PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF

BLACK WOMEN IN STUDENT AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION

by

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(Under the Direction of Merrily S. Dunn)

ABSTRACT

Utilizing narrative inquiry, the purpose of this study was to explore the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs, in particular the influence of racism and sexism on these experiences. Eleven Black female student affairs administrators, each with five or more years of experience overseeing at least one functional area, participated in semi-structured interviews. Four themes emerged from the data analysis: the influence of mentoring relationships on professional socialization, involvement in professional associations, institutional socialization, and salient identities.

Although Black feminist thought has identified the intersection of race and gender as comprising the key salient identities for Black women, the model of multiple dimensions of identity reveals other contextual influences to be salient as well. The study offers three implications for professional practice: the need for graduate preparation programs to explore institutional type, the importance of navigating institutional culture, and the significance of cross-cultural mentoring.

INDEX WORDS: Black women, Student affairs, Socialization, Black feminist thought, Administration, Narrative Inquiry, Model of multiple dimensions of identity

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DEDICATION

For my maternal grandmother, the late Mrs. Lillie H. Culbert, for always making sure that I "got my lesson." Nana, I have learned my lesson.

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Nothing we do, however virtuous, can be accomplished alone.

(Reinhold Neibuhr, 1952)

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INTRODUCTION

Black women often experience barriers to success when pursuing senior-level student affairs administration positions (Henry & Glenn, 2009). Systems and structures within institutions of higher education tend to advance White men while limiting advancement opportunities for women and underrepresented populations (Howard-Hamilton & Williams, 1996; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Kanter, 1993). The phenomenon of the "glass ceiling" recognizes that invisible barriers often exist that prevent underrepresented groups from advancing to leadership positions (Catalyst, 2004; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2008).

Calls for formal programs of professional socialization for women and underrepresented groups acknowledge the gender and racial bias that disadvantage these individuals as a result of institutional norms designed to meet the needs of men (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Ward & Bensimon, 2002). Black women in predominantly White institutions often find themselves to be the first of their race and gender to hold a particular position. They may therefore find few role models either to provide gateways to further opportunities or to offer professional guidance in navigating the organizational culture (Bell, 1990; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). Without such advocates, Black women may find themselves isolated from colleagues who can help them develop the necessary skills to advance into leadership positions.

In the decade from 2001 to 2011, the number of Black women in student affairs administration decreased from 15% to 10.1% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; Turrentine & Conley, 2001). Aguirre (2000) stated that Black women encounter more barriers to professional socialization than White women. Black women student affairs administrators at predominantly White institutions report encountering isolation, tokenism, marginalization, and microaggressions (Alfred, 2001; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Patton, 2009). Yet despite these challenges, there are many senior-level Black women in student affairs administration who are successful at predominantly White institutions. To understand how they achieved their success, this study investigates the professional socialization experiences of successful Black women in student affairs administration and examines how Black women navigate their work in the student affairs profession.

Despite the stated goal of many institutions of higher education to create a diverse learning community, in actuality many continue to reflect and privilege the dominant culture of the society in which they exist. Dixon (2005) argued that educational systems are designed to support the dominant culture by educating individuals to assimilate the values, traditions and beliefs of White American men. This institutional structure contributes to the challenges faced by senior-level Black women in student affairs administration.

Black women also must overcome cultural stereotypes of Black women–as Mammies, Jezebels, and Sapphires–which continue to impact their treatment in the workplace (Reynolds-Dobbs, Thomas, & Harrison, 2008). The Mammy image represents Black women as submissive and obedient, representing an idealized relationship between

Black women and the dominant culture (Walley-Jean, 2009). The hyper-sexualized Jezebel image brands Black women as immoral and promiscuous, a stereotype stemming from the sexual exploitation Black women suffered under slavery. The Sapphire, the antithesis of the Mammy image, portrays Black women as loud, rambunctious, hostile, and unfeminine.

