and additionally, "they did not want to acknowledge that bourgeois white women, though often victimized by sexism, have more power and privilege, are less likely to be exploited or oppressed, than poor, uneducated, non-white males" (hooks, 1984, p.68). Pundits did not take her claims seriously and questioned her sexuality, while a large portion of the Black community turned their back on her.

Tokenism and Hyper/Hypovisibilty

Grounding their research in Kanter's 1977 theory of tokenism, Stroshine & Brandl (2011) acknowledge three consequences of being a *token*, or minority member, of a group dynamic: (1) *visibility*: increased scrutiny due to physical difference, resulting in undue pressure to

overachieve or be representative of a group of people; (2) *polarization*: the exaggeration of commonalities and differences between dominant and minority groups resulting in further isolation of persons in the minority group; and, (3) *assimilation*: the automatic default of treating racial or gender minorities in a stereotypical fashion. According to Stroshine & Brandl (2011), "tokens" (those who comprise less than 15% of a group's total) are expected to experience a variety of hardships in the workplace, such as feelings of heightened visibility, isolation, and limited opportunities for advancement" (p. 344). Tokenism is also found in traditional white feminist movements, as hooks (1984) recounts white feminists calling for the experiences of sexual oppression of Black women, only for them to decide which stories were worth being told or fit into *their* feminist movement.

Regarding women of color higher education administrators and *tokenism*, Bassett expressed concern that "the minority female in higher education, regardless of her qualifications, is often perceived as a 'token'" (as cited in Vargas, 2011, p. 249). Lorde (1984) asserts that when white women are given some semblance of power they are able to operate under a false sense of security whereas women of color are still ostracized as "other" due to their racial identity. Peery and Grady and Bassett asserted those who are *perceived* as "tokens" face: "She will experience reactions of jealousy, slander, and oppression from other minorities, females and Whites because of the competition for those higher executive positions" (Vargas, 2011, p. 250). Examples of occupational "token" positions first identified by De la Luz Reyes and Halcon such as coordinators and directors in ethnic-centered, ethnic-geared programs or centers on campus. "By placing ethnic minority males and females in such powerless positions, the university can meet its diversity quota, have the positions held by low-level administrators (coordinators and

directors), and maintain the "token" administrator in these stereotypical positions" (Vargas, 2011, p. 250).

Reconceptualized Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity (MMDI)

Abes, Jones & McEwen (2007), expounding upon the Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity (Jones and McEwen, 2000) sought to create a model that allowed for the filtering of contextual influences (such as family, gender/sociocultural/sociopolitical stereotypes) through various meaning-making filters and their impact on one's perception of their race, sexual orientation, religion and the like. This representation can be seen below in Figure 1.
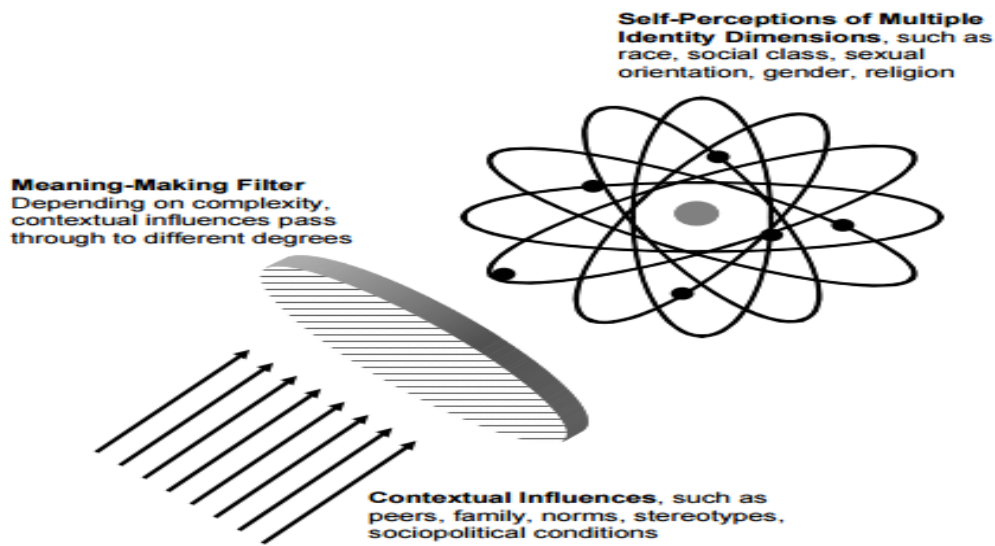
Figure 1. Reconceptualized Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity for understanding self-identification based on personal experience.

Essentially, everything one experiences environmentally has the chance to affect one's self-perception. Tierney & Rhoads acknowledge the plurality of feminism and encourage readers to apply the same concept to there not being a "singular meaning associated with the experiences of women by nature of the socially constructed categories of race, social class, or sexual orientation" (p. 2) and awareness of the "differences between and within groups—race, class, gender, and sexual orientation" (as cited in Abes, Jones & McEwen, 2007, p. 3). Abes, Jones &

McEwen (2007) offer several levels of meaning-making that can influence how one perceives and identifies themselves:

- **Formulaic meaning-making**, those who define oneself through who one is not

- **Transitional meaning-making**, those in between the *formulaic* and *foundational* stages, relying on and identifying with basic *formulaic* constructs while currently moving to a place of questioning those same constructs

- **Foundational meaning-making**, those who are able to make connections between contexts/constructs and do not change their personal identification to correspond with changing environments.

This concept, although traditionally used for students hints at possible transferability in regards to any differences between the attitudes/opinions held by Black women higher education administrators based on their stage of meaning-making.

Differential Consciousness

Scholar *Anzaldúa refers to* differential consciousness as the skill that allows one "to read the current situation of power and of self-consciously choosing and adopting the ideological form best suited to push against its configurations, a survival skill well known to oppressed peoples" (Sandavol, 1991, p. 15). *Differential consciousness, which can be described as akin to "code switching," requires for one to intentionally heighten one of their multiple identities for a predetermined amount of time, ranging from an hour to a year or more. This skill requires to one to be able to quickly and believably vacillate between identities based on current power dynamics of a situation, while recognizing how/when to respond to allies (Sandavol, 1991). Given the intersectional discrimination, practicing differential consciousness can be a valuable skill to help form strategic alliances and build social capital (which will be discussed later).*

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Lewin's Equation

Kurt Lewin, known as "the father of social psychology" (Porter, 2008, p. 8) presented a mathematical equation to help understand human behavior in what is now known as Lewin's equation. This equation, $B = f (P, E)$ seeks to define behavior (*B*) as a function (*f*) of the person (*P*) and their environment (*E*) (Ellis, M. Abrams, L. Abrams, 2009; Leong, Chandra, & Chandra, 2015; Costanzo, Hoyle, & Leary, 2012). Although the concept was originally to understand personality and behavior, Leong, Chandra, & Chandra (2015) imply it can be "readily applied to organizational dynamics as well" (p. 771). Black women are used to *shifting*, "an internal process – a chipping away of the Black woman's sense of self, wholeness, and centeredness" (Hall et al., p. 216). Citing the work of Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003, p. 62) in addressing the *shifting* that Black women (un)willingly participate in, Hall et al. (2012) write:

> African American women change the way they think of things or expectations they have for themselves. Or they alter their outer appearance. They modify their speech. They shift in one direction at work each morning, then in another at home each night. They adjust the way they act in one context after another. They try to cover up their intelligence with one group of friends and do everything possible to prove it to another. They deny their sadness and loneliness. (p. 216)

Given the necessity of knowing how to use differential consciousness (or "code switching" and shifting), it is the interest of the researcher to explore whether Black women administrators adjust their attitude, behavior, or character based on their environment when in predominantly white settings or where men are the dominant gender.

Social Capital

According to Bordieu and Coleman, "social capital is viewed as resources accessible to individuals by involvement in social networks or other social structures" (as cited in Eriksson, Dahlgren, Janlert, Weinehall & Emmelin, 2010, p. 1). Brien & Smallman (2011) define *social*

networks (in relation to social capital) as "how and when people associate with each other" (p. 641). Additionally, according to Requena, social capital involves "the messy, no-guarantee of success inter-relationships of trust, commitment, social relations, influence, and communication (as cited in Brien & Smallman, 2011, p. 643). Boyas, Wind, & Kang (2012) add that social capital focuses on the cultivation of relationships which allows for the promotion of collaboration, with support being a cornerstone of the concept. Social capital can expressed in ways such as access to "support, information, knowledge or material resources" (Eriksson et al., 2010) and can be time consuming to develop (Brien & Smallman, 2011).

Types of social capital. Coleman and Putnam both describe *organizational social capital* as the ability to associate with one another in multiple networks while also understanding its impact on norms and trust (as cited in Brien & Smallman, 2011) as it affects a manager's ability to build relationships with staff (Brien & Smallman, 2011). Boyas et al. (2012) note two additional types of social capital, *structural* and *cognitive*. *Structural social capital* "measures structural components, such as network size and density" (p. 53); whereas, Krishna & Uphoff describe *cognitive social capital* as a mechanism that "speaks to the shared norms, values, attitude, and beliefs that influence people towards collective action in the work place" (as cited in Boyas et al., 2012, p. 53).

Components of structural social capital. Eriksson et al. (2010) assert structural social capital is comprised of three distinct components, *bonding*, *bridging*, and *linking*. *Bonding* refers to the "involvement in (often small) networks with strong ties between the members that strengthen the common identities and function as a source of help and support among members" (Eriksson et al., 2010, p. 2); whereas, Gittell & Vidal explain *bridging* as the "involvement in networks with weaker ties that link people from different networks together and thereby become

important sources of information and resources" (as cited in Eriksson et al. 2010, p. 2). Lastly, Szreter & Woolcock describe *linking* as the "involvement in networks with vertical ties between people in different formal or institutionalized power hierarchies in a society (as cited in Eriksson et al., 2010). In previous research, men were found to be more likely to have access to *bonding* and *linking* forms of social capital, whereas, women were more apt to have access to *bridging* forms of social capital (Eriksson et al., 2010). Given the intended sample population of Black women higher education administrators, it is noteworthy that forms of structural social capital more accessible by men can be considered vertical and external while forms of structural social capital most accessible by women tends to be more horizontal in regards to hierarchal structures.

Components of cognitive social capital. Boyas et al. (2012) discuss six components of cognitive social capital to further explain the concept, and they include *trust*, *social relationships*, *organizational commitment*, *communication*, *influence*, and *fairness*. These six components are described in detail below by Boyas et al. (2012) on pages 54-55:

> *Trust* [emphasis added] serves as a component that makes up social capital (Coleman, 1988, Putnam, 2000 and Rahn and Transue, 1998). Within work settings, trust refers to the expectation that people in an organization will abide by commonly held social norms, roles, and ethical dictates (Muhlberger, 2001) and that an employer will act fairly (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001). Work-based social capital is embedded within the *social relationships* [emphasis added] existing in an organization (Coleman, 1988). The relationships in which someone participates constitute an important resource during social interactions by providing members with "the collectivity-owned capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249) that can improve individuals' opportunities and prospects (Coleman, 1988). *Organizational commitment* [emphasis added] emphasizes the worker's attachment to the organization rather than solely to the job (Lee & Henderson, 1996) and an employee's identification with an organization and its goals (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001). *Communication* [emphasis added] is a basic feature of any effective and cooperative work relationship (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001); it underlies the majority of organizational procedures (Euske & Roberts, 1987). Effective communication is essential in creating order and keeping employees informed of important organizational issues and changes. *Influence* [emphasis added] relates to the capability of having a say in the decision-making process in one's work (Lowe & Schellenberg, 2001). Others have viewed influence as professional control, which reflects the degree of influence a worker

has over a particular area of their occupation (Abbott, 1988 and Harrison, 1994). Influence could relate to having a say in the way a group performs certain tasks, having the ability to influence decisions that affect the organization, and voicing opinions in meetings that include senior management. Organizational *fairness* [emphasis added] is described as the way in which the distribution of resources among employees is determined (Greenberg, 1990a). Employees' perception of fairness will affect their attitudes toward their jobs and workplaces (Roberts & Markel, 2001). When employees believe an organization is treating them fairly, they are more likely to positively assess and accept managerial policies and procedures (Greenberg, 1990b). Based on the theory of employment-based social capital and existing studies (Boyas and Wind, 2010, Lowe and Schellenberg, 2001, Mor Barak et al., 2001, Mor Barak et al., 2006 and Requeña, 2003), we posited that higher levels of employment-based social capital were significantly associated lower levels of job stress, burnout, and notions of intent to leave.

Additionally, the relationship between the aforementioned components of cognitive

social capital and job stress, burnout, and intent to leave are depicted below in Figure 2.
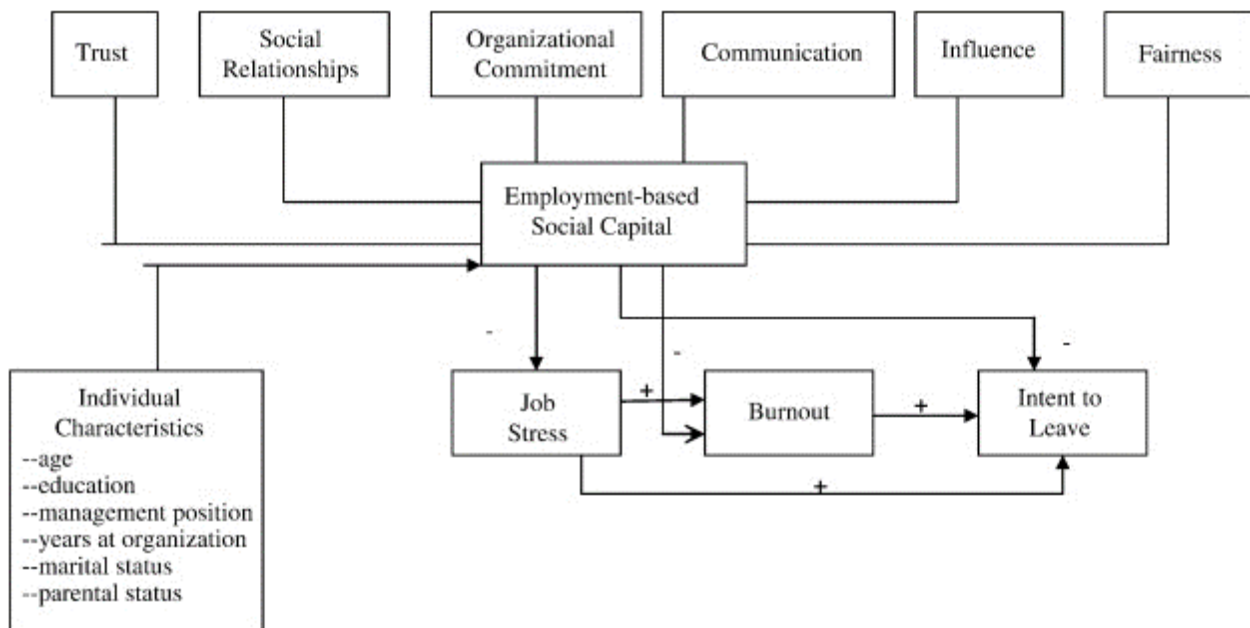
Figure 2. Hypothesized relationships between social capital, job stress, burnout, and intent to leave.

Ellet et al. and Rycraft both agree that possessing social capital becomes an asset for

black women higher education administrators as prior research suggests the following regarding

positive social workplace relationships: increases retention (as cited in Boyas et al., 2012) and

decreases in burnout (Boyas, Wind, Kang, 2012 as cited in Houkes, Janssem, de Jonge, & Baker,

2003; Kim & Lee, 2009) and intentions of leaving (Boyas, Wind, Kang, 2012 as cited in Kim &

Stoner, 2008; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Mor Barak et al., 2006; Nissly et al., 2005).

Bolman and Deal's Four Frames

According to Johns and Saks (2004), organizational structure refers to how an

organization divides its labor and coordinates specific tasks. This study will utilize the four

frames of organizational structure developed by Bolman and Deal (2013): structural, human

resources, political and symbolic to categorize the various institutions to be represented in the

sample. Frames are defined as mental models, assumptions and preconceived notions one enters

into a situation with and help one navigate a particular territory (Bolman & Deal, 2013).

Additionally, Bolman & Deal (2013) assert that "a good frame makes it easier to know what you

are up against and, ultimately what you can do about it" (Kindle location 622). Specifically, the

each participant will be asked to select the frame (see Figure 3) they feel best represents the

institution at which they are employed in an effort to ascertain a working knowledge of each

institution's cultural context.