These racial stereotypes position Black women as marginalized and powerless "Others" in relation to the dominant culture. Sulé (2009) characterizes Black women's position as oppositional, in that Black women have an awareness of being part of a marginalized group combined with a determination to resist that marginalization. According to Scheurich (1993), for members of minority groups to advance professionally they must learn the ways of the dominant group. Given Black women's marginalization, how do they successfully navigate power structures in student affairs? This study seeks to illuminate how Black women in student affairs administration make sense of their professional socialization experiences. In this study I will refer to this population as "Black" instead of "African American" to be inclusive of all women who identify themselves as part of the African Diaspora.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, I will use the following definitions:

- Black: Individuals who self-identify as African American or as people of the African Diaspora (University of Georgia, African American Cultural Center, September 2012).

- Microaggression: Brief and commonplace verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile,

derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color (Sue, 20010.

- Professional socialization: The acquisition of the knowledge, skills, and values necessary to successfully start a professional career (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001).

- Racism: An institutional arrangement maintained by formal and informal policies, practices, and procedures in which some persons typically have more or less opportunity than others, and in which such persons receive better or worse treatment than others, because of their respective racial identities (Wise, 2009).

- Sexism: Prejudice, stereotyping, or discrimination, typically against women, on the basis of sex (Edwards, 1998).

- Standpoint theory: A theoretical approach that seeks to articulate a social group's perspective about its lived experiences and to map the practices of power structures that oppress them (P.H. Collins, 2000).

- Student affairs: A composite label for a collection of functions that exist to support the academic mission of colleges and universities through the provision of student services (Nuss, 2003).

- Tokenism: A generalized personal phenomenon that results from being rare or scarce within a dominant group (Kanter, 1993.

Professional Socialization

Professional socialization refers to the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and values necessary for a successful start in a professional career (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). It is a process through which individuals become professionals, and continues

throughout a professional career. This socialization process helps professionals develop values consistent with others in their field and fosters a commitment to their chosen profession. Professional socialization has also been characterized as a gender-biased process that puts women at a disadvantage because organizational norms are generally designed to meet the needs of men (Sulé, 2009). Yet these norms and values are often so embedded in the culture of the work environment that insiders are hardly aware of bias and discrimination (Mertz, 2011). Black women student affairs administrators may encounter this unacknowledged bias when their ideas, authority, or decision-making power are challenged by colleagues, parents, or students (Baker, 2011; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Zamani, 2003).

Professional socialization entails three processes: acquiring knowledge, gaining practical experience, and adopting the values of the profession (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Successful professional socialization thus yields individuals who possess extensive knowledge of the profession, can apply the skills of the profession, and have internalized the profession's values (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Professional socialization may entail professional affiliations such as joining a professional organization, creating formal or informal networks or relationships, participating in community organizations, and developing mentoring relationships (Ehrlich, 1995).

Mentoring as a form of professional socialization may foster career advancement, personal development, and professional success. Mentors provide professionals with opportunities to learn and navigate their profession, and mentoring may create a reward structure that enhances motivation, performance, and the acquisition of knowledge (L.D. Patton, 2009). In general, mentoring relationships are critical to success for Black women

professionals and are necessary for them to break the glass ceiling (Patton & Harper, 2003), as women with mentors are more likely to be retained and to progress professionally (Henry & Glenn, 2009)

Socialization through Graduate Education

In general, the socialization of women and graduate students of color is different from the socialization of White men (Sulé, 2009; Valverde, 2003; Yakaboski & Donahoo, 2010). Black women graduate students, in general, often have difficulty finding mentors to help them build professional networks, and often experience feelings of isolation and high stress levels (Patton & Harper, 2003; L.D. Patton, 2009). They also report having to try harder and receiving less support from faculty. Turner and Thompson (1993) found that women students of color described their graduate school experience as competitive, non-collegial, and isolating. As the number of Black women in student affairs administration has declined, those who remain in the profession have either learned to navigate the profession or acquired survival skills to endure the challenges they experience. Their socialization in a graduate preparation master's or doctoral program may have been a contributing factor to their advancement in the profession.