	Structural	Human Resource	Political	Symbolic
Metaphor for Organisation	Factory or Machine	Family	Jungle	Carnival, temple, theatre
Central Concepts	Rules, roles, goals, policies, technology, environment	Needs, skills, relationships	Power, conflict, competition, organisational policies	Culture, meaning, metaphor, ritual, ceremony, stories, heroes
Image of Leadership	Social architecture	Empowerment	Advocacy	Inspiration
Basic Leadership Challenge	Attune structure to task, technology, environment	Align organisational and human needs	Develop agenda and power base	Create faith, beauty, meaning
Organisational Ethic	Excellence	Caring	Justice	Faith
Leadership Contribution	Authorship	Love	Power	Significance

Figure 3. Descriptive chart of each of Bolman & Deal's (2013) four frames.

Structural. This frame, rooted in "sociology, economics, and management science" (Boleman & Deal, 2013, Kindle location 717) routinely values adherence to measurable outcomes, concrete metrics, chain of command, policies, procedures and rules. Organizational charts and hierarchies are of heightened importance as well as careful planning (Boleman & Deal, 2013). The metaphorical reference for the structural frame is the factory or machine, known for clearly outlined and routine tasks with not much change or variation from day to day.

Human Resources. Originating from psychology, the human resources frame embraces collegiality, familial practices, and the recognition of individual needs. This frame aims to make sure both the employer and employee are both happy with the job that is being done. Acting metaphorically as a family, the human resources frame believes that "when basic needs for security and trust are unfulfilled, people withdraw from an organization, join unions, go on strike, sabotage, or quit" (Bolman & Deal, 2013, Kindle location 734).

Political. Arising from the political science domain, this particular framework lends itself to valuing power and competition in hopes of securing scare resources. The political frame is often represented metaphorically as a jungle as rampant conflict, "bargaining, negotiation, coercion, and compromise are a normal part of everyday life" (Bolman & Deal, 2013, Kindle location 748) in these organizations.

Symbolic. Lastly, the symbolic frame, rooted in social and cultural anthropology, is represented as either "temples, tribes, theaters, or carnivals" (Bolman & Deal, 2013, Kindle location 748). This frame relies heavily on traditions and is fueled by "rituals, ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths rather than by rules, policies, and managerial authority" (Bolman & Deal, 2013) with each person playing their role. Summarily, this frame can be described in a fairly famous quote by William Shakespeare, "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players; they have their exits and their entrances." And it is in the playing of those parts properly that these organizations succeed, falter, or fail.

Hierarchical structure

In addition to its framework, organizations can either be described as being tall or flat in structure based on their hierarchical arrangement. Flat organizations have low levels of job/task specialization, shorter chains of command and value decentralization; while tall organizations are noted for their "degree of job specialization, rigid departmentalization, many layers of management (particularly middle management), narrow spans of control, centralized decision making, and a long chain of command" (Gitman & McDaniel, 2009. p. 190) and very little sharing of power.

Supporting Black Women Leaders in Higher Education

Considering the various challenges facing Black women higher education administrators, there are strategies that can be employed to foster a welcoming environment for professional and personal growth. The forthcoming strategies, although not all-inclusive, are prevalent in the research in this area and include: top-down support, mentorship, and professional development (Blackwood & Brown-Welty, 2011; Brown, 2005; Jean-Marie, Williams, & Sherman, 2009; Suárez-McCrink, 2011). One suggestion is that top-down administrative support from persons of privilege (mainly white males) will be necessary if higher education is to see a change for a more reflective representation even if it infringes upon the dominance of the privileged as Owen (2009) reports. Kezar (2008) suggests university presidents can champion diversity efforts by:

> creating events, publications, and other avenues that help demonstrate and make visible the success of diversity efforts on campus. It was noted as particularly important to include various constituent groups or stakeholders in the creation of such events and publications. (p. 431)

Mentorship

Futrell, Coker & McKenzie (2012) describe the relationship between Mentor and Telemachus in Homer's *The Odyssey* as being the first mentor relationship, as it presents "an older, wiser person providing support and guidance to a younger, less experienced person" (p. 50). Being that there is no formal, unified definition of mentorship in the existing literature, several definitions will be provided as they each hinge on the existence of a reciprocal relationship for personal and professional development. Valverde (2011) defines mentorship as a fairly well-known process in higher education by which a "protégé learns important behaviors and attitudes from the mentor" (p. 69). Blackwood and Brown-Welty (2011) utilize Kram's

1985 definition of mentorship as referring to "a more experienced senior individual that offers

support and feedback in the career of a less experienced, junior member of an organization" (p.

111). Jackson & Flowers posit mentoring as being critical to the success of Black women

administrators at predominantly white institutions as it aids in retention (as cited in Jones &

Dufor, 2012), increases knowledge of organizational culture pursuant to career advancement, and

reduces barriers to advancement. Regarding mentorship Blackwood & Brown-Welty (2005)

suggest the following:

> To improve the performance of female administrators so that they have the ability to
> promote and retain higher-level positions, the following areas should be considered for
> improving mentoring practices: institutions can continue or begin to develop a culture for
> cross-gender and cross-culture mentoring, as a well as for supervisors to mentor; leaders
> who have been mentored should consider mentoring as a part of their leadership
> responsibilities; and institutions can develop formal mentoring programs to meet the
> needs of women and administrators of color. (p. 130)

Myers argues that mentoring is important to the career success of Black women (as cited

in Jones & Dufor, 2012), and "supports the career development of Black administrators and

increases positive socialization experiences in institutional cultures" (Jones & Dufor, 2012, p.

28). Hinton et al. note the critical role of mentoring for Black women in regards to career

advancement, its well-researched history of being effective for assisting minority and women in

the academy, and its providing of "much needed advice, assistance, and guidance as well as

feedback and direction toward one's goals" (as cited in Howard-Hamilton & Patitu, 2012, p. 90).

Mentorships can be obtained through both formal (programmatic) and informal (relational)

means with mentor race and/or gender being insignificant (Blackwood & Brown-Welty, 2005).

Howard-Hamilton & Patitu (2012) argue African American women are truly benefitted by

formal mentoring programs, especially if the mentor is "in a high-level position" (p. 90) and they

must receive this type of "formal mentoring from their colleagues in the academy to be successful and move forward in their careers" (p. 92).

Jacobi asserts there are five consistent tenets of mentoring across various definitions:

- Focus on protégé development or achievement

- Comprises psychosocial support, hands-on personal and career development, and role modeling

- Reciprocity of tangible or intangible results for both the protégé and the mentor

- Valuation as a personal relationship

- Mentor interest in sharing organizational/occupational expertise and networks (as cited in Futrell, Coker & McKenzie (2012)

Mentoring relationships consists of two parts: the *mentor* who "facilitates the relationship and process in a climate conducive to learning" and the *protégé* who "assumes a degree of responsibility" (Jones & Dufor, 2012, p. 28). Kram notes that mutual accountability, shared learning, and reciprocity are critical for both the mentor & protégé to foster "psychosocial support and career development" (as cited in Jones & Dufor, 2012). In another section, tips for being a *mentor* and a *protégé* will be discussed.

Summary

Mentorship is extremely critical for the retention of newer or younger protégés as well as more seasoned, veteran Black women administrators. In efforts to develop the next generation of Black women administrators, especially those who considered as minorities on a university *and* departmental level, mentoring will provide the "opportunity to talk with others who have been in her shoes" (Howard-Hamilton & Patitu, 2012, p. 90) and validates her experiences. This helps to establish a sense of community in a space that be seen as very intimidating and discriminatory.

Black Girl Magic

Given the intersectional discrimination, microaggressions, Racial Battle Fatigue, sexism tokenism & hyper/hypovisibilty, and lack of mentorship that Black women face, it is important to have times where their joy and accomplishments can be celebrated. In 2013, popular Twitter© user CaShawn Thompson (who can be found at @thepbg) created the hashtag "#BlackGirlsAreMagic" (which has seen many variations, including "#BlackGirlMagic") as a way for Black women and girls to affirm one another. Thompson explained her use of the word "magic" because do not always understand the way Black women and girls preserve, create, achieve, and excel despite the multiple odds that they face (Thomas, 2015). This rallying cry served not only as an inspiration to the researcher but also as a way to homage to the many Black women and girls defying the odds, day in and day out. That is "#BlackGirlMagic."

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Determining the best methodological approach for a research study depends on several factors, but most importantly the research questions guide how a study should best be approached methodologically. Given the nature of this study was to understand the lived, individual experiences of the participants, it was determined a qualitative research designed was the most effective one to answer the questions. According to Creswell (2013), when utilizing a qualitative methodology, the researcher brings a summation of their life experiences, beliefs, and philosophical assumptions into the formulation of their research. This "close tie" can be influential in a variety of ways, from choosing methodologies to which research questions are asked (Creswell, 2013, p. 15). Researchers who employ qualitative methodologies focus heavily on how their participants "interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). The preconceived notions brought into studies by researchers that inform and create constructs are referred to as philosophy and influence the philosophical assumptions of a study in regards to how a researcher chooses to structure research questions (Creswell, 2013).

Qualitative Research

Researchers who employ qualitative methodologies focus heavily on how their participants "interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). The preconceived notions researchers contribute to studies inform and create constructs, which are referred to as philosophical underpinnings. This influences the philosophical assumptions of a study (Creswell, 2013). Philosophical assumptions are important to how a researcher chooses to structure research

questions and bolstered by the support of individual academic disciplines and training practices (Creswell, 2013).

Philosophical assumptions are determined by the type of knowledge the researcher seeks to acquire and there are varying types including ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological (Creswell, 2013; Mertens, 2015). Philosophical assumptions also help steer actions and thinking to support the researcher's paradigm (or way of viewing the world) (Mertens, 2015). *Ontology* focuses on the nature of reality and the social construction of that reality, while e*pistemology* focuses on daily life experiences in their natural context as observed by the researcher. This is a way of understanding the multiplicity of truths in individual experiences (Creswell, 2013; Boeije, 2009; Mertens, 2015). Both ontology and epistemology are subjective, relying heavily on the researcher's interpretation of socially constructed knowledge provided by participants. *Axiology* is the philosophical assumption concerned with researcher-based values and biases, questioning the notion and role of ethics and values in research (Creswell, 2013; Mertens, 2015). The fourth philosophical assumption, *methodology*, pertains to the researcher's process of seeking knowledge and the language while allowing the data analysis to be shaped by the researcher's experiences. The emergent nature of this particular philosophical assumption allows for the editing of research questions as the research process unfolds (Creswell, 2013). Guba and Lincoln (1994), describe a methodological assumption as answering the question of "how can the inquirer (would-be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?" (as cited in McLeod, 2010, p. 55).

There are many advantages to choosing a qualitative approach to research which include, but are not limited to, the acceptance of participant subjectivity, multiple voices as representation of multiple truths, the allowance for the probing of participants as new questions emerge and the

increased value of the researcher's experiences (Creswell, 2013; Mertens, 2015; Holloway and Wheeler, 2010). Three advantages of conducting a qualitative study include specificity (keeping generalizations limited to the intended audience), allowance for variance in participant reporting (even if the data does not concisely factor into a particular framework), and the observance of experiences or phenomena within certain constructs that are predetermined by the researcher (Maxwell, 2013). In contrast, Holloway and Wheeler (2010) make note of the laborious process of data analysis and coding as a disadvantage of a qualitative approach. As participants are chosen in qualitative methodologies for their perceived life experience, receiving an inadequate response, such as "I don't know," can be upsetting for the researcher (Bernard, 2013). While receiving "I don't know" as an answer may be fairly common, it may be difficult for novice researchers to distinguish between the *types* of "I don't know answers" and whether they should probe further or ditch the question at hand.

Ultimately, the nature of the type of knowledge the researcher seeks, influenced by one's philosophical assumptions, and the intended practical application of results will decide if a qualitative approach is best to answer the question(s) at hand, those predetermined before and those that emerge during the study.

Qualitative Research Design

Though there are many forms of collecting qualitative data, ranging from observations to interviews to document review to focus groups (Creswell, 2009), the researcher chose to conduct semi-structured interviews and document reviews of institutional diversity statements.

Phenomenological Interviews. Traditionally qualitative approaches, such as phenomenology and autoethnography, are common when exploring the experiences of African American (or Black) women indifferent of the field of study. Phenomenological studies are

appropriate when "the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or phenomenon" (Creswell, 2009, p. 76) is being examined. Throughout *Black Feminist Thought*, Collins (2000) repeated a stream of consciousness that all Black women are connected and share similar experiences and "despite differences created by historical era, age, social class, sexual orientation, skin color, or ethnicity, the legacy of struggle against the violence that permeates U.S. social structures is a common thread binding African-American women" (p. 26). The emphasis on shared experience coupled with individual difference make phenomenological interviews a well-suited approach for this topic. Given the researcher is also a part of the group being researched, personal experience(s) when interjected during this study are notated as such. The researcher utilized the concept of bracketing (often credited as Edmund Husserl's concept of *epoche*, as researched by Moustaka in his 1994 work) "in which investigators set aside their experiences, as much as possible, to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomenon under examination" (Creswell, 2013, p. 80).

Summary

Utilizing a phenomenological approach through the use of interviews to understand the stories of African American women in higher education in their own words coincides with a central tenet of Black Feminist Thought: letting Black women tell their own stories. Through allowing the participants to tell their own stories, the repetitiveness of similar concepts and occurrences creates a legitimacy and validation of the stories of African American women as told by African American women. In an effort to amplify the true experiences of African American female administrators, it is the intention of the researcher, in taking a phenomenological approach, to provide a space and opportunity to tell their story, in their words.

Research Data Collection

The proposed method of data collection was face-to-face semi-structured qualitative interviews and e-mail (see Appendix B). The aforementioned interviews will be transcribed and undergo multiple coding and thematic analyses through conventional content analysis. Participants were asked to complete Jones, Dawkins, & Glover's (2012) *Black Female Administrator Survey* (see Appendix C*)* to compile demographics and select an organizational frame (see Appendix D) they feel best represents their *institution* and *department* prior to the interview. Jones, et al. (2012) survey was selected because its ability to capture competencies such as "essential leadership skills; balancing or engaging in teaching, research, and service (academic behavior); carving out a distinct, purposeful career path; and mentoring other Black women who aspire to gain senior, executive-level positions (p. 1)." Given the focus of the experience of Black women higher administrators, it was determined that this instrument was the most applicable to the target sample.

Study Site

The selected study site was a four-year, Predominantly White Institution (PWI) in the state of Louisiana. Given the current national conversation surrounding race (stemming from police brutality taking a national stage after Michael Brown's death in Ferguson, MO followed by nationwide protests, including those on the campuses of the University of Missouri and Harvard University) and the political climate (increasingly hateful, discriminatory, and derogatory remarks by those seeking national, elected office), the historical context of the study site's location added an additional layer of contextualization (with a rife history of centuries-long sustained racial oppression) that shaped the participants' experiences.

For the purposes of this study, the study site has been named Lemonade University and employs 3,713 professional staff members and 1,309 faculty members, with approximately 4.5% of faculty members self-reporting as "Black/African American" (percentages for staff members who self-identify as "Black/African American" were not accessible at time of submission). This study intentionally excluded institutions classified as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and community colleges because Black women administrators seem to fair better wiith career advancement in HBCU settings (Bower & Wolverton, 2009; Dawkins, 2012) and only four-year institutions were being considered the study. Thus, the focus is on individuals at institutions traditionally considered as a Predominantly White Institution (PWI). All semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations selected by the participant.

Participant Selection

Black women higher education administrators will be selected by positional titles, excluding the titles of "coordinator, specialist, program specialist, administrative assistant" and so forth. Due to research that has shown the aforementioned titles are historically given to Black women in a marginalizing way, the researcher has chosen to focus on participants with titles such as "associate director, assistant director, director, executive director, vice chancellor, chancellor" and the like. Study participants were selected through a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling as the targeted population is fairly specific, as outlined below. *Purposeful sampling* involves the process of a researcher selecting "certain individuals because they have a special understanding or experience with the phenomenon being researched (Creswell, 2007); whereas, *snowball sampling* relies on recommendations made from others that point the researcher to individuals who are considered "information-rich" on a given topic, phenomenon, or concept

(Creswell, 2007). Participants were solicited through e-mail or postings (see Appendix F) on/in

the various networks (such as professional organizations, Black sororities, list-servs, social

media groups) of the researcher and her doctoral committee.   The sample includes eight` Black

women higher education administrators at a four-year institution in the state of Louisiana. The

funding structure of the institution (private or public) and career length will not be a determinant

in participant selection.