Socialization into the Student Affairs Profession

In the student affairs profession, certain knowledge and skills are necessary for new professionals to function, persist, and advance in their position and career (Tull, 2003). It is important to identify where professional socialization occurs to understand how student affairs administrators obtain the requisite skills and knowledge. Student affairs graduate preparation programs are an important component of the professional socialization process, exposing students to the professional competencies and values that

shape the profession as well as providing them with the necessary coursework. Assistantships, internships, and practicum experiences not only allow graduate students to apply fundamental concepts learned in the classroom, but also assist them in learning the nuances, norms, and values of student affairs. Such experiences also influence graduate students' understandings of their personal values and the development of their professional values (Phelps-Tobin, 1998).

Student affairs graduate preparation programs thus play a key role in socializing student affairs professionals and familiarizing them with the norms and values of the profession (Kuk & Cuyjet, 2009). Weidman, Twale, & Stein (2001) view socialization in graduate school as the process through which "individuals gain knowledge, skill, and values necessary for successful entry into a professional career requiring an advanced level of special knowledge and skill" (p. iii). The socialization provided by graduate preparation programs reduces the stress of transitioning to a new professional role while greatly reducing the adjustment time. Graduate preparation programs equip students with essential knowledge and skills for entering the student affairs profession, enabling them to become successful job candidates and entry-level professionals.

Black Women in Student Affairs Administration

Black women in student affairs administration comprise the largest group of administrators who are women of color (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). Black women may be sought after by some predominantly White institutions to fulfill affirmative action requirements because they belong to two underrepresented groups (Holmes, 2001; Latimore, 2009). Despite this effort, however, the number of Black women working in student affairs administration is declining.

Research indicates that Black women in student affairs administration endure significant challenges in the profession (Alfred, 2001; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Holmes, 2003; Howard-Hamilton & Williams, 1996; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Zamani, 2003). This is not to imply that White women in administration do not experience marginalization; however, because of their race privilege their experiences are not shaped by the intersections of race and gender to the extent that Black women's experiences are (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009).

Black men who are student affairs administrators also experience institutional racism (Rolle, Davies, & Banning, 2000). However, Black women's dual marginalization may doubly disadvantage their careers and subject them to greater discrimination (Lindsay, 1994). Research has suggested that race is more salient than gender in influencing the professional experiences of Black women (Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Zamani, 2003). However, the concept of *situation salience* suggests that in some situations and environments, it is more salient to be a woman than it is to be Black. This is significant understanding how and if race and gender has an influence on the experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

Despite some progress, Black women continue to experience tokenism, microaggression, marginalization, isolation, and other significant challenges with the campus environment (Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Patton, 2003; Zamani, 2003). Many Black women describe these experiences as fostering an *outsider-within mentality* (P.H. Collins, 2000; Hylton, 2012). An outsider-within mentality occurs when Black women hold positions of influence yet are still on the

periphery of power by the dominant culture (P.H. Collins, 2000). As a result of this mentality, Black women are often left to their own devices when seeking professional socialization in the student affairs profession.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research study was to understand how Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experiences into the student affairs profession. More specifically, I explored how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization after working in the field for at least five years and how it influences their career advancement. Additionally, I studied how the intersection of race and gender influences Black women's professional socialization in student affairs administration. Using narrative inquiry, this study was designed to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experiences?

2. In what ways, if any, does racism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

3. In what ways, if any, does sexism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based on Abes, Jones, and McEwen's (2007) reconceptualization of the model of multiple dimensions of identity and Patricia Hill Collins' (2000) work on Black feminist thought. Combining these two approaches provided a framework for understanding of how participants perceive themselves and

their identities, how their various identities intersect, and the saliency of these identities to their socialization as student affairs administrators.

Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity

The model of multiple dimensions of identity captures the notion that identities can be understood on their own, in relation to other dimensions of identity, and in relation to contextual influences (Jones & McEwen, 2000). The salience of specific identities is relative and unique to each individual. The reconceptualized model (Abes et al., 2007) acknowledges the interaction of identity dimensions and contexts, but adds a third element: the individual's meaning making structure. In this model, the salience of identity dimensions is a function of contextual influences as they are filtered through an individual's meaning making structure. The meaning making structure thus shapes the way contextual influences are filtered and perceived.

Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought, which emerged in response to the continuing marginalization of Black women within the second wave feminist movement, focuses on the intersection of race and gender and the interests of oppressed groups, including Black women (Taylor, 1998). In contrast to traditional feminist theories, Black feminist thought seeks to illuminate the lived experiences of Black women and explore the impact of the intersections of race and gender (Henry & Glenn, 2009; P.H. Collins, 2000; Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Black feminist thought is both an epistemological and empowerment tool (Sulé, 2009), seeking to empower Black women and convey their experiences through their own voices (L.D. Patton, 2009). From an epistemological perspective, Black feminist thought asserts that there is unique knowledge among Black women

resulting from common challenges related to race and gender. As a tool of empowerment, Black feminist thought allows the voices and experiences of Black women to move from the margins to the center.

Concepts within Black feminist thought help situate the experiences of Black women in the context of race and gender. The concept of the outsider-within articulates the marginalization Black women often experience in the academy. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) defines the outsider-within as a status in which individuals gain access to opportunities and knowledge held by White people while not acquiring the full power given to White people. The individuals who acquire access to the powerful group have the qualifications to be in the powerful group; nevertheless, they are denied the full privileges afforded to group members. The outsider-within status of Black women in the academy evokes transformative promise, but can also lead to isolation and the knowledge that one's work and contributions are viewed as less valuable and less deserving of recognition than those of true insiders (Henderson, Hunter, & Hildreth, 2010).

Another concept in Black feminist thought that illuminates the experiences of Black women in the academy is the idea of Black women's standpoint. This notion highlights the experiences and ideas shared by Black women that provide a unique perspective on the self, community, and society (P.H. Collins, 2000). While there is no homogenous Black women's experience, Collins (2000) asserts that common issues and themes that emerge from living as a Black woman define a Black women's collective standpoint. These issues and themes include self-definition; historical images of Black women; and the intersection of race, class, and gender (Henderson et al., 2010). In the academy, Black women are faced with conflicting images of Black women as Mammies,

Sapphires, and Jezebels and an accompanying lack of images portraying Black women as intellectuals and productive colleagues (P.H. Collins, 2000; Henderson et al., 2010). In institutions dominated by White men, the intersection of race, class, and gender is generally either misunderstood or ignored. In these institutions, privilege is afforded to White men through individuals support, advocates, and access to information that is not granted to Black women. Additionally, discussions with White colleagues about challenges related to race, gender, and privilege are difficult to initiate or sustain because when viewed from a position of privilege, such challenges are easily dismissed (Henderson et al., 2010).

Significance of the Study

Exploring the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration is important for several reasons. First, while there has been an increase in research on Black women in student affairs administration, research on how professional socialization experiences influence Black women's career advancement remains limited (Lovelace & Rosen, 1996; Sule', 2008). Studies on professional socialization and organizational fit often fail to distinguish participants by sex and race, on the assumption that socialization has the same influence on all racial and gender groups (Lovelace & Rosen, 1996; Sulé, 2009). The intent of this study is thus to provide an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization in the student affairs profession and if racism and sexism influenced their socialization experience.

Second, although some research has explored the role of graduate preparation programs in socializing student affairs professionals, this exploration has not been as

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extensive as research focusing on college faculty socialization. Tierney (1997) discusses

how faculty members are socialized to the norms, values, and culture of the institution, in

particular through the tenure process. Faculty members must be educated on the specific

expectations for research, teaching, and service to be successful in obtaining tenure. Yet

no such formal process of professional socialization exists for Black women in student

affairs administration. This study will seek to fill the gap in understanding how Black

female student affairs administrators learn the norms, values, and culture of their

profession in the face of challenges related to their race and gender (P.H. Collins, 2000;

Holmes, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009).