Data Collection

Prior to each interview, participants received an e-mail (see Appendix F) thanking them

for their willingness to participate, with the following attachments: informed consent form (see

Appendix G), the *Black Female Administrator* (see Appendix C) and a copy the four

organizational frames (see Appendix D). Upon completion of each document, and before the

scheduled interview, the participant will scan and email the documents to the researcher. During

interviews, the researcher introduced herself, provided an overview of the interview structure,

reviewed the informed consent form (see Appendix G), and addressed any questions or concerns

provided by the participant. The researcher will take notes (or memos) during the interview,

which will be recorded for later playback, transcription, and coding. After each interview, the

researcher reviewed her notes and adjusted the interview protocol as necessary, without changing

the essence of the question asked. The researcher interviewed eight participants for the study,

but interestingly by the fifth interviewee themes very clear and direct. By the seventh

interviewee, it was saturation was reached thus data collection was concluded after the eight

participant.

Data Analysis

For interview transcription, the researcher utilized an outside transcriber and played compared the transcriptions to the recordings for accuracy. Additionally, all memos, or notes, taken by the researcher during the interviews were referenced during the analytic process. Conventional, or thematic, content analysis was employed to analyze the participant's interview data to allow the essence and most authentic interpretations of participants' experiences were included. This was done to minimize bias (unintentional or not) from the researcher who is a part of the population being studied through bracketing. Once an initial set of themes is derived, the researcher will review each transcript and modifying themes as necessary and identifying participant data to support the essence of each theme to be included in the final reported results.

Results from the Black Female Administrator Survey were analyzed in SPSS to provide demographics of the sample, including average career length, percentage that have been mentored and have been a mentor, and level of education among others. This information helped develop rich, descriptive participant profiles. Thematic analysis of interview data and correlations between the survey and interview data were made based on certain demographic criteria, which can aid in supporting Black women higher education administrators. Lastly, the researcher will review the organizational frames (see Appendix D) selected by each participant, on both the departmental and institutional levels. This intention is to see if there are any emerging connections between participant interview data, perceived level of institutional support versus stated intent, and daily work environment. All four forms of data to be collected are representative of an attempt to fully understand the participant's experience as best as possible with minimal secondary interpretation of the researcher to reduce bias.

Trustworthiness

Rossman & Rallis (2012) define trustworthiness as "observing standards for competent practice and ethical principles" (p. xx). The participants will be willing to participate based upon their personal relationships with either the researcher or a mutual acquaintance of the researcher, thereby increasing the trustworthiness of the study which the research does not take lightly. Holstein & Gubrium (1995) note the importance of intentionality in selecting participants as "the trustworthiness of the results is based on identifying individuals with significant experience and expertise" (as cited in Kezar, 2008, p. 416). This increased trustworthiness allowed the participants to be comfortable with the protection of their anonymity and that they would not be harmed during the process of this study. Additionally, all precautions will be made to ensure all data collected are secured to protect both anonymity and confidentiality in accordance with basic ethical standards. Themes emerged from participant data as opposed to predetermined codes, using a purposeful sampling method, and debriefing of participants for quality control will add to the trustworthiness, confirmability, dependability, credibility, and overall goodness of the study.

Limitations

The study site has approximately 35 potential participants. This number presents a challenge in obtaining a large sample size. However, knowing a researcher and/or having a vested interested in the research topic does increase the likelihood of participation. Based on this knowledge, a sample size of eight was anticipated and ultimately the researcher was able to garner eight participants. However, the limited pool to recruit from was a limitation and even more as the job title necessary for participation further limited potential participants. With few Black women administrators in positions surpassing that of at least an assistant director, did present a limitation and hinder some women from participating at all or it may influence them to

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not participate fully or may cause them to withhold their truths. Other limitations include the ensuring participants' anonymity, as provided experiences and/or self-reported data may potentially make it easier to discern their identity.

Researcher Bias

Conscious efforts were made to self-monitor verbal and non-verbal responses, specifically when I agree with a comment from a participant. Additionally, from mentor feedback and pilot study notes careful attention was paid my tone to minimize fluctuation in voice and physical changes in facial expressions and bodily movements throughout the interviews for consistency. Also, since I self-identify with the sample group and had shared experiences with the participants, I intentionally excluded my experiences and emotions for content analysis of the transcripts from the qualitative interviews. Utilizing suggestions by Cope (2014), the researcher sought to maintain credibility, authenticity, and confirmability (as noted in Polit & Beck, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In establishing credibility, the researcher was able to identify salient themes that organically arose from the data collected from the similar experiences of the participants. Authenticity of participants' responses was ensured by the usage of large portions of participant transcription in the support of identified themes. Lastly, confirmability was established by "providing rich quotes from the participants that depict each emerging theme" (p. 89) throughout the findings section.

Summary

Over the last few years, "diversity" has emerged as another buzz word in higher education with a number of institutions drafting campus wide statements and/or task forces. It is suspected that what institutions commit to diversity-wise in writing is not always evident in campus culture and daily work environment, which affects black women disproportionately in

the categories of race and gender. In an effort to understand the ways in which work place racial composition, culture, and/or politics can shape the experience of Black women administrators, it is the aim of the researcher to give those very women the opportunity to share their experience in their own words. In doing so, the researcher seeks to identify ways to help more Black women administrators to not only have *access to* but to also be *supported in* positions of higher education administration that are not in ethnic or culturally-centered areas.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

In analyzing data from eight interviews, findings were clearly identified to answer the study's two research questions that include: (1) What is the impact, if any, of White racially homogenous work environments on Black women administrators at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)? (2) How do Black women administrators navigate the intersectionality of race and gender at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)? Participants shared challenges they uniquely face(d) as Black women, experiences of racial and/or gender discrimination, and legacies they hope to leave. Following an introduction to each participant profile, a visual representation of participant demographics, institutional profile, and a thematic analysis of emergent themes conclude this chapter.

Participant Profiles

The following profiles provide a glimpse into the character and spirit of each of the eight participants based on their personal interview data and observational data from the researcher. During this project, pseudonyms were intentionally and painstakingly chosen, as they took into aspects of the participants' lives such as "ethnicity, age, and the context of the participant's life" (Seidman, 2013 p. 125). For each participant's pseudonym, the researcher selected names that reflect largely recognizable individuals or characters (real and fictional) that would resonate with other Black women. While most studies allow participants to determine how they desire to be identified in a study, this method was intentional and a direct attempt to relate to the specific, communal experiences of Black women as readers search for themselves, in part or whole, in the participants' profiles. The benefit of sharing these descriptions allows for the researcher to "introduce" the participant to the reader while protecting the participant's identity, which is extremely important in this case where extra steps to protect anonymity were added.

Big Mama

  Big Mama (an endearing term for grandmother or grandmother-like figure) is the matriarch who holds the family (blood or otherwise) together, through loving-kindness, anecdotal advice, and tough love. She is equally revered, loved, and feared. Big Mama is an intentional woman with a warm smile and a calming presence. She is in her late 50's and divorced with no children.   She received both her bachelor's and master's degrees in Psychology and Counseling Psychology respectively as it was her desire to always be in a position to help others. Big Mama initially began her professional career in higher education and for about five years at a public, four-year PWI before departing to work in a private corporate setting. After a brief stint in corporate healthcare, she returned to higher education administration and has remained in the field for 16 years. Currently, she is an associate director. Interestingly, Big Mama shared after working at a PWI during her first stint in higher education she knew she wanted to return to a similar setting. Through our conversation, she expressed she enjoyed providing a place where Black students and other marginalized or ostracized people could convene. Big Mama mentioned while she does not have any children of her own, her students are like her children – a common theme seen among Black women. This concept of serving in a "mother-like" capacity refers to "*othermothering,*" which will be discussed more in-depth later in this chapter. As a result of her warm, jolly, and nurturing yet stern personality, it was immediately evident to the researcher the pseudonym "Big Mama" was a most appropriate and accurate reflection of her caregiving nature. According to (Jimenez, 2002) African-American grandmothers (also known as Big Mamas), a staple in Black families, can be described as women who

imparted traditional values to their children and grandchildren and raised them "the old fashioned way," which the authors described as characterized by "strong religious beliefs, strict discipline, respect for parental authority and reliance on experience." Grandmothers had more authority than mothers over children: "When a child feels his natural mother has been unjust, he may plead his case before his grandmother, whose word is generally law." (pp. 544-545)

Big Mama is also a common character portrayed in television shows, short films, and movies most notably *Big Momma's House*, *Big Momma's House 2*, *Soul Food*, *Black-ish*, and any of Tyler Perry's *Madea* films or stage plays.

Khadijah

Khadijah James, a proud Black woman and central protagonist of the hit Fox sitcom *Living Single* was a headstrong "mover and shaker." Khadijah was intent on paving the way and providing opportunities for others who looked like her through her entrepreneurial magazine *Flava*. In this study, Khadijah is a wife and mother in her late 30's, who instantly gives off the "*sister girl*" vibe. The "*sister girl*" vibe refers to the almost instantaneous personal connection some Black women have with one another upon meeting (e.g. coolness, realness, down-to-earth personality). Regarding her formal educational background, Khadijah possesses a Bachelor of Science in Information Systems and Decision Sciences, a Master's of Public Administration, and a Doctorate of Philosophy/Education in Higher Education Administration. Khadijah, an associate director, has spent the past 15 years in student affairs of her professional career at a public four-year PWI. Khadijah was relaxed, yet eager; honest, yet cautious; and serious, yet humorous throughout the interview. Similar to Big Mama, Khadijah also spoke of being the "mama figure" and expressed her desire to help others make it along the way (whether they are students or professional staff). In the course of the interview, it became apparent Khadijah was equally committed to fighting for racial and gender equality. It came several times and she

joyfully self-identifies as a Black woman and acknowledges the intersectionality that exists between those two marginalized identities. At the conclusion of Khadijah's interview, two things were very clear about her and her personal philosophy: (1) Black Girls Rock and (2) she intends to prove that to the world.

Joan

Joan, a director in higher education in her 40's, has been in her current position less than five years after serving as an accounting instructor on a post-secondary level for quite some time. Joan is a married mother of two with a bachelor's and master's degree in accounting, as well as a Doctorate of Philosophy in higher education administration. Admittedly, no participant's pseudonym came to me after the interview quicker than Joan's. She instantly reminded me of the central protagonist from the hit comedy series *Girlfriends*, which was centered on an all-Black woman led cast. Joan truly "mothers" those around her, but only those who are willing to help themselves and mirror her commitment to ethics, honesty, and hard work. Unlike some of the other participants, Joan was fortunate enough to have a mentor in her early days in higher education. She too expressed a deep desire to continue serving to those around her and uplifting who she can. With her frequent interactions with a number of other women of color in her daily capacity, Joan expressed more sentiments of gender discrimination while alluding to times where she admitted she unable to decipher if the discrimination experienced was due to her gender or racial identity.

Moesha

Enter Moesha Mitchell, the "bright-eyed, bushy-tailed" star of UPN's sitcom *Moesha*, whom the audience was able to peer into her "coming of age" journey into Black womanhood. Moesha's optimism remained a constant though tested in various situations that attempted to

shatter the "rose-colored glasses" through which she viewed the world. In this study, Moesha is the youngest participant (early 30's). She has never been married, has no children, and has been an assistant director for less than five years. She received her bachelor's degree from a private four-year institution in the South and her master's of science in College Student Affairs from a public four-year institution in the rural Midwest. Moesha's aspiration to be a vice president by the end of her professional career was refreshing. While many would still consider her a new professional, her optimism drives her desire to work hard. On the front end of her career, Moesha is cognizant of the rocky road ahead as a woman, a Black person, and a Black woman. Yet, she is determined to make the road less rocky for those who come behind her. Moesha is currently learning to balance and is adjusting to her new position, a new city, and the expectations that come with being the only Black woman in an office, such as pre-selected committee appointments and professional development opportunities.

Claire Huxtable

One of the most beloved, respected, and standard-bearing images of Black womanhood and motherhood in the Black community is attorney Claire Huxtable from *The Cosby Show*. A successful career woman and involved mother, Claire embodied (and is often credited with originating) a phrase commonly used by Black women called "*nice-nasty*." *Nice-nasty* can be loosely defined as asserting oneself, while rightfully correcting someone and still remaining very pleasant. Thus, typically avoiding the "angry Black woman" stereotype. For this research project, Claire is a 45-year old, married, mother of two who serves as an associate director. She has held that title for over 11 years. Claire received her bachelor's degree from a PWI in the South as well as her master's degree from a HBCU in the South. Interestingly enough, although Claire is the only Black woman in her department (amid a Black male and other White women),

when compared to her colleagues, she has seniority by over five years to most others in the department. Claire's knowledge causes her colleagues to depend on her fairly heavily as evidenced by the levels of perceived legitimate and expert power. It is Claire's confidence in her legitimate and expert power that allow her to continuously advocate for the positions she emphatically believes in as she couples that with a compassionate and nurturing spirit for everyone she interacts with.

Maxine Shaw, Attorney at Law

In every Black woman's life, there is oftentimes at least one best friend who pushes you, challenges you, supports you, and goes through life with you and in *Living Single* that friend was *Maxine Shaw*, *Attorney at law*. Maxine is the only pseudonym's who profession has been included in their moniker, because it is how she frequently introduced herself. She had great pride in the dedication and perseverance it took to achieve her career accomplishments. Here, we meet Maxine Shaw, Attorney at Law as a single, director under 40 who has been in her position for less than five years. The immediate difference between Max (and ultimately what led to her pseudonym) is her passionate declaration of her womanhood and push for "girl power" where all of the other participants either self-identified as Black or as a Black woman as opposed to woman. Her drive, determination, and focus to help push women forward in the world of higher education are infectiously contagious and reenergizing. She is funny, direct, witty, educated, and community service-oriented all while looking fabulous in the process.

Cookie Lyon

As the loving, intelligent, savvy, and fiercely loyal matriarch of the fictional Lyon family on Fox's hit drama *Empire*, Cookie Lyon is the supporter you did not know you needed and now know you cannot do without. In the course of this research, we meet Cookie as a director who

has been in her position less than five years and is also a single mother of two. Cookie decided to leave a very successful career in corporate America when the opportunity of an institutional job came at the recommendation of a colleague. Like Khadijah, Cookie instantly gives off the *sister gir*l vibe and her concern and passion for this project are evident throughout the interview. Cookie responds almost instantaneously in self-identifying as Black (as opposed to choices of Black woman and woman), citing her very unapologetic pro-Black upbringing. Cookie shared several experiences of exclusion in her particular PWI setting, which only serves to fuel the desire to connect even more with more Black women administrators in similar positions to her. Her passion to "lift as she climbs" and be a beacon of hope for Black students on her campus who have been drawn to her authenticity, compassion, and tough love.

Mary Jane Paul

When "Black power" meets "girl power," you get Mary Jane Paul, the main character in BET's *Being Mary Jane*. In the hour-long drama Mary Jane is the star of her own television broadcast who is constantly embattled with her network producers to create and deliver content that is culturally relevant, sensitive, and satisfies her passions. This was embodied in this participant's self-identification as a Black woman and noting the impossibility of separating the two. In the course of this study, we are introduced to Mary Jane as a 33-year old assistant director, who is single with no children, and who has been in her current position less than five years. Mary Jane's profile is one steeped heavily in her commitment to the students she mentors, as she provided some of the most detailed, thorough, and insightful background on her relationships with them. She is equally over the "*mansplaining*" and the stereotyping, and intends to continue to share the qualified knowledge she possesses while shattering any glass ceiling set before her in the process and not being anybody's token.

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On the next page, Table 1 shows a visual depiction of participants' demographic

information, followed by a profile of the institutional setting and a thematic analysis.

Institutional Profile

In April 2016, Beyoncé released her sixth-studio album entitled Lemonade (complete with a

visual accompaniment) which revealed stages that commonly take place in a relationship once

infidelity has occurred and trust has been compromised. During the airing of the Lemonade

visual album (Knowles, Rimmasch, & Akerlund, 2016), readers are introduced to twelve

concepts: intuition, denial, anger, apathy, emptiness, loss, accountability, reformation,

forgiveness, resurrection, hope and redemption. Although many people, (women especially) can

relate to these themes, through its calculated imagery, lyrics, and casting, it is evident that

Lemonade was created by a Black woman to share the experiences of her and other Black

women. This is supported by Beyoncé's decision to include a soundbite from Malcolm X's 1962

"Who Taught You to Hate Yourself?" speech sharing, "the most disrespected person in America

is the Black woman. The most unprotected woman in America is the Black woman." Despite her

commercial success and socioeconomic status, Beyoncé is still a Black woman in America and

she has chosen to leverage the privilege of her class to abdicate space to amplify other Black

women who may not have the opportunity to do so (as evident of her casting of well-known and

"up-and-coming" Black women celebrities, Black mothers who have lost their sons to police

brutality, utilizing the poetry of Warsan Shire for interludes, and an all-Black women cast).

Table 1
Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Age	Familial Status	Highest Degree Attained	Current Position	Positional Level	Length in Current Position	Identifies First As
Big Mama	57	Divorced, No Children	Masters	Associate Director	Mid-Level	16 – 20 Years	Black Woman
Khadijah	37	Married, 2 Children	Ph.D.	Associate Director	Mid-Level	11 – 15 Years	Black
Joan	40	Married, 2 Children	Ph.D.	Director	Director-Level	Less Than 5 Years	Black Woman
Moesha	31	Single, No Children	Masters	Assistant Director	Mid-Level	Less Than 5 Years	Black Woman
Claire Huxtable	45	Married, 2 Children	Masters	Associate Director	Mid-Level	11 – 15 Years	Black
Maxine Shaw, attorney at law	38	Single, No Children	Ed.D.	Director	Director-Level	Less Than 5 Years	Woman
Cookie Lyon	37	Single, 2 Children	Masters	Director	Director-Level	Less Than 5 Years	Black
Mary Jane Paul	33	Single, No Children	Masters	Assistant Director	Mid-Level	5 – 10 Years	Black Woman

Note: Survey demographics compiled utilizing the *Black Female Administrator Survey* (Jones, Dawkins, & Glover, 2012).

Towards the end of the visual album, Beyoncé shares a clip from the 90th birthday party of her husband's grandmother, Mrs. Hattie White, as the inspiration behind this musical work's title, sharing "I had my ups and downs, but I always find the inner strength to pull myself up. I was served lemons, but I made lemonade" (Knowles et al., 2016). Through the participants' feelings of *intuition, denial, anger, apathy, emptiness, loss, accountability, reformation, forgiveness, resurrection, hope* and *redemption*, it is the resolve of "making lemonade" out of all that they face(d) that has pushed them to exceed expectations, excel at their jobs, and encourage students to realize their full potential. For those reasons, no institutional pseudonym would be more apropos than Lemonade University.

Lemonade University is a large, public, four-year Predominantly White Institution with just around 30,000 students and is located in the Southern part of the country. Having made recent gains in increasing diversity in representative student populations (due to some very intentional programmatic, development, recruitment, and retention efforts by faculty and staff of underrepresented groups), Lemonade University has failed to make such gains in regards to faculty and professional staff. A fact that seemingly has not gone unnoticed by faculty and staff that fall into traditionally marginalized groups (racial, gender, and/or sexual minorities, etc.). When tasked with identifying Lemonade University with one of Bolman & Deal's (2013) four frameworks (Figure 3; Appendix D), participants responded in the following manner about the institution and their individual departments:

Table 2
Participant Frame Selections

Participant	Institutional Frame Selection	Departmental Frame Selection
Big Mama	Political	Structural/Political
Khadijah	Political	Structural
Joan	Political	Structural
Moesha	Political	Human Resource
Claire Huxtable	Structural	Human Resource
Maxine Shaw, attorney at law	Political	Human Resource
Cookie Lyon	Political	Structural
Mary Jane Paul	Structural	Political

Note: Information gathered from the Frame Selection Tool (Appendix D)

It is interesting that a large majority of the participants (75.0%) believes Lemonade University most closely resembles a political framework. The political framework is metaphorically described as a "jungle" with a large focus on competition, power, and policy. Additional descriptive information of the political framework can be seen below in Figure 4.
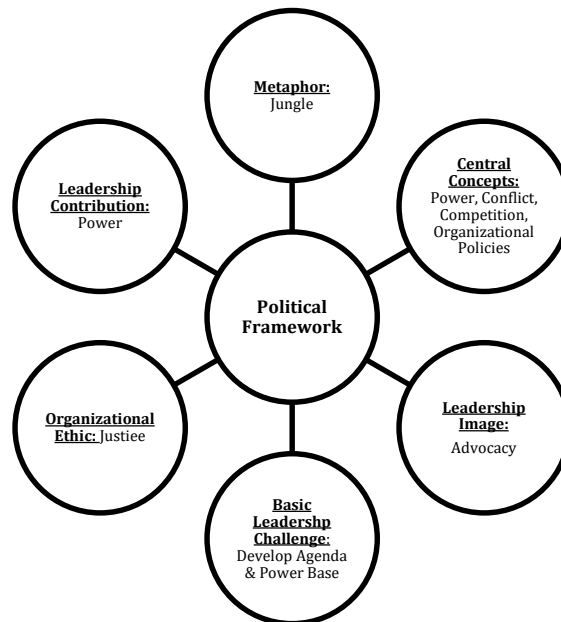
Figure 4. Political Framework Overview *Source: Bolman, L. G. & Deal, T. E. (2013). Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice and leadership.*

At least half of the participants cited while the institution fits into a political framework, their departments reflect more a structural framework. The structural framework values rules, order, structure, excellence and is task-oriented (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Interestingly, Joan noted this sometimes causes a conflict within her department with pressures to bend to the political pressures faced by the institution:

> This difference negatively affects [sic] my experience as my department is very structured and role based. However, the institution is very political and in my opinion has hidden unfair agendas. This creates frustration on a daily basis as the department's decision are based on policy but the institution changes based on politics.

Similarily, Cookie Lyon echoed:

> It's an interesting dynamic to say the least. I find that the structure of my department is oftentimes in conflict with the university. It's like no one sees eye-to-eye and there's very little understanding of how & why decisions are made.

It is the disconnection between institutional frame identification and personal department frame identification that either serves as an agitator or buffer from some of the themes recognized below.

Thematic Analysis

After the participant interviews were completed, transcription was completed by a third-party and verified for accuracy by the researcher. From the transcripts, memos/notes taken by the researcher during and after the interview, and the participant demographic surveys a preliminary thematic analysis was conducted. Four themes emerged from the data: (1) Desire to Connect With Other Black Women on Campus, (2) Pervasiveness of Intersectional Discrimination and Stereotyping, (3) Prevalence of Racial Centrality in Decision-making; and

(4) Adherence to a Spiritual Belief. Table 3 will provide a visual of the major themes identified along with supporting sub-themes.

Increased Desire to Connect With Other Black Women

Each of the women mentioned the lack of mentorship and support available to them on campus and recognized the growing need. Utilizing Valverde's (2011) definition where a protégé learns from a mentor, the participants expressed their frustration in not having any help to navigate the institution. In the wake of no formal or institutionalized programming for Black women administrators, all of the participants have taken it upon themselves to position themselves into situations where they can be surrounded, supported, and uplifted by other Black women.

Mentorship and Support

When it comes to the mentorship component, which Blackwood & Brown-Welty (2005) deemed as critical to retaining and promoting female administrators, Khadijah offered the following:

> Well, I will say that there is not, there is no mentorship going around for the mid-level, entry level, Black, uh, Hispanic, Latino, whatever. Like we don't have any of that going on at all, and whether it's faculty or staff, I don't, I don't think they have that, you know, and it's kind of like when you get us here, what do you do with us, you know.

Similarly, when asked how the absence of mentorship affects her, Big Mama expressed frustration with not having "people willing to reach and nurture you along" even when they seem eager to help others. As Moesha, the youngest of the participants is at the beginning of her career she has recognized the lack of mentorship and would like to become more conscientious in cultivating mentoring relationships. Recognizing the impact she as a Black woman administrator can potentially have, she states

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Table 3

Overview of Thematic Analysis

Major Theme	Sub-theme(s)
Increased Desire to Connect With Other Black Women	• Mentorship and Support • Hurt by/Harder on Other Black Women • Seeking to Provide Opportunities • Othermothering
Recognized Pervasiveness of Intersectional Discrimination	• Proving Oneself/Working Twice as Hard/Overcompensating • Gendered Differences • Combatting Stereotypes
Racially-influenced Decision-making	• Identifies as Black or Black Woman First • Student-centered passion, especially for students of color • Necessity for Higher Education as a Black/ Woman
Adherence to a Spiritual Belief	• Practice of Spirituality and its aid in coping

Well, um, especially when you think about the larger concepts of mentorship; I think it's very important for people to have people in administration that look like them. Um, and so, I can't say that when I got my start in higher education that, um, I thought about those things, but especially as I've seen my career progress, um, I think that's becoming more and more apparent in helping, I guess, the future of our student leaders.

Jones and Dufor (2012) write about the positive impacts of mentorship on socialization in an institutional where one may traditionally feel marginalized or excluded. Joan echoes this sentiment offering about her experience with having a mentor who was a Black male who encouraged her to believe in and speak up for herself. She recounts, "he empowered me to be able to sit at the table and actually impromptu say things that I felt made sense, and they would listen to me, because I think he endorsed me."

Khadijah, who has been at the institution for 15 years, also recognizes how the lack of mentorship affects retention of Black women administrators. She stated it fosters a sense of disconnection to the institution for the women. In reference to the lack of mentorship, she mentioned she thinks it "actually hinders you because you don't have anything to look forward to. Like, there is no path or motivation…there isn't any mobility forward." She, like Moesha, mentioned the impact of seeing senior Black women administrators serving as mentors as a way to encourage, support, and retain other Black women administrators.

When it comes to supporting Black women administrators at the institution, not a single participant felt there was adequate and sincere attempts by the administration. Cookie, who believes the institution does nothing to support Black women administrators, shares her feelings regarding "surface-level" programming to say they were done. Cookie, along with Maxine and Khadijah, all longed for more substantive programming as they recounted events or meetings would be had with little to no follow up or follow through. Cookie shared

Oh, on the converse side, I don't like what we do here on campus, which is hey, let's look

at Black women at STEM, and they're gonna have a panel discussion, and they get up and everybody speaks about their experience in the STEM field, and then they ask questions, but nothing comes out of that. So, you're left like, okay, now what, or let's look at women in leadership at Lemonade University and have them tell us their stories, and when people are asking them real questions, well, how did you negotiate your salary, or how did you get to where you got, like concrete questions that people want to know and have answers to, everything was very surface level and happy, and superficial because it's Lemonade University putting it on. We don't see the numbers of what's the reality of the gender wage gap on campus; not the United States, we wanna know about what's going on here.

Regarding efforts that have fallen short of their intended reach, Big Mama offered that any previous efforts that she can recall over the last fifteen have been poorly organized and/or communicated across the entirety of the institution's workforce. The poor communication led to her and one other colleague having their own "support group" who share their experiences over lunch as an outlet. Instead of remaining disappointed by the institution's perceived lack of concern, several of the participants have taken it upon to support various "support groups" of sorts (though they each appeared uneasy about using the words "support group"). Joan shared some insight on how one of her "support groups" came about, recounting the following

> So, I think that having a support group of other women who may have a similar or the same challenges, and that, that just came about by a co-worker of mine, just decided we need to do this, cause we have specific, we have, um, what do you call it, we have issues that other people don't have. So, it's very unique issues that we have. She saw that in the few people that she talked to and she just invited other people in, just very dynamic to go around the table and people just shaking their heads, and like, yeah, I been through that before, too, or how do you, how do you deal with this, you know, so I think that that group that just came about by one person that decided they were gonna form a group was actually really good.

Joan also offered some of the topics discussed at the "support group" gatherings, such as career advice from the more seasoned administrators, navigating Baton Rouge for newer administrators, and connecting administrators across campus who wouldn't otherwise cross paths. Cookie, speaking about the organic formation of the "support group" who regularly has

lunch together, offering that "everybody's facing similar struggles, similar, um, issues trying to find balance, trying to find a place on campus, trying to figure out how to assert themselves without being taken the wrong way" even when it comes to things such as fear of backlash for wearing their hair in its natural state.

Also, for those who had not yet "plugged in" to some of the informal support groups, like Maxine states her broader support network of Black women help to fill that void by joyfully recounting the nationwide support system she has built through her national association, regional chapters, and Greek sisterhood. She made sure to underscore the point that maintaining these connections has to be an intentional goal, something that she keeps priority on. Moesha, who is newer to the area like Maxine, echoed a similar sentiment adding that she still receives that support from other places such as her mother and best friends.

In regards to the importance of the support group, Cookie passionately shared how necessary it is for Black women in campus leadership to have a place to say "number one, it ain't just me, and that does a whole lot for you saying, okay, I can come another day because other people are having this, and then number two, that you have a support system." She recalled how there is nothing like being able to have people who "understand and can provide feedback, and can ground you to say, you can't just run away, but here's some strategies to help you."

Summary

The presence or absence of solid mentorship and steady social support are key components the participants have pointed out in what efforts would be helpful in retaining them at Lemonade University, as evident in the literature surrounding Black women administrators at

PWIs. Additionally, the mentorship and social support does *not* have to be a formal program instituted by the university for it to be beneficial and effective.

Hurt By/Harder on Other Black Women

In all fairness, when discussing the desire to connect with other Black women and the amazing feeling that comes being supported by someone who looks like you, I would be remiss if I did not share some of the more painful experiences. The beauty of Black Feminist Though allows for the varied and nuanced experiences of Black women, highlighting that not all Black women have the same exact experience. Though the majority of participants recalled positive interactions with other Black women administrators at Lemonade University, this was not always the case. For some women, including Big Mama they would rather not work in an environment largely populated by other Black women. She explained that when she tells people she is a higher education administrator, they usually automatically assume she works at the local HBCU as opposed to the PWI she actually works at. She offers that first, she went with the institution that offered her a position and secondly, she didn't think she could work at the HBCU. She stated that she "knew what she was dealing with at the PWI" but at "the other one is like the bats coming out the back creepy doors, and I'm like I can't do that."

Maxine echoed similar experiences, but during her time at Lemonade University she has been told she is "different, you don't understand cause you're not from here" and that she is aggressive by other Black women as well as Black men.   Also at Lemonade University, Joan, who became the most visibly uncomfortable (later noting the distress this has placed her under), expressed some of the negative interactions she has experienced with Black women over the years. She stated how shameful it is that sometimes Black women are jealous of each other rather working to improve and uplift together. She recalls how she has been asked by Black

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women to be more lenient, relax rules, or bend standards by Black women, but has relied on her

commitment to ethics, morals, and fairness has helped her be firm in her decisions to not

acquiesce. Khadijah recounted how there have times where other Black women have hoarded

information, abilities, and skills from the larger team. She explains, "when you do that, you don't

pass the torch. You just, you keep everything to yourself. Yeah, it's going good for you, but it's

not going good for anybody else. So, um, yeah, I try not to do that."

Another lens to view the hurt by other Black women is to look at how some Black

women are disappointed with the performance of Black women with larger platforms. No one

showed more disappointment and hurt in this regard than Cookie, who thought a new high-

profile Black woman administrator would be "a person here who identifies with our struggle,

who can then assist us, and help mentor us. Um, and we don't have that." Underscoring her

reasons for being disappointment, Cookie offers

> Um, when she came on board as the highest ranking Black female on this campus we
> were all like doing a happy dance, like yes, there's gonna be a Black female that we can
> identify with, relate to, talk to, bounce ideas off of, have as a sounding board and she got
> on campus and disappeared. And I can count on my hands the number of times that I've
> actually seen her and of those times it would reduce the number of times that she's
> actually said hello, or responded when somebody spoke to her.

One reason for this disappointment may be due to the sometimes very high standards that

Black women hold each other to, whether it is warranted or not. A majority of the participants

reported that they are harder on other women of color, but that it is from a place of love to make

them better. Mary Jane stated, "I'm tougher on women of color, but I'm like, if you're gonna get

this, you're gonna bring it, and you gonna make us look good" because the real world won't be

so nice. Khadijah frequently goes out of her way to help other teams of Black women, who may

or may not always appreciate the high standard she holds them to. Maxine recounts trying to

push other educationally qualified Black women across campus by encouraging them to assert themselves in their respective areas, be confident in themselves, and undertake new approaches. She hints at how doing the same things over and over has upheld stagnancy and adds "I think that's where there's a fine line of, I hear what you saying, but that's not Louisiana; this is what we do over here." Maxine also thinks this adherence to the current status quo is "what separates LSU, just the entire enterprise, from being a good place than being a great place."

Oftentimes other Black women administrators are not the only target of Black women's efforts to push others to do their best, this pressure (good or bad) is added unto students as well. Moesha recounted an encounter with a Black male student with whom she believed (in hindsight) that she was subconsciously applying on him to "to out-perform or out-shine, or do better, work harder because that's what we need for advancement or to get noticed, and things like that." Cookie even went so far as to describe herself as "more like a drill sergeant type of leader" with good reasoning as she pushes her staff and student workers to be greater. She admits she is grateful when students return to tell her they appreciate how tough she was on them and that they now understand why. Cookie's reasoning is very similar to Mary Jane's reason, as she stated "I think I'm tougher on them, because I'm like the real world is not gonna be nice to you, let's go. Let's have a conversation."

Summary

Black women continue to share the important duty of being each other's biggest cheerleaders while simultaneously trying to sometimes protect themselves from various reflections of themselves. In short, it is important for both the hurt/disappointment and the pushing others to be better arise from the same place: one of love for the other person to be at their very best, maximizing their potential to effect change in the lives of others.