Lastly, there continues to be a need to research the impact of race and gender on

the professional experiences of Black women in student affairs administration. Black

women working in student affairs encounter significant obstacles that do not confront

their White male, White female, or Black male counterparts. Because of their race and

gender, Black women often feel the need to work harder and perform better than their

colleagues.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to understand how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized in the student affairs profession, explore how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization, and examine the ways race and gender influence their professional socialization. The literature included is presented from a deficit perspective; there is a lack of literature capturing the positive experiences of Black women in student affairs administration. This draws attention to the challenges of researching the influence of race and gender on the experiences of a marginalized group. These challenges include marginalization, establishing mentoring relationships, isolation, racism, sexism, and lack of career advancement opportunities.

I begin this chapter by reviewing literature that provides the study's theoretical framework, explaining how race and gender frame this study and identify the lens through which the data will be analyzed. Next I review literature exploring how professional socialization occurs in student affairs. Finally, I discuss previous studies investigating how Black women's experiences in student affairs administration impact their professional socialization. The lack of research pertaining to professional socialization and its influence on the career advancement of Black women in student affairs administration further confirms the need for this study.

Theoretical Framework

Patton, McEwen, Rendón, and Howard-Hamilton (2007) note the importance of recognizing the multiple identities that make up an individual's persona. The *model of multiple dimensions of identity* incorporates an understanding of individuals' various identities as inseparable and provides a framework that views these identities in relation to each other (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007). This model thus provides a lens through which to understand how Black women's racial and gender identities impact their professional socialization in student affairs administration. Patricia Hill Collins' (1986, 2000) *Black feminist thought* validates the specificity of Black women's identities based on their membership in two historically marginalized groups. The following section summarizes these two theories, which provide the lenses through which to examine the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity

The model of multiple dimensions of identity illustrates the relationships between socially constructed identity dimensions such as race, sexual orientation, gender, ethnicity, and social class (Abes et al., 2007). The model acknowledges that individual dimensions of identity cannot be understood in isolation and depicts living with multiple identities as the core sense of self instead of describing multiple dimensions of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000). In doing so, the model provides a lens through which to understand how the contexts of race and gender are salient for Black women in student affairs administration and to explore how salient identity influences their professional socialization experiences.

In the model, intersecting rings illustrate various identities circulating around a core. The core represents one's sense of self, the personal characteristics and attributes of an individual (Jones, 1997; Jones & McEwen, 2000). The core is described as the inner identity or "inside self," as opposed to outside identities that can be readily be seen and named by others (Jones & McEwen, 2000). The context in which one experiences one's life surrounds the core and other identity dimensions. Contextual influences include peers, family, environment, and societal norms.

The intersection of the various identity dimensions demonstrates that they cannot be understood in isolation but must be viewed in relation to other dimensions. The concept of *salience* conveys the degree of importance a particular identity has in one's life (Vandiver, 2001). The salience of a particular dimension of identity, such as race, is fluid; it can range from low to high depending on the context. Jones and McEwen (2000) found that the salience of identity dimensions varies based on experiences of difference and of privilege; thus the salience of race was generally high among Black women and low among White women. This finding suggests that systems of privilege such as race are least recognizable to individuals who are privileged by these systems (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

The model was later revisited based on the results of a study conducted by Abes and Jones (2004), who sought to integrate the interpersonal, cognitive, and intrapersonal domains of development. The reconceptualized model (Figure 1) incorporates a meaning making capacity to describe how individuals perceive their identities, given their contextual influences (Abes et al., 2007). Meaning making provides the link between the contexts in which one's experiences occur, the salience of identity dimensions for the

individual, and the relationship between one's social identities and one's core sense of self (Abes et al., 2007).