Seeking to Provide Opportunities

In an effort to recruit and retain other Black women administrators on their own, several

of the participants have made a personal commitment to providing opportunities to other Black

women administrators. Big Mama's face lit up as she talked about being in a position "to

motivate them and encourage them to improve themselves, and prepare themselves to compete,

competitive, be competitive." She encourages them to pursue additional educational

opportunities, not stopping at the bare minimum requirements. Joan also tries to make other

Black women aware of possible opportunities they may not know about and encourages them to

be great in every way as she states "they have a voice, they can sit at the table, they're here for a

reason; we didn't just hire them because they were the only person out there."

There is still a fine line in looking to provide opportunities and remaining fair, which Joan

explains by adding

> That's the, that's the internal struggle. I wanna, you know, like I told you before, I think
> Michelle Obama may be my biggest role model right now; I wanna reach back and I
> wanna help, but I need to help in the right way. So, it has to be fair. So, if I was
> interviewing two people for a position, I can't tell you I'll pick the female, or I'll pick the
> Black, or I'll pick the Black female; I'll pick the person that's best for the position, but as
> opposed to what I think other people might do, I try to look for more; I probably do try to
> look for more positives in that Black woman, because I wanna see them succeed, but if
> they're not the right person for the position, I can't say that I would just choose them.

In an effort to shatter glass ceilings placed on women administrators in general, Maxine

tends to recommend women for positions whether they are Black or not to push "girl power."

Mary Jane also has the opportunity to empower women in a very intentional way, with her

women student workers of color. Her face lit up when she shared how she loves supporting them

from beginning to end in their development of new programming and ideas to implement as they

build their resumes. She also seeks out students of color that she thinks would be great for

certain programming opportunities and encourages them to apply because they otherwise would not. She admits she may at times drop "hints" to help them along the application process such as sharing that she at times "drop a little bit of advice; they may not recognize it as advice, and say, well, get your resume together, you know it needs to be at least one page, and make sure it looks really neat." Khadijah also shared how she gets to help students learn to navigate the university, find out what programs or assistance is available, and just share the knowledge she's gained as "there's no, there's no written document that tells you what to do and how to do it." Although Moesha doesn't think that she makes a "special effort" for students of color, she does admit that she feels she is more cognizant "of maybe where they are, what they need, or um, being sure to check in every now and then" and helping them make their ideas for programming a reality.

Summary

Black women are taking the initiative to provide opportunities for other Black women administrators and students of color instead of waiting on institutional remedies to this decades-old problem. Given Black women's access to bridging forms of social capital (Eriksson et al., 2010) which is more horizontal, it should be of no surprise that Black women are stepping up to help themselves and others like them whenever possible.

Othermothering

Khadijah admits that she has always been the responsible one, not just for herself but others as well adding "if you're under my team, or in my family or one of my friends, uh, I totally feel responsible for you. I am the mother figure. So, um, and I don't take that lightly." She reiterates her team mentality by offering "we all have to be riding the bike together. If somebody falls out, we pick them up; put them on our lap, whatever we need to do to keep the bike moving." Joan credits her inclination to nurture others around her to role as an actual

mother and previous research she has done on othermothering. Big Mama shared how her othermothering continues long after her students graduate and move into the workforce, recalling recent phone calls from a Black female student who graduated about three years ago and a White male student who graduated almost seven years ago who were seeking advice.

Cookie probably offered some of the most shocking, yet heartwarming stories of othermothering with her students as she pointed to one student's pillows and other items tucked into a corner of her office. The student placed them there while Cookie was out of town because she needed a safe place to store her things and thought this was the perfect place. Interestingly, Cookie pointed out how mothers of her students would entrust their students to her, recounting how after her presentation during orientation Black mothers would seek her out and ask her to look out for their children and ask for her card and actually have the children contact her when they needed help. In one instance Cookie recalled taking a student to Walmart after their mother told them to ask her for a ride… she obliged. She happily pointed out candles and other gifts that were sent by the mothers of Black students as small tokens of appreciation for looking after their children and being a tangible place of refuge when they could not be. Cookie spoke about the reciprocity of othermothering, as she became slightly emotional talking about her own two boys stating "but I'm gonna take you because eventually my boys will be in college somewhere and they gonna need somebody to take them."

Summary

For generations Black women have mothered children other than their own, dating back to times of slavery; yet, there is something different about this type of mothering of another woman's child. It is shown as a sign of love, respect, affection, and concern. It is the truest essence of "it takes a village to raise a child" in action.

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Recognized Pervasiveness of Intersectional Discrimination

As previously referenced (Suggs and Mitchell, 2011), Black women are rarely seen as recipients of discrimination although they are typically the recipients of racial and gender discrimination than their respective categorical counterparts. Given Black women's distance (on in the margins of "Black" and "woman") from White men (socially-centered), they are more likely to report instances of discrimination, stereotyping, tokenism, and hyper/hypovisibility as the women in this study recalled.

Proving Oneself/Working Twice As Hard/ Overcompensating

All eight participants recounted multiple incidents where they has to "work twice as hard" or "prove" their qualifications whereas others (women in general, Black men, and White men) are not held to the same unspoken standard (sometimes even "for a quarter of the recognition"). Big Mama shared that she always feels like she has to "prove myself a worthy component" of the unit. Claire, along with several other participants, mentioned the need to be "extra prepared just in case" she is asked about a particular topic. Khadijah echoed that she extra careful to "cross all of her T's and dot all of her Is." Recounting the intersection of "Black" and "woman" that she occupies, Mary Jane adds "it's frustrating, but at the same time it's like, when you add being the Black woman you have to overcompensate just to kind of have the same point get across, and so it's a struggle." Joan's in-depth initial thoughts on this topic visibly caused her countenance to change as she shared

> I also think having to prove yourself is another stressor, and that's an internal thing for me, could be. It would be interesting to see what you find in your study, but I, I always feel that I have to be a little bit more prepared than everybody else, because I think I carry in what people can see about me being a Black women; they're gonna automatically think you're less than, you're inferior, so I feel that I have to overcompensate to have a voice, to make people believe that I'm competent or capable of doing my job. So, I always feel like I have to doubly prepare, so for a meeting where people might just fly in, like I didn't even look at what's going on, I've already studied what we're gonna talk

about, try to prepare and have talking points, and it might just be a personality thing for me, but I always felt I had to prove myself a little bit more being a Black woman.

Moesha added that she thinks Black women have a subconscious need to overachieve, stating I think culturally we do feel, even subconsciously that we need to out-perform or out-shine, or do better, work harder because that's what we need for advancement or to get noticed, and things like that." Citing her personal troubles with this issue, she admitted to struggling with being able to leave the campus at 4:30 p.m. She openly shared "I never leave at 4:30 (Laughter), no matter how early I get here, I never leave at 4:30, and so trying to be sure that I stop this bad behavior before it becomes too much of a habit." Cookie, agreeing with Moesha, admitted that a lot of the undue pressure and stress is probably self-induced and it has become a hindrance to "having a life or cultivating interests outside of work." Cookie added that she also feels extra pressure to make sure her work is done "100%" because she feels that others are "always waiting for us to make a mistake and putting our work under magnifying glasses and microscopes when other folks may just be able to slide by and do the basics or the minimum." Echoing those sentiments, Khadijah adds

> Basically, everybody's White, and you feel like I'm Black and I'm gonna show you that I am smart, too; that I have the, I have the intellect, I have the, um, perseverance, like, uh, I have the skills, like I feel like when, I feel like when people look at me and my, I want them to be like, dang, that's a smart Black girl. That's a smart Black girl. Um, you know, I think I may be taking this on myself, but I feel like when the world looks at me they seeing that I'm Black first, because you can't help but to see that I'm Black first. Um, and I feel like it's my responsibility to show them what a smart intellectual go-getter, technical, student affairs woman looks like, and what she can do, you know. I'm not only technology; I can do anything, just put it on my plate, I'll be here. You know, I feel, I don't know, maybe I do feel like I'm carrying the torch for the, for the Black woman who can't speak, or aren't given the opportunity as an associate director, or manager, or whatever.

Mary Jane and Cookie both made reference to the role of Black women in their

upbringing as a part of the reason they have a "get it done by any means necessary" attitude.

Mary Jane joyfully spoke about her quest to make her mother and grandmother proud by being

able to be the "shoulder just to lean on" and the ability to "show people better than I can tell

you." Cookie shared that many Black women are taught the same thing, with slight variations

equaling "you don't need help, you don't need assistance, you don't need a man, you don't need

anything; you have to know how to pull yourself up and do whatever it's gonna take to get the

job done." Cookie, recalling her upbringing many offered that Black women are taught they

must do everything, without help and without fail which makes it increasingly difficult for Black

women to accept assistance when it *is* available as it may be seen as a sign of weakness.

Khadijah shared that because Black women commonly take on more responsibilities and others

realize that they are competent and excel at whatever tasks they are given, sometimes they are

"taxed" or given extra responsibilities *just* because the person knows they will complete the

project. She also shared that those extra responsibilities do not always come with additional

assistance, adding "let me show you, I can blossom, but give me some help, too."

Summary

The Black women administrators in this project have "done it all" at times, on projects, in

meetings, and on presentations (and sometimes singlehandedly) but at what cost? What is the

cost of the unpaid, unspoken, extra physical and mental exertion taken on by Black women that

is not required but considered a severe detractor if not present? As noted in his now iconic 2016

BET Award for "Humanitarian of the Year" acceptance speech, actor Jesse Williams (of *Grey's

Anatomy* fame) plainly stated, "the thing is though … the thing is that just because we're magic

doesn't mean we're not real" (Hill, S.G., Orlando, C., Taylor, L.H., Collins, J., 2016). In

speaking with each of the women, most of their main frustration was not that they had to "work twice as hard" or feel like they had to "overcompensate" or be a good representative showing of all Black women but that they did not feel their contributions or expertise were valued and/or compensated adequately or had access to the same resources and capital that others have.

Gendered Differences

The participants shared a number of things they experienced mainly due to their gender where they do not believe men had to endure the same type of treatment. Some of these issues include lack of job opportunities, pay inequity, adherence to traditional patriarchal gender roles, work-life balance and stereotypes.

Job opportunities and pay inequity. Khadijah and Mary Jane were perhaps the most vocally passionate about the pay disparities between Black women and other groups at their institution and the opportunities that they were passed over for. Khadijah shared the following

> Well, I would definitely say gender plays a role in, uh, the level of position that you get. Um, it seems like they always want you to start at the bottom and go up, but like if you look at some of the male positions, like they start them in the middle. Um, or they, I mean, not that all of them start there, but I've seen people who start in the middle, and then they just, they get pushed along so fast, and there's no one pushing any of the females fast, or even showing them the way. It's kind of like you gotta pick up their cookie crumbs, and figure it out yourself. So, there's no guidance.

She went on to recount how during her first promotion she "was told how much I was gonna make and that was it. Um, and I felt like, wow, you're just saying hey, little Black girl, this is what you're gonna get, be happy, cause we're promoting you." There was no opportunity to negotiate her salary, which other participants mentioned as well. Claire and Big Mama both ppinted out how the academy is still a White-male driven enterprise and women make less than men, while Mary Jane added that even when compared to the $0.78/dollar that White women make compared to White men, Black women still only make $0.64/dollar when compared to

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White men. Mary Jane shared that this pay disparity becomes even more irritating on the days that are trying and stressful where she is giving 110% which sometimes causes her to think "you know what, I'm stopping at 64 cents, because you're not getting anything else out of me; here's three-quarters of my page, cause this is what I'm getting paid."

Mary Jane and Khadijah both shared instances where they could have been promoted but their departments chose not to very arbitrary reasons. Mary Jane painfully shared the following

> when it comes to promotions and pay raises, I've been skipped, and that's happened to me several times. Um, I can craft the idea, I can restructure the team, uh, down to the org chart being restructured and my own responsibilities increasing greatly, but when it comes down to reflect that on my paycheck, it's like well, so and so has been here for this amount of time and so and so has done great, and our jobs have nothing to do with each other, and I'm like, oh, well that's great, reward them, too, and the result is we won't reward either one of you because then it means I really have to give you something.

She continued on adding that although her job was restructured to be responsible for two different functional areas, her job title and pay did not reflect that. When she inquired about why she could not have her title changed from "assistant" to "associate" director, she was told that it would create inequity which Mary Jane adamantly refuted. Similarly, when the opportunity arose to promote Khadijah to a director's position an almost identical situation took place.

Traditional gender roles. Joan and Mary Jane both made mention of colleagues in their departments automatically deferring any type of clerical, administrative, or remotely-domesticated tasks to the women in the units. Joan shared "if it's a whole bunch of envelopes that have to be stuffed, they're like, oh, give them to the girls. I've heard them say that before" which made her feel that "the tone and the choice of words that they use that they feel women have a place and a role, and they should be worker bees, not really decision makers." Mary Jane also shared how when there are department festivities to be planned (such as celebrations for colleagues), the women are always with tasked with planning them.

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Work-life balance. Claire admitted that "women who have families may have a little bit more of a challenge moving into different roles" in regards to career advancement. Khadijah shared just how much planning and preparation went into her schedule ahead of her taking maternity leave with both of her children, noting that others still expect things to run the exact same in your absence and what kind of pressure that can put on an expectant mother. She offered

> I mean it just really makes you prepare. Like, you plan and you, you have to forecast, and everything, as far as the whole gender being a woman, and um, working and having babies, cause they're looking at you like, oh, yeah, you gonna take off, you gonna take off three months, huh; yes, I am. So, yes, is that a problem; no, I know it's not, but still, they still want the same work to be done and want everything to flow, so you have to pave a way for them to have documentation, have your people set up, and everything. So, so, yeah, cause even though they don't say it, you can just tell, uh, by the way they're like, oh, so, who's working on this, or whatever, and you like, don't worry about that, it's done. Everything is done.

Summary

Cookie suggested there is a detriment to not having the important "conversations about the intersection of race or gender, or diversity or differences, as it related to what we have going on here. So, it's kind of like an unsaid, everybody just go and do your job, and then that's it." Women, Black women in particular, are not compensated nearly as equitably as their counterparts, are asked to do more menial and domesticated tasks, sometimes have to choose between familial obligations and career advancement opportunities if and when they are presented.

Combatting Stereotypes

Each of the ladies recalled times where they were faced with combatting and dismantling racist and/or sexual stereotypes placed upon them by others. Sometimes these forms of discriminations came in very overt, undisputable occurrences and other times, more often than

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not, they came in the form of microaggressions (Galupo et al., 2014; Hunter, 2011; Robinson et al., 2000; Stambaugh & Ford 2015; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2008; Young et al., 2014). The participants walked through the "mental gymnastics" of trying to figure out if they were actually stereotyped or discriminated against, and if so, on which front(s).

Tokenism

Each participant reported either being intentionally hired as a person of color to increase diversity or placed on a diversity-related committee. Khadijah and Moesha shared similar sentiments about having to feel like they were representative of an entire race of people. Khadijah says she has to frequently remind people that she is "not the spokesperson for Black America;" while Moesha gets frustrated with having to sit on committee that she is personally not vested in, even if she represents a portion of the diversity it is looking to reflect. She lamented that "sometimes I can't choose my own professional development opportunities; they're chosen for me based on my gender or my race." Cookie, with laughter in her voice recalled some of the committees or meetings she has been invited to simply because she is a Black woman, sharing

> I think a lot of it is strategic because they're like, okay, we need a Black female to come and sit on this panel and I don't think that, I mean I don't lose sight of that. Sometimes I'm like I don't have no business being in this meeting about this, but that I know y'all need a Black person in it.

Mary Jane also noticed tis particular trend as she and another colleague (another woman of color) are always asked to serve on diversity, minority, or gender related committees. She also pointed out that even though the two of them are people of color, they may not always be the best contacts for diversity given certain programmatic goals.

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"Angry Black lady" stereotype. Claire, Maxine, Khadijah, and Cookie all recounted stories of how they have had to contend with the "Angry Black Lady" or "Black bitch" stereotype ascribed to them by others. They have had to self-monitor and subconsciously play the "behavioral police" to other Black women so that they were not all cast in a bad light. Claire brought up a self-monitoring tactic which mirrors the adage "it's not *what* you say but *how* you say it" by sharing "a lot of us a little more quick-witted than, than we might need to be at work, so we have to, we have to make sure that we are mindful of what we say and how we say it." Cookie provided additional insight on the self-monitoring behaviors Black women administrators practice, adding

> And I think I tow the line very much so about being assertive versus aggressive, um, and I consciously have to make a decision about choosing my language, attire, um, and appearance, which, you know, I don't feel like I should have to, but I do know that it's all connected to people's perception and how they're gonna relate and respond… because I know that if I go to certain folks in my department and I'm direct, it's not that I'm giving them a direct message; all of a sudden I'm a Black bitch, and I'm doing, and I can say the same thing that a White male will say in the same manner, in the same tone, but because it's coming from me, it's interpreted differently.

Following along the same lines, Maxine shared that her passion for topics is often misperceived as anger if her "tone and diction, or my body language changes" and that she is "not going to apologize for that." She believes if "people will focus on the conversation and not those things that we could be a lot more productive."

Know your place. Joan recalled an instance of interaction with a White male student who questioned the authority of her position and appeared taken aback that she would be the person to help solve his issue. After the student did not receive a satisfactory answer to his liking from the coordinator, he asked for the situation to be escalated which brought Joan into the equation. After entering her office, he stated "No, I was looking for a manager" and once she

assured him she was, indeed, a manager he asked "is there anybody else I can talk to?" Joan recounted feeling that although the White male student never said it, "he was looking for a White man in a suit to be able to relate to him" and in her "personal opinion, I think that Black women in higher education are supposed to have a specific role of being the help, the worker, and that's how men, especially view us." Cookie also echoed this sentiment adding, "I think their expectation when they meet a young person, a young woman of color is that you're in a certain role on campus."

Physical appearance. Another concern that arose among some of the participants was their physical appearance. Claire noted that sometimes Black women tend to be a "little more colorful than other people" and just having to self-monitor that in her own style of dress. Mary Jane echoed the same sentiment, even including the way she vacillates between the straightened and the naturally curly form of her natural hair (as Cookie also mentioned). Interestingly, Maxine brought up how colorism of Black women operates in a room as well, noting that her experience as a Black woman in a room is different from a more lightly-complexioned Black woman. She also made note of this even down to body types.

Exclusionism. Joan recalled having to "kind of had to force my way in" conversations dominated by White males "because I wasn't invited… …into the conversation, but I kind of had to push my way into the conversation, and toward the end I think they respected me more for it. Claire shared how she was kept away from going away celebrations for her own team members and after-hours gatherings where work-related things would be discussed. She also discussed how difficult it is to break into the "insider network that exists" as a person of color. Maxine, with a smile on her face, shared one of the most gut-wrenching, six-word sentences of any of the interviews, stating "I feel isolated all the time."

Summary

Black women administrators find themselves constantly fighting off stereotypes, tokenism, and microaggressions which can lead to Racial Battle Fatigue, which has been reported to cause negative physical health impacts (McCray, 2011).

Racially-influenced Decision-making

For several participants race played an important factor in deciding on what institutional committees or organizations they would serve on, the commitment to help students of color be successful, and the willingness to provide other Black women with opportunities. Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên (2008) build upon the concept of racial centrality, or "the extent to which an individual normatively emphasizes racial group membership as a part of their overall self-concept" (p.2). This section will section will explore the connection between racial identification and its influence on choices on one's professional activities. Maxine Shaw, attorney at law was the only participant to self-identify as a woman simply because she loves being a woman and "there's nothing better. Like, I feel like women are the most powerful people in the world." She continued on to highlight some of the amazing, "every day" things women do to keep the world spinning such as "having children" and "keeping the family together" all while getting to be "fabulous."

Black First

Three participants, Khadijah, Claire, and Cookie Lyon, self-identified as Black first over options of "Black woman" and "woman." Regarding her choosing Blackness as a more central identity, Khadijah stated the following:

Well, I think I first identify as Black, just because probably, um, that's the first thing that

I see. Um, I'll probably say I'm a Black woman. I don't say, like I'm a woman that's Black, cause I feel like, um, just the whole essence of being Black takes precedence over

my gender, um, because when someone sees me, they see that I'm Black first, and then they see that I'm a woman. Well, at least that's what I think they see, but I could have that messed up, but, um, but that's kind of, I don't know, that's kind of what, what I see, and I probably, I guess growing up in the north, um, growing up in Chicago, in the Midwest, I don't know, I think I see myself Black before I am a woman, so.

To support her choice of self-identification, Claire visually shifted in her seat as she immediately identified with the "overwhelming struggle" of her Blackness, adding ". I think I'm probably more interested in the entire struggle than one sector of it, even though I am interested in both; I'm probably more in the entire struggle because I see how it affects the entire community." Rounding out participants who self-identified as Black first, Cookie Lyon beamed with pride as she recounted her unapologetic, pro-Black upbringing in the local Baton Rouge community stating "I think I'm Black first and that's just probably because of how I was raised and the environment and the culture of being proud about our race, um, and the strides that Black folks have made."

Both Black and Woman

Four participants, Big Mama, Joan, Moesha, and Mary Jane Paul, self-identified first as a Black woman. Mary Jane explicitly expressed she is at a time to be "unapologetically Black" while showing off her "Black Girl Magic!" Sellers et al. (1998) assert Black women who place equal value on the importance of race and gender in self-definition are "more likely to incorporate gender in her conceptualization of what it means to be Black than an African American woman for whom gender is not a central aspect of her identity" (p. 23). Big Mama noted how "Black woman" would always "automatically come out" when asked to self-identify stating "because I am Black and I am a woman, and those are two components that make up the majority of who I am" and acknowledging that she will always carry both identities at all times. Noting Crenshaw's (1989) work on intersectionality, Joan offered the following:

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I think the, the intersection, the Black woman is how I identify, because I'm Black, and that's a known, that's a cultural thing, that's how I identify, but knowing that a Black woman navigates spaces, or is looked at different in spaces than a Black man, I think that I have to take both of those adjectives together and, and be a Black woman would be how I identify.

Although Moesha also identified as a Black woman, the decision did not come as easily and caused her to wrestle with her response before settling on "Black woman" with the following:

Um, I would say, I would say Black, honestly. I think that's the first thing that people see when they see me, um, and I think that I don't know; can I change it? Black woman, I think. … I think, I think, they, yeah. Yeah, because I think I can't, oh, I can't separate those at all, and so if I had to choose I would say that when people see me they recognize immediately that I'm a Black female, and that, that says something, I guess, to them when they're interacting with me.

Interestingly, Moesha's first response of "Black" was indicative of how she perceived other people defined her and that the two identities (Black and woman) were inseparable before switching her answer to "Black woman" through self-identification. Lastly, Mary Jane Paul echoed similar sentiments regarding the intersectionality of not being able to separate her race and gender and acknowledging the "strength and pride" that comes along with both.

Summary

For each participant, the question of how they would first self-identify when given the choices of Black, woman, and Black woman took them for a loop. With some stating that they have never had to think about it those options before and others almost being flabbergasted at the thought of having to make a selection. Whether the participant chose Black, woman, or Black woman what remained constant was a commitment to seeing gender equity and racial equality throughout their interviews and passions.

Student-centered Passion, Especially for Students of Color

Although the women in this study do not have positions that are explicitly designed to service larger numbers of Black students, they have become a beacon for (mainly) Black students nevertheless. Two of the participants, Big Mama and Claire, shared they had initially been hired with the intention to increase diversity of the student population in their respective areas. Big Mama recalls being "the only African-American administrator" and knowing that she was specifically hired to work with minority students who "were getting lost in the shuffle" and that she likes working with those students as "they suffer those same ills here; they're outcasts. They're not a part of this institution, they're not accepted whole-heartedly and I don't care what they say, they feel the pinch all the time." Big Mama is so committed to the students she services, she has intentionally not taken positions that would decrease her interaction them. She recalled the following

> I always want them to feel that I'm more of a student person. I'm not the director of the department because when we first talked about it they, they, they made the comment that what we really want the director to take on more of the statistical stuff and decrease the student contact. Well, I don't want that. I am here because of the students, and if I can say that I made this journey, it's a very rigorous, very difficult, intense three-year journey that any student, be it Black or White, if I made it easier or better, or easier to navigate to get to that end point, then I have done what I am here to do.

Claire, who also began her career with a focus on diversity, noted that throughout her positional and/or title changes that she has always remained committed to increasing diversity. She sees herself as a "sales person" of sorts and wants to be sure that she is accurately equipping minority students with the best information before they decide to attend the institution, stating she didn't want anyone to feel like she "sold them a lemon" and that "everybody that comes through that I encounter, I want them to feel like I was honest and upfront with them, and I, and I gave them clear information about what they were getting themselves in to."

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Joan also echoed that "recruiting and retaining African-American students, which is a passion of mine" as she had gone to a PWI as an undergraduate and made it through successfully and may be able to "help them navigate these spaces." In the spirit of wanting to help students of color make it through college, Maxine is in the process of starting a scholarship to help minority students. In speaking about the importance and necessity of higher education to even be considered for certain jobs. Mary Jane offered that sometimes it is the encouragement of students of color that urge her to keep going and not leaving to go open an Etsy shop.

Khadijah and Cookie both reported how Black students whom they have helped have told other Black students to contact them when they need help. With a laugh, Khadijah shared "once you help one of them they bring their friends, and so, and then like you end up having sisters of the ones that you helped, and I told one of my friends to come talk to you." Cookie shared Cookie shared that she is committed to "lifting as she climbs" and although she is hard on her students of color sometimes "they'll tell you, but it's all for a reason, so I feel like the value of giving back and helping, mentoring, guiding the students is probably what is most important to me in my work." She has used this to fuel her involvement in campus activities where she would normally not participate so that the students of color would not only have a visual of someone in that capacity but also a strategically placed advocate when necessary. As wonderful as this may sound in theory, there are colleagues of Cookie who do not see the "value" in the way or the actual relationships that she forms with students and have caused them to complain that the students take too much of her time. She insists that most of the time she just listens as the students simply need an outlet and frequently reminds her other colleagues that the students "are the reason that we are doing the work that we're doing, so we can't stop, or we can't, tell me we can't separate our engagement with the students from our work for the students."

Summary

The participants in this study beamed with pride and wide smiles as they shared how the students, especially those of color) have impacted their lives and jobs. They have chosen to be "othermothers" in some of the most least expected places on campus because of their passion to see students succeed. It is these interactions that help get through the rougher days and tougher times.

Necessity for Higher Education as a Black/Woman

Recognizing that they are more than likely to be a double minority in any work setting (race and gender), the participants in an effort to "prove" themselves each spoke about the importance of having the educational credentials to be "at the table." Each of the participants has at least a masters degree, with three participants have the equivalent of doctoral degrees. Big Mama recounts, "it's still White male dominated. Um, so we have had to probably fight for a voice and me more so, being African-American." She goes on to recall an experience with a former supervisor who insulted her intelligence, stating

> … he didn't want me as director of the department. He wanted somebody that could intellectualize, whatever the hell that meant, and I asked him if he, did he just actually call me stupid. Um, and then I made the comment that, you know, I would prefer not to work for him anyway, so we're probably gonna be well, okay. (Laughter) I probably don't want to work directly under you. I think that had a lot to do with the fact of a lot of things; that I was African-American, that I was female. I don't possess a J.D. I have a master's and many years of experience, so I think it was, I think it was his elitistness(sic), more so than just the fact that I was African-American.

When talking about the impact of race on higher education, Khadijah's passion began to pour through each word she spoke. Sure to pull on the heart strings of anyone who reads her answer, Khadijah responded

> Otherwise, you get to a certain level, and then you kind of hit your head, because it's nowhere to go, and those other opportunities are White women, White men, um, so you

don't, you don't get those opportunities at all. So, it's unfortunate, but you, I want them to say, you know what, man, your credentials are the best, come on. You know, cause I mean I feel like I had to get beaucoup, uh, degrees to make sure that you can't, you can't tell me that I don't qualify for that position. Like, no, don't tell me that, so.

Whereas Khadijah leaned more towards dispelling any myths about her credentials and achievements, Joan's reasoning seemed to be rooted in the othermothering instincts she often spoke of, offering the following

> I think it's a personal commitment to, um, recruiting and retaining other African-American students, especially at predominantly White institutions, because I've always known and been interested in the fact that a lot of us don't make at PWI's, and I felt that kind of like what, um, Michelle Obama says, you have to reach back.

Maxine, just weeks shy of her third commencement, noted how the accumulation of multiple advanced degrees has been a "game-changer" that she's seen with her White male counterparts as the part of the reason she will be graduating yet again. She has also added that she, like her White male counterparts, will immediately make the switch to "Dr. Maxine Shaw." Cookie, who is flirting with the idea of obtaining her doctoral degree, sees the opportunity as a competitive necessity as she entering the world of higher education from a corporate career.

Summary

In an effort to mitigate the stereotypical and discriminatory instances of assuming they are unqualified or ill-equipped for their jobs, the Black women in this study all admitted to earning (or considering) another degree to "prove" they belong in their position. As Khadijah previously stated, a lack of education will not be the reason for them being denied.

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Adherence to a Spiritual Belief

Similar to women in a 2014 study by Starks, Halaevalu, & McPhatter, women in this study described their spirituality as "faith in God, love, and respect for self and others, and strong relationships, and connections. It is a source of guidance, grace, and mercy" (p. 140).

Practice of Spirituality and its aid in coping

Big Mama's face lit up as she talked about the "gobs of friends" she has made through her church, where she practices her Christian faith. This connection with other Black women is particularly important for Big Mama who does not have any children or other close family locally. Khadijah also alluded to her Christian faith stating she was a "servant leader" which is commonly used to reference Jesus Christ (the central figure in Christianity), which the researcher was able to confirm through a follow-up conversation. Joan mentioned how her Christian faith helps to ethics, morals, fairness, and equity at the forefront of her actions in how she treats people. Moesha also mentioned the comfort of her spirituality, stating "I need to be able to cope. So, spirituality or, um, just, well, that guides how I treat people" as it also helps to guide her through relationships with students who may be having difficult issues. Maxine also echoed that her Christian faith drives how she treats people, despite how they may treat her at times. She encouraged treating people fairly and refraining from retaliation offering "I'm not going to, um, move down to that level, you know. I'm not gonna stoop to that level of crazy. Nope."

Claire shared that her faith is "probably the most important thing" to her and how it affects everything that she does. In referencing her faith as an achor, she also stated

> when things come down and we're having a crisis or we have issues, I'm not gonna panic about it and I try not to let is stress me out. I just make sure that I do what I'm supposed to do. I give my one hundred, do what I'm supposed to do, and trust that it's gonna turn out the right way. So, I think that, um, that affects, affects it, and I think for people that work with me, I think that they may feel more comfortable coming to me with issues or concerns

Mary Jane also expounded in a lengthier fashion about her Christian faith, as it also directs how she navigates this life. Her faith helps her not to retaliate in certain ways in the face of blatant and not-so-subtle forms of discrimination, stating "so you have to check yourself and say, okay, it's not about you, you're here to do a job, you have people who look up to you, you know, keep the motivation, keep the faith and move forward." Mary Jane wears a daily reminder that encourages her to keep Christ first and her second in all of her interactions. She also jokingly tosses out some of her daily prayers adding things like "Lord, like I need to get this paper done or this project, I don't know where to start, and then other times it's like, thank you, God, cause I'm done (Laughter)."

Summary

The connectedness each woman expressed with an omnipresent God visibly soothed them, whether they realized the change in their expressions or posture or not. Spirituality should be explored in its relationship to helping Black women administrators to preserve, cope, and overcome trials they face in the Ivory Tower.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

In this section, findings from this study are used to support previous literature on the state of Black women higher education administrators at PWIs. Major themes discovered in the data analysis will be broken down in their support of the study's two overarching research questions. Ending this section will be implications and recommendations for future research on and retention of Black women administrators at PWIs. Below is a representation of how each research question is addressed by the major themes that were discovered.

Table 4
Research question and major theme matrix.

	RQ1: What is the impact, if any, of white racially homogenous work environments on Black women administrators at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?	**RQ2:** How do Black women administrators navigate the intersectionality of race and gender at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?
Increased Desire to Connect With Other Black Women	X	
Recognized Pervasiveness of Intersectional Discrimination	X	
Racially-influenced Decision-making		X
Adherence to a Spiritual Belief		X

RQ1: What is the impact, if any, of white racially homogenous work environments on

Black women administrators at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?

Black women administrators who do not do "diversity work" or see a large number of Black students and/or other Black colleagues have turned to each other for support in hopes of escaping the frequently occurring microaggressions, intersectional discrimination and Racial Battle Fatigue. This refusal to wait for institutional change to come about, these women have taken it upon themselves to seek out and connect with other Black women administrators on campus. According to the participants, the support of other Black women at the institution has been instrumental in their retention as Cookie stated she would have been gone in less than six months if it were not for a Black woman colleague who encouraged her to stick it out. The participants shared it is the ability to "pick up the phone, call someone across campus that understands you, and know that you're not alone." It is in these types of conversations that the women noticed just how prevalent and commonplace the discrimination they faced was. Joan stated that she did not realize just how many instances of discrimination had occurred until she spoke with another colleague to share experiences and again when recounting them for this project.

In an effort to support (not "lean on") the infrastructures implemented by Black women to meet their needs, institutions can embrace their idea. Cookie mentioned the overwhelming presence of affinity groups in her corporate career that were encouraged by the company to provide each group a place of support rather than shunned to the corners as several of the participants said they felt about the "meet-ups" they have." Maxine mentioned the establishment of institution-sanctioned luncheons for Black women at the institutions of other colleagues that have been largely successful.