The reconceptualized model depicts meaning making as a filter, and the thickness and permeability of that filter depends on one's meaning making capacity (Abes et al., 2007). The thickness of the filter determines how contextual influences move through it. A complex meaning-making filter would be represented as thicker with smaller grid openings, indicating a more nuanced process; a simpler filter would be thinner with wider openings, indicating less differentiation and less subtlety in the process.

Meaning-Making Filter
Depending on complexity, contextual influences pass through to different degrees

Contextual Influences, such as peers, family, norms, stereotypes, sociopolitical conditions
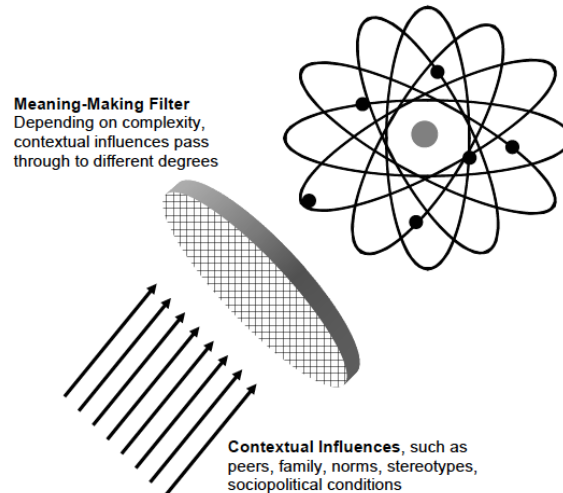
Figure 1. Reconceptualized Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity (Abes et al., 2007)

Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought (P.H. Collins, 1986; P.H. Collins, 2000) highlights the intersection of race, class, gender, and politics among Black women and provides a framework for interpreting their experiences. Black feminist thought acknowledges the experiences of Black women and brings their voices from margin to center. It thus offers

a framework for exploring the connections between race and gender as they impact the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

In exploring the intersections of race and gender, Black feminist thought illuminates the unique experiences of Black women (P.H. Collins, 2000; Henry & Glenn, 2009). Black feminist thought is premised on the empowerment of Black women and the assertion of their voices as central to understanding their experiences (L.D. Patton, 2009). The theory creates an intellectual space for the voices of Black women to be heard, with the goal of advancing knowledge of their experiences with marginalization (Harris, 2007).

An integral component of Black feminist thought is *intersectionality*, a concept to describe the ways oppressive categories such as race, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic class are interconnected (Crenshaw, 1991). Black women belong to (at least) two marginalized groups that have endured injustices based on race and gender. Intersectionality captures Black women's experiences holistically in ways that looking at race and gender separately cannot (Crenshaw, 1991). In other words, the experiences that result from being a Black woman cannot be accounted for by examining the impact of their racial and gender identities separately and adding them together. In the work environment, Black women experience tokenism, isolation, marginalization, limited opportunities for career advancement, and racism and sexism due to the intersecionality of race and gender. Studying the intersections of race and gender is necessary to analyze their lived experiences.

Black feminist thought brings the voices and experiences of Black women from the margins to the center. Black women in student affairs administration often experience

marginalization, isolation, and discrimination in their work environments as a result of their race and gender (Howard-Hamilton, 2003). While other forms of identity pertinent to Black women, such as social class and politics, are also relevant to Black feminist thought (P.H. Collins, 2000), this study will focus only on race and gender.

Themes of Black feminist thought. Three primary themes underlie Black feminist thought. The first theme suggests that Black women challenge externally defined, stereotypical images that have been used to control their behavior, replacing them with self-created images of Black womanhood (P.H. Collins, 1986). These images are the Mammy, the Jezebel, and the Sapphire (P.H. Collins, 2000). The Mammy represents the faithful, obedient servant. The Jezebel is the hypersexual and sexually aggressive Black woman. The Sapphire is the rude, loud, and brash Black woman. The lives of Black women must be constantly negotiated between internal images of self and objectified images created by the dominant culture (P.H. Collins, 2000; Giddings, 1996). Black feminist thought provides a framework through which to create a collective self-defined voice and redefine the narrative of Black women (P.H. Collins, 2000).