Summary

What may seem ironic is that in order for Predominantly White Institutions to increase

the retention and overall satisfaction of its Black women administrators, although they may not

necessarily need to provide time/space for Black women to interact with, be supportive of, or

mentor each other (without a connection to White women or Black men), but they must not shun

or impede upon it when they create their own space.

RQ2: How do Black women administrators navigate the intersectionality of race and gender at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)?

Leveraging, rather than ostracizing, the Black women in this study's need to fulfill

desires to serve and nurture others along the way, it would be wise to encourage serving on

committees or in organizations that are both personally and/or spiritually satisfying. This

section will discuss how to understand the connections to race-related commitments and

spirituality held on closely by Black women administrators.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous' (1998) *Multidimensional Model of Racial

Identity* (*MMRI*) provides a framework to gauge the importance of race and a sense of belonging

to members who self-identify as a part of a racial group. According to Sellers et al. (1998) the

MMRI is underscored by four assumptions: (1) that identities are simultaneously situational and

stable; (2) agreeance with previous research by Markus & Sentis, McCall & Simmons, McCrae

& Costa, Rosenberg, and Stryker & Serpe "that individuals have a number of different identities

and that these identities are hierarchically ordered" (p. 23); (3) self-identification as the truest

form of identity; and (4) a focus "on the significance and the nature of an individual's racial

identity at a given point in time in the individual's life as opposed to placing an individual in a

particular stage along a particular development sequence" (p. 24). The MMRI is composed of four dimensions to address racial identity and ideology, with *racial salience* and *racial centrality* referencing racial significance as assigned by individuals and *racial regard* and *racial ideology* refer to perceptions of Blackness (Sellers et al., 1998). Figure 5 depicts the relationship of each dimension to racial identity.
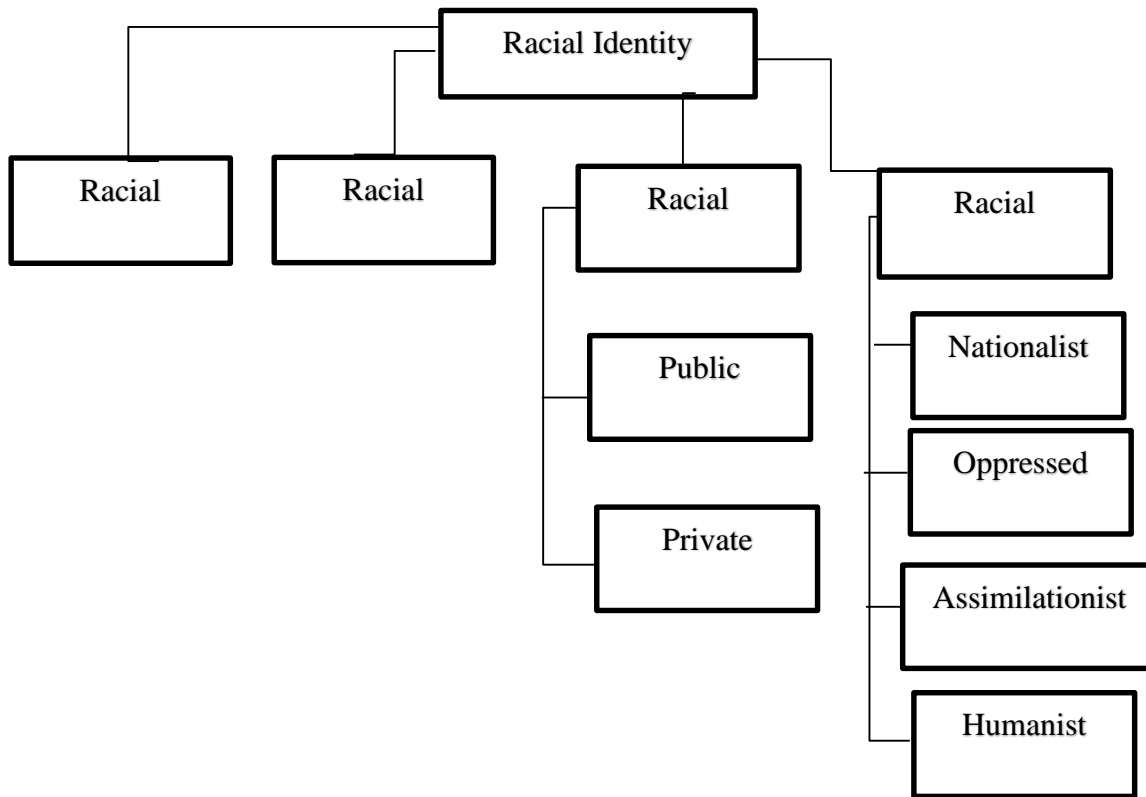
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                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │  Racial Identity │
                        └─────────────────┘
   ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
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                                 │  Public  │  │  Nationalist │
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                                 ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
                                 │  Private │  │  Oppressed   │
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                                               ┌──────────────┐
                                               │Assimilationist│
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                                               │  Humanist    │
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Figure 5. *Schematic representation of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) Source: Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A Reconceptualization of African American Racial Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998, p. 24).*

Racial centrality. For the purpose of this study, a concentrated focus was placed on racial centrality as opposed to other components of the MMRI. According to Sellers et al. (1998), *racial centrality* refers to how an individual defines themselves in regard to their race which remains constant across varying situations. Additionally, Sellers et al. (1998) assert the following "some African American women may define themselves more in terms of their gender

than their race, while others may use race as the more important self-defining characteristic" (p. 25).   Every participant shared that they are more likely to be involved in causes, initiatives, or committees that have a commitment to advancing people reflective of their race.

Summary

It is important to note that the Black women who served on racially-tied committees or the like were opposed to serving in those capacities, rather they would like to willingly volunteer as a sense of service as be utilized as a "token." Allowing Black women the opportunity to practice agency over their time, energy, and efforts may aid in retention as they become more empowered by the autonomy they are able to express. Interestingly enough, although the women in this study who categorically do not do "diversity work" have managed to embody the clichéd "diversity is everybody's job." It is in their intentional to service to other Black women and Black students that these women have located a fulfilling component of their daily job routines.

Adherence to a Spiritual Belief

The type of servant-leadership Khadijah mentioned is routinely represented in the Christian faith which all eight participants identified as practicers of.   According to Musgrave, Allen, & Allen (2002) there is a very deep connection between people of color, relationships, and community. They continue on to state

> Christian spirituality is viewed as an extension of the cross of Christ; vertically, through a recognition of God's love, justice, and mystery and a surrender to God's sovereignty; and horizontally, through an extension of God's kingdom through compassion, sacrifice, and service to the world" (p. 557).

Mary Jane shared how the "I Am Second" campaign she supports encourages her to continue to be of compassionate service to others (horizontal) as she models her life after the pattern of Jesus Christ which influences each decision she makes and the actions that she takes.

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Summary

The Black women administrators who participated in this project actively chose to be guided and anchored by their spirituality and purposely assert and position themselves as beacons of hope, light, and love in an Ivory Tower that does not always reciprocate those same feelings. Institutions should consider welcoming, valuing, and encouraging these types altruistic acts of selflessness may allow Black women to deepen their sense of connectedness not only to the students they serve but the institutional community at large.

Retention Strategies

Throughout the course of this project, several participants either directly or indirectly expressed sentiments that they would more than likely be leaving Lemonade University in the next 3-5 years if things remained the same. The things participants cited as possible causes for attrition include: the treatment on Black women ("having to work twice as hard" or "prove themselves"), feeling like an outsider on their campus and in their departments, gender pay inequality, and even inequity in pay among groups of women. In an effort to halt this from occurring, at least partly, it is the recommendation of the researcher to employ Jackson's (2001) *Practical Steps for the Retention of African-American Administrators at PWIs*. The eight strategies, which will be discussed in detail in relation to the participant's responses, are as follows:

- *Commit to the Principles of Diversity and Affirmative Action*

- *Use Recruitment as a Retention Strategy*

- *Provide Equity in Wages in Salaries*

- *Provide an Orientation Program*

- *Develop a Mentoring Program for Junior and Senior Management*

- *Foster Open Lines of Communication Between the Administration Hierarchy and Staff*

- *Empower the Administrator to Perform His or Her Job*

- *Promote the Pursuit of Professional Advancement and Development (i.e., Learning and Research)*

Commit to the Principles of Diversity and Affirmative Action

Jackson (2001) suggests including educational opportunities touting the importance of diversity as a way of reinforcing its impact on the entire institution as added value. He also suggests including the local African-American community to aid in this endeavor. Institutions will have to move past "surface-level" diversity initiatives to gain the trust of Black women administrators before they make their communities vulnerable by exposure to the Ivory Tower. Several of the participants were unsatisfied with the institution's attempt to address the negative lived experiences of Black women (and other women of color) through panels and "talks" that led to no follow-up action and/or programming. Claire also suggested that the institutions focus on getting the "right" people to the diversity trainings because the intended audience is rarely the room full of Black people that show up.

Use Recruitment as a Retention Strategy

Another strategy offered by Jackson (2001) is to leverage recruitment as the first step in retention by being intentional about seeking out qualified, African-American applicants through various channels. These channels could include personal and professional networks of current staff, national associations, being upfront about current campus diversity climate, "reopening the search and aggressively attempting to diversify the pool if necessary to meet goals" (Jackson,

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2001, p. 104). As the participants in this study have expressed interest in looking to help other

Black women become higher administrators, human resources departments and search

committees should include them when seeking out potential candidates as they will undoubtedly

have access to networks those departments traditionally do not have access to.

Provide Equity in Wages in Salaries

Jackson (2001) notes the discrepancy in pay among African-American administrators and

its ability to cause employees to leave the institution. Regarding wages and salaries, he suggests

that they be "efficient and equitable" (p. 104) and that "timely, equitable, and sufficient increases

are important to all personnel" (p. 104). Mary Jane recounted how some days the $0.64/day is

even worth the hassle of some of the things she has to deal with. This is especially important for

public institutions where salaries are considered public records. Khadijah demeanor became

sullen as she searched records to only find out a White female colleague, with an almost exact

job description whom she has more experience than was making 15%-20% more than her. If

institutions are serious about retaining Black women administrators, they will have to become

intentional in their efforts to achieve wage equity.

Provide an Orientation Program

The idea of introducing a "community orientation" (Jackson, 2001) in conjunction with

the normal campus orientation as a form of social support (such as churches, businesses that

cater to the needs of Black women such as hair stores, and social gatherings) appears to be a

novel, yet underutilized idea. Jackson (2001) also suggests hosting a campus reception where

the new employee would have the opportunity to meet staff, students, and faculty which would

remove the onus of the new employee having to venture out and forget those relationships on

their own without any introduction. Joan and Cookie shared the importance "community

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orientation" in their interviews, sharing memories of how they have helped other Black women find churches, homes, hair salons, etc. All things that are largely important to a vast majority of Black women that rarely, if ever, make any type of formal orientation program.

Develop a Mentoring Program for Junior and Senior Management

A key component of Jackson's (2001) call for mentoring includes the political savviness of the mentor to help aid the mentee in navigating the institution's terrain. For the women in this study, this would prove extremely crucial as most participants described Lemonade University as resembling a political frame (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Mary Jane mentioned the potential added value of a mentorship program for Black women that included as much as a significant focus on the "unspoken social cues" as the more traditional aspects (such as negotiating salary, career planning).

Foster Open Lines of Communication Between the Administration Hierarchy and Staff

Jackson (2001) notes "there are generally two variations of the mission statement: philosophical and operational" (p. 105) and the challenge this poses for African-American administrators as the learn to navigate the environment. Lines of communication with upper-level administrators should remain open and feedback should be presented in a constructive manner, never in a condescending manner as suggested by Jackson (2001). As institutions make strides in diversity on the student side, it is important to make sure those same values are being cultivated and translated over to the staff and faculty sides. Institutions should avoid "window dressing" as Maxine Shaw so eloquently, referring to making things diverse to those who are looking in but are merely façade.

Empower the Administrator to Perform His or Her Job

African-American administrators should be supported in the decisions they make over their functional areas and included in institution-wide decision making pertaining to their departments or duties (Jackson, 2001). In the instance Black women administrators are indeed given new and/or expanded responsibilities, it is important to make sure they are "set up for success." This means making sure that they have the financial resources, human capital, and positional power to implement programming and the like as noted by Khadijah.

Promote the Pursuit of Professional Advancement and Development (i.e., Learning and Research)

Jackson (2001) urges the importance of African-American administrators participating in professional organizations, which is "especially true if there is a desire to maintain affiliations with multicultural subgroups within these organizations, which can assist in maintaining cultural roots if that is an important factor to self-identification" (p. 105). Given the isolation and exclusionism experienced by some of the participants, having places to connect with other Black women (locally and nationally) may aid in retention. Institutions should become institutional about giving Black women autonomy in choosing their own professional development opportunities as mentioned by Mary Jane and Moesha.

<div align="center">

Summary

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This section presented strategies that can be used to intentionally aid in the retention of Black women administrators at PWIs in the face of various types of discrimination as described by Hall et al. (2012). Many of the participants expressed an earnest desire to connect with other Black women on campus, independent of other women or Black men. With a work force of Black women administrators of varying experiences, it would behoove institutions to include them in efforts to recruit and retain women who look like them as they are more likely to be able

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to connect on more personal and social levels. Supporting Black women administrators begins with recruitment and ends when they leave the institution, encompassing every step in between – from orientation to mentoring to positional power to room for professional growth.

Implications and Recommendations

The impetus for this project, spurred in part by personal experiences of the researcher, sought to understand the various experiences of Black women administrators on at a PWI who are not actively employed in "diversity work." Additionally, this research project desired to identify strategies to aid in mitigating the effects of intersectional discrimination specifically experienced by Black women on PWIs who do not work in diversity-, ethnic-, or culturally-centered areas. Guillory (2001), building upon Muame's (1991) work on "racialized" jobs, asserts

> this form of racial segregation in higher education keeps African Americans essentially marginalized, having little to no power within the mainstream university system. By keeping African Americans channeled into these racialized jobs, African Americans are unable to make progress up the occupational ladder (p. 119).

If institutions of higher education intend to make impactful and sincere commitments to system-wide diversity, it is imperative they begin to support Black women administrators across the entire campus, not just in the "diversity office." The targeted sample for this study revealed just how sparsely mid-level (and above) Black women administrators at Lemonade University. Given the extremely small number of potential participants who fit the sample demographic, departmental work areas were excluded as to protect the anonymity of the participants who would otherwise be almost immediately recognizable. Future studies with this targeted sample may seek to include multiple institutions in the sample to add additional protection of anonymity and the inclusion of work department setting.

Lastly, in attempting to slow attrition, institutions need to commit funding to the retention of Black women administrators and intentionally diversify recruitment pools and hiring decisions. This research offers significant insight into the experiences of mid-level (and above) Black women administrators at PWIs are often isolated from other minorities in their day-to-day activities, their coping mechanisms, strategies for retention and the enhancement of their experiences.

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BLACK FEMALE "FIRSTS" IN EDUCATION, TEACHING, AND ADMINISTRATION

The following timeline provides a synopsis of significant Black female "firsts" in education, teaching, and administration.

1793   Catherine Ferguson, considered the first Black female teacher and administrator, establishes Kathy Ferguson's School for the Poor in New York City.

1820   Sarah Douglass opens a coeducational school for Blacks in Philadelphia

1850   Lucy Sessions obtains a literary degree from Oberlin College, making her the first Black woman to earn a college degree in the United States.

1862   The Morrill Act of 1862 is enacted.

Mary Jane Patterson graduates from Oberlin, becoming the first Black woman to earn a bachelor's degree from an American college.

1865   Fanny Jackson Coppin becomes the second Black woman to earn a bachelor's degree from Oberlin.

Fanny Jackson Coppin becomes principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia.

Rebecca Lee Crumpler becomes the first and only Black woman to earn a Doctress of Medicine from the New England Female Medical College.

1866   Sarah Woodson Early becomes principal and matron as well as perceptress of English and Latin at Wilberforce University.

1867   Rebecca J. Cole earns her medical degree at the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, making her the second Black woman to become a physician.

1889   Josephine A. Silone Yates, a Black professor, serves as head of the Natural Sciences Department at Lincoln University.

1890   The Morrill Act of 1890 is passed.

1904   Mary McLeod Bethune founds the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School

for Negro Girls, which later becomes Bethune-Cookman University.

1921   Sadie Turner Mossell Alexander becomes the first Black woman to earn a PhD in

economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

1929   Jan Ellen McAlister becomes the first Black woman in the United States to earn a PhD in

education.