The second theme of Black feminist thought is the interlocking and inseparable nature of race and gender oppression. The oppression Black women experience centers on their subordinate status in either/or dualities, such as race and gender (P.H. Collins, 1986). Black women have been assigned to the inferior half of these dualities, and as a result the dominant culture has maintained the power to control their images in society (P.H. Collins, 1986, 2000). Their doubly subordinate status gives Black women a clear understanding of the nature and function of oppression. Black women are denied racial

privilege when they suffer gender discrimination and cannot draw on gender privilege when they experience racial oppression (P.H. Collins, 1986).

The third theme of Black feminist thought emphasizes the importance of the culture of Black women. Black women can redefine this culture by highlighting key areas of Black woman's experience that have not been explored due to the prevalence of negative stereotypes and controlling images (P.H. Collins, 1986; Collins, 2000 Howard-Hamilton & Williams, 1996). Black feminist thought thus points to the need for areas such as socioeconomic status, religion, age, and sexual orientation to be examined and shared from a Black woman's point of view (Howard-Hamilton & Williams, 1996).

Outsider-within. The concept of the outsider-within helps capture the experiences of Black women. P. H. Collins (2000) applied this term to "social locations or border spaces occupied by groups of unequal power" (p. 2). Outsiders-within have access to the knowledge and power held by members of the in-group but are unable to claim the knowledge, privilege, and power possessed by in-group members (Collins, 2000. The outsider-within is thus a marginalized position in which full membership and status are not experienced in or granted by a majority organization (Claybourne & Hamrick, 2007; P.H. Collins, 2000).

P.H. Collins (1986, 2000) regards Black women as ideal outsiders-within because they are marginalized by both race and gender, are able to enter several communities, yet lack the power, privilege, and knowledge afforded dominant group members. The dual perspective of the outsider-within forms the basis of Black women's standpoint. A standpoint is earned by experiencing a struggle (Collins, 2002; Harding, 2009); Black women's standpoint emerged when they became conscious of their place in society,

particularly in regard to power and oppression, and began to find a voice (Harding, 2009). Articulating their standpoint puts Black women in a position to challenge societal stereotypes and misinformation, produce knowledge about their lives and experiences, and express that knowledge in their own voices.

Black feminist thought (P.H. Collins, 2000) and the reconceptualized model of multiple dimensions of identity (Abes et al., 2007) are central to this study because they identify the meaning-making capacity and salience of identities. Eliciting the meanings Black women student affairs administrators make of their experiences illuminates how these women experience socialization in the student affairs profession. As a result of Black women's dual marginalization, it is important to determine whether Black women in student affairs administration consider one identity dimension more salient than another, and if so, which contributes more significantly to their socialization into the profession.

Professional Socialization

Socialization is the process through which people acquire the knowledge, skills, values, and habits needed to become effective members of an organization (Dunn, Rouse, & Seff, 1994; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Weidman, 1989). Tierney (1997) defined socialization by asking, "What do we need to know to survive/excel in an organization?" (p. 8). Through socialization individuals are groomed to uphold organizational norms (Dunn et al., 1994; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). Socialization is an interactive process that entails transferring culture between the student affairs profession and the individual (Collins, 2009, Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). While research on socialization primarily

focuses on new professionals, socialization is a process that spans a person's entire career (Van Maanen, 1976).

Model of Professional Socialization

Weidman, Twale, and Stein (2001) expanded Thornton and Nardi's (1975) stages of socialization to provide an interactive framework for understanding socialization. The framework depicts professional socialization as a nonlinear process and identifies elements that promote professional identity development and commitment to professional roles. In this model socialization occurs in four stages that are characterized by varying levels of knowledge acquisition, investment, involvement, and commitment.