Lucy Diggs Slowe coordinates the first annual conference of deans and advisors to girls

in Negro schools.

1946   Dr. Willa B. Player becomes president of Bennett College.

1964   Title XI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is enacted.

1972   Title IX is enacted.

1987   Dr. Johnetta B. Cole is named president of Spelman College.

2002   Dr. Johnetta B. Cole is named president of Bennett College.

Source: Glover, M. H. (2012) Existing Pathways: A Historical Overview of Black Women in

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APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW PROTOCAL

1. How has your race affected your commitment to the field of higher education, if any? Has gender played any role? If so, how?

2. How do you first identify, as Black or as a woman? Why?

3. What role, if any, do you feel gender has played in any discrimination you have faced during your career?

4. What have you been your experiences with discrimination due to your race and gender, if any?

5. Describe the atmosphere of your current department/unit as a woman? As a Black person? As a double minority?

6. Describe a time where you have felt isolated in your department due to your race and/or gender? How did you cope with that experience?

7. According to research, discrimination in higher education occurs frequently. Scholar Patricia Hill Collins talks about the idea of "taking sides against the self" in reference to women having to choose their gender or their race. Have you ever felt forced to choose between being a "female administrator" and an "administrator of color?"

8. What are some workplace stressors you feel are uniquely experienced by Black women?

9. In what ways do you think Black women administrators who work in white racially homogenous, non-ethnic-, racial- or gender-specific spaces at PWIs can be supported? (Examples of ethnic, racial or gender specific workspaces include cultural centers, women's center, Title IX, EEO, etc.)

10. Can you recall any formal or informal institutional programs that are/were successful in supporting Black women administrators at PWIs?

11. What values are most important to you? How do you think your beliefs impact the way you lead or interact with others?

12. Do you ever feel it necessary to make an extra effort to afford women, especially women of color, who work under or with you opportunities? Do you actively seek to empower women over whom you lead? If so, in what ways?

13. What mark do you hope to leave on this institution (or wherever you eventually retire from)? What other campus-wide organizations or programs are you involved in? Are any of them gender or race specific? Did you have any leadership positions?

PATHWAYS TO HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN BLACK FEMALE ADMINISTRATOR SURVEY

What is your current position title? (Open-ended)

Indicate which best describes your current position.
Student affairs administrator
Academic affairs administrator
General Administrator

How would you classify your current position?
Executive level administrator
Director-level administrator
Mid-level administrator (need to provide examples)
Entry level administrator
Other- please specify

How long have you held this position?
Less than 5
5-10
11-15
16-20
21-25
26-30
31+

In addition to your administrative responsibilities, do you share a faculty appointment?
Yes
No (skip to question 7)
Is this appointment at your current institution?
Yes
No

Degree(s) attained (please check all that apply)
Bachelors Degree
Masters Degree
Doctorate Degree

What is your institution's name? (Open ended)
Indicate the type of institution for which you currently work.

HBCU	*PWI*
Private 4-year	Private 4-year
Public 4-year	Public 4-year
2-year	2-year

1

Did you make a conscious choice to work at this type of institution?
Yes
No

Please explain. (Did aspects of the student body, institutional mission, prestige of the institution, etc. play a role in your decision?)

Career Pathways
*How would you describe the path taken to get to your current position?
Conventional (education is in area of work; rose through faculty or staff ranks)
Unconventional (worked in positions outside higher education before current position)
Other (please specify)

*Indicate your total years of experience in higher education.
Less than 5
5-10
11-15
16-20
21-25
26-30
31+

Before deciding on higher education administration, did you try another career?
Yes
No

What other career(s) did you choose? (open ended)

2

As an administrator, please rank the following skills in order of those that are most utilized in your position.

	Highly Important	Moderately Important	Relatively Important	Not Important
Knowledge of Organizational Culture/Behavior				
Communication (oral and written)				
Leadership Skills				
Mentoring (students and other administrators)				
Presentation (conducting & developing workshops/sessions)				
Counseling Skills				
Analytical Skills				
Problem-Solving Skills				
Personal Management (skill development & time management)				
Visioning/Strategic Planning (goal-setting)				

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Are you a member of any professional organization(s) or association(s)?

Yes
No

List two organizations in which you actively participate. (please spell out organizational acronyms)

<u>Mentoring</u>
Use the scale below to rate your agreement with the following questions.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that having received mentoring has contributed to my success as an administrator.					
Mentoring other Black females is important to me.					
I feel a sense of obligation to mentor other Black females.					
I feel that mentoring other Blacks in general is important.					

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3

For the next questions, reflect on the mentoring relationship(s) that you feel was most beneficial in helping you to develop your competence as an administrator.

Have you been mentored by other administrators?
Yes
No

Please provide the following information about your mentoring relationship(s).
Race of mentor
Asian/Asian American
Black/African American
Caribbean/West Indian
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
Latino(a)/Hispanic
Native American/American Indian
White/European American

Gender of mentor
Male
Female

Length of relationship
Less than 1 year
1-3 years
4-6 years
7-9 years
10 or more years

Does your *mentor provide/discuss*? Please check all that apply.
Career advice
Appropriate professional conduct/behavior
Support for personal development
Research Publication opportunities & resources
Conference presentation/other professional opportunities
Assistance/Advice for work-related issues
Assistance/Advice for personal issues
Other (please specify)

Identify specific events which you feel influenced the development of the relationship with your *mentor*? (open-ended)

4

What skills do you feel you have gained as a result of the relationship with your *mentor*?
Knowledge of Organizational Culture/Behavior
Communication (oral and written)
Leadership Skills
Mentoring (students and other administrators)
Presentation (conducting & developing workshops/sessions)
Counseling Skills
Analytical Skills
Problem-Solving Skills
Personal Management (skill development & time management)
Visioning/Strategic Planning (goal-setting)
Other (please specify)

Summarize how your mentor has contributed to your development as an administrator. (open-ended)

For the next questions, reflect on the relationship(s) in which *you served as the mentor*.

Have you served as a mentor for other administrators or students?
Yes
No
Why?

Please provide the following for your protégé(s).
Race of protégé
Asian/Asian American
Black/African American
Caribbean/West Indian
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
Latino(a)/Hispanic
Native American/American Indian
White/European American
Gender of protégé
Male
Female
Length of relationship
Less than 1 year
1-3 years
4-6 years
7-9 years
10 or more years

5

Please provide the following for your protégé(s).
Race of protégé
Asian/Asian American
Black/African American
Caribbean/West Indian
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
Latino(a)/Hispanic
Native American/American Indian
White/European American

Gender of protégé
Male
Female

Length of relationship
Less than 1 year
1-3 years
4-6 years
7-9 years
10 or more years

Do you discuss/provide the following for your protégé? Please check all that apply.
Career advice
Appropriate professional conduct/behavior
Support for personal development
Research publication opportunities
Conference presentation/other professional opportunities
Assistance/Advice for work-related issues
Assistance/Advice for social issues
Other- please specify

What skills have you gained as a result of the relationship with your protégé? (open-ended)

Summarize your contribution to your protégé's development. (open-ended)

6

Teaching, Research & Service
How much of your work week is spent on research?
Never
Once a week
Several days per week
Daily

How much of your work week is spent on teaching?
Never
Once a week
Several days per week
Daily

How much of your work week is spent on service?
Never
Once a week
Several days per week
Daily

How much of your work week is spent on administrative responsibilities?
Never
Once a week
Several days per week
Daily

Please use the scale below to rate your agreement with the following questions.

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
My institution values service more than research or teaching in granting promotion to administrators.					
In order to be an effective administrator, conducting research is key.					
Conducting research would impede my ability to effectively do my job.					

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Are you expected to conduct research in your current position? (research assistants, financial resources, teaching release time, etc.)
Yes
No

Is this expectation documented in your job duties/position description?
Yes
No

Are you supported in your current position to conduct research? (Research assistants, financial resources, teaching release time, etc.)
Yes
No

Are you expected to teach in your current position?
Yes
No

Is this expectation documented in your job duties/position description?
Yes
No

Are you supported in your current position to teach? (financial resources, teaching assistants, class preparation time)
Yes
No

Are you supported in your current position to participate in on-campus service opportunities? (Administrative committees, Student organization advising, on-campus lectures, etc.)
Yes
No

Are you supported in your current position to participate in off-campus service opportunities? (Community organization volunteering, consulting, speaking engagements)
Yes
No

Please check all the activities in which you have participated in your career.
☐Research presentation at a conference (local, regional, national, or international)
☐Research proposal review panel for research funding source
☐Peer reviewer or Editorial Board member for professional journal
☐Participation in interdisciplinary research study
☐Evaluator in a funded research or evaluation project
☐State or national officer/board member in other professional organizations
☐Published in an Academic/Professional Journal
☐Published in an Edited/Co-Edited book, book chapter, or volume
☐Other (not listed above)_____ **8**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Black female Student Affairs Administrators are respected by faculty on my campus.					
Black female Student Affairs Administrators are respected by other administrators on my campus.					
Black female Academic Affairs administrators are respected by faculty on my campus.					
Black female Academic Affairs administrators are respected by other administrators on my campus.					
Black female Academic Affairs administrators are respected by students on my campus.					
Black female Student Affairs Administrators are respected by students on my campus.					
Black female administrators face more obstacles than their white counterparts.					

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<u>Demographics</u>

Please check the region in which you currently work or reside?
South Region
North East Region
North central Region
West Region

Indicate the academic degree(s) attained.
Degree1:
Degree 2:
Degree 3:
Degree 4:

Describe the institutions from which you received your degrees.
Associates Degree
Bachelors Degree
Masters Degree
Doctorate Degree
Professional Degree (JD/MD)

Indicate your field of study (open ended)
Indicate your age. (open-ended)
Indicate your marital status.
Single- never been married
Single
Married
Divorced (but currently single)

Do you have children?
Yes   No

9

FRAME SELECTION TOOL

Please read the characteristics (metaphors, central concepts, leadership images, leadership challenges, organizational ethics, and leadership contributions) of each of Bolman & Deal's (2013) organizational frames: *structural*, *human resources*, *political*, and *symbolic*.

After reviewing the chart below, please select the frame that best describes your *institution* **and** your *department*. If there is a *difference* in frames, please feel free to comment as to how you feel that difference affects your experience at your institution (positively or negatively).

	Structural	Human Resource	Political	Symbolic
Metaphor for Organisation	Factory or Machine	Family	Jungle	Carnival, temple, theatre
Central Concepts	Rules, roles, goals, policies, technology, environment	Needs, skills, relationships	Power, conflict, competition, organisational policies	Culture, meaning, metaphor, ritual, ceremony, stories, heroes
Image of Leadership	Social architecture	Empowerment	Advocacy	Inspiration
Basic Leadership Challenge	Attune structure to task, technology, environment	Align organisational and human needs	Develop agenda and power base	Create faith, beauty, meaning
Organisational Ethic	Excellence	Caring	Justice	Faith
Leadership Contribution	Authorship	Love	Power	Significance

The frame that best represents my **<u>institution</u>** is _____.

The frame that best represents my **<u>department</u>** is _____.

Additional comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Hi {name},

Though a vast body of research exists on Black women higher education administrators at Predominantly White Institution (PWIs), the profiles of a large portion of participants report working in an ethnic-, cultural-, racial-, or gender-specific workspace. Examples of these places include: African American Cultural Centers, International Student Cultural Centers, Women's Centers, Multicultural Affairs and so on. Given the support of working alongside other Black women and/or servicing students of color that has been outlined in current literature, this research aims to see what are the effects, if any, on Black women administrators of not having daily or limited interactions with other Black women, women in general, and other people of color.

Required qualifications for participation:

- Employment at a four-year Predominantly White Institution (PWI) in student affairs
- Hold titles similar to the following "associate director, assistant director, director, executive director, vice chancellor, chancellor" and the like.
- Work in a department/unit that is not gender-, racial-, ethnically, or culturally-centered.
  - *Examples include*: residential life/housing, first year experience, enrollment management/services, student health centers, admissions, dean of students office, academic success, financial aid, etc.

Participation is estimated at approximately 90 minutes, allotting 30 minutes for the completion of a demographic survey to be completed *before* the interview and 60 minutes for an interview. If you are willing and able to participate, send an email to asmi248@lsu.edu by Thursday, October 1, 2015. The information shared throughout this project will be kept anonymous and confidential, with all reports/writings only using pseudonyms to refer to participants.

If you have any questions about the study, I would be happy to talk with you. You may call or email me, and I hope that you will consider participating and look forward to speaking with you.

Thank you for your consideration,

Allison M. Smith

225-337-0307

asmi248@lsu.edu

Hi {name},

I would first like to thank you for agreeing to participate in the "*Black Girl Magic: How Black Women Administrators Navigate the Intersection of Race and Gender in Workspace Silos at Predominantly White Institutions*" project. I am honored to have you share your story with me.

I have attached the following documents:

- Informed Consent Form
- Black Female Administrator Survey
- Bolman & Deal's (2013) Organizational Frames – Selection Tool

Upon completion of the three attached documents, please scan and email to asmi248@lsu.edu in the next seven (**7**) days. In your email, please provide five (**5**) days/times that you would be available for a 60 minute interview. Please keep in mind the interview may be conducted via face-to-face or via Skype.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Again, thank you for your time.

Allison Smith

225-337-0307

asmi248@lsu.edu

Project Title:

Black Girl Magic: How Black Women Administrators Navigate the Intersection of Race and

Gender in Workspace Silos at Predominantly White Institutions

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research project is to determine what, if any, effects does working in a white racially homogenous workspace have on Black women higher education administrators at predominantly white institutions.

Study Procedures: The study will be conducted in two phases. In the first phase, subjects will spend approximately **30 minutes** completing a demographic questionnaire and selecting organizational frameworks for their institution and department. In the second phase, subjects will partake in an approximate **one (1) hour** interview with the investigator.

Benefits: Subjects may yield valuable information about hiring, supporting, and retaining Black women administrators in higher education who do not work in ethnic-, gender- or culturally-centered areas.

Risks: The only study risk is the inadvertent release of sensitive information which may emerge in interview transcripts. However, every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of your study records. Files will be kept in secure cabinets to which only the investigator has access.

Right to Refuse: Subjects may choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of any benefit to which they might otherwise be entitled.

Privacy: Results of the study may be published, but no names or identifying information will be included in the publication. Subject identity will remain confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

For questions, please contact: Allison Smith, at asmi248@lsu.edu or 225-337-0307.

For questions about your rights as a participant or other concerns: I can contact Dennis Landin, Institutional Review Board Chair at (225) 578-8692, irb@lsu.edu, or www.lsu.edu/irb. The physical mailing address is Louisiana State University, Institutional Review Board, 130 David Boyd Hall, Baton Rouge, LA 70803, ATTN: Elizabeth Cadarette.

The study has been discussed with me and all my questions have been answered. I may direct additional questions regarding study specifics to the investigator. I agree to participate in the study described above and acknowledge the investigator's obligation to provide me with a signed copy of this consent form.

Participant Signature:_____Date:_____

APPENDIX H
IRB APPROVAL

ACTION ON EXEMPTION APPROVAL REQUEST

LSU

Institutional Review Board
Dr. Dennis Landin, Chair
130 David Boyd Hall
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
P: 225.578.8692
F: 225.578.5983
irb@lsu.edu | lsu.edu/irb

TO: Allison Smith
Educational Leadership, Research, and Counseling

FROM: Dennis Landin
Chair, Institutional Review Board

DATE: May 6, 2015

RE: **IRB#** E9343

TITLE: Black Girl Magic: How Black Women Administrators Navigate the Intersection of Race and Gender in Workspace Silos at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)

New Protocol/Modification/Continuation: New Protocol

Review Date: 5/6/2015

Approved _____X_____ **Disapproved** _____

Approval Date: 5/6/2015 **Approval Expiration Date:** 5/5/2018
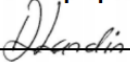
Exemption Category/Paragraph: 2a,b

Signed Consent Waived?: Yes for phone/online interviews; not for in-person

Re-review frequency: (three years unless otherwise stated)

LSU Proposal Number (if applicable): _____

Protocol Matches Scope of Work in Grant proposal: (if applicable)

By: Dennis Landin, Chairman _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING –
Continuing approval is CONDITIONAL on:
1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU's Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects*
2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.
3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.
4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.
5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants, including notification of new information that might affect consent.
6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.
7. Notification of the IRB of a serious compliance failure.
8. **SPECIAL NOTE:** Signed consent waived for phone/online interviews; not for in-person

All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU's Assurance with DHHS, DHHS (45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at http://www.lsu.edu/irb

VITA

Allison Smith is a native of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Prior to her Ph.D. journey, she earned a master's degree in public administration from Louisiana State University and a bachelor's degree in psychology from Southern University. Her research interests include the intersections of race and gender on higher education administrators.