In the *anticipatory stage* of socialization, professionals develop an understanding of the behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive expectations of their position. During this stage, individuals learn general expectations from the media, interactions with the current position holder, or others who have knowledge of what the position entails. Information gained through these sources is generalized and only helpful if it is accurate (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Anticipation builds as individuals create images of what will be expected of them and prepare for what the role will be like (Thornton & Nardi, 1975; Collins, 2009).

In the *formal stage* of socialization, new professionals become insiders to the organization as they enter their new role (Thornton, & Nardi, 1975). The new professional becomes aware of expected behaviors, attitudes, and values through formal orientation (D. Collins, 2009). In this stage, communication becomes informative and integrative as new professionals learn from senior administrators (D. Collins, 2009). It is

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important for new professionals to become proficient in their position and fulfill the official expectations of their work environment (D. Collins, 2009; Weidman et al., 2001).

In the *informal stage* of socialization, professionals learn informal expectations and develop an individual style for performing their new position. Colleagues with more experience may provide information on the culture of the work environment and how the "rules and expectations are enacted, giving the new professional the freedom to insert personal forms of expression" (D. Collins, 2009, p. 4). In this stage, new professionals begin the process of becoming more of a professional and less of a student.

In the *personal stage* of socialization professionals integrate the self and the professional role (D. Collins, 2009), merging their own needs, attitudes, and expectations with the demands of the position (Thornton & Nardi, 1975; Weidman et al., 2001). When professionals reach the personal stage, they assess what is needed to succeed in their profession.

Scholars suggest that the professional socialization process differs based on race and gender (Antony, 2002; Turner & Thompson, 1993). Professional socialization has been recognized as a gender-biased process that disadvantages woman by persuading them "to act out stereotypical female roles to gain acceptance by their predominant White male colleagues" (Ward & Bensimon, 2002, p. 431). Professional socialization can also be racially biased because it supports organizational structures and practices that favor one racial group at the expense of another (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; Sulé, 2009). Black women in student affairs administration thus face multiple challenges in becoming successfully socialized into their profession, as a result of their marginalization on the basis of both race and gender (Baker, 2011).

Challenges of Professional Socialization for

Black Women in Student Affairs Administration

Socialization in the student affairs profession centers on the capacity to establish relationships with colleagues to obtain the knowledge, values, and attitudes to become an effective administrator. However, models of socialization assume the socialization process is the same for all individuals regardless of race or gender. Literature suggests that many Black women are left to their own resources to navigate the profession (Alfred, 2001; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Lovelace & Rosen, 1996). Black women are often the first of their race and gender to serve in a senior-level student affairs administrative position (Bell, 1990; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009); as a result, they may find few role models or mentors to offer guidance on navigating the profession. In the following section I review literature that illuminates the challenges faced by Black women student affairs administrators in their process of professional socialization.

Racism

Racism is one of the barriers Black women in student affairs administration experience. For student affairs administrators of color, race plays a vital role in virtually every aspect of their career (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). The racism experienced in the work environment can have the effect of marginalizing and humiliating Black women by placing them outside the sphere of influence and power. Hinton (2001) found that Black women faculty and higher education administrators are placed at the periphery of decision-making, access to resources, and participation in departmental decisions.

Because of this marginalization, Black women administrators receive fewer promotions and earn less than their White male colleagues (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009).

Black women also experience racial exchanges known as microaggressions: subtle, common verbal and nonverbal exchanges with or targeted at people of color (Sue, 2010). Particularly frustrating for Black women is the fact that White colleagues often do not perceive these exchanges as offensive or racist (Drake-Clark, 2009). According to Bell and Nkomo (2001), White colleagues may downplay this type of incident by insisting it was a joke or mistake, or denying that the statement had anything to do with race.

Such denials of the reality of oppression and dismissals of racially offensive statements are marks of White privilege, which is often unrecognized by Whites themselves (McIntosh, 1995). According to Holmes (2003), White men and women rarely recognize their racial privilege and thus remain unaware of the racism in the systems of which they are a part. Whereas White professionals' abilities, actions, and ideas are accepted at face value, Black women are expected to prove themselves over and over again in the hope of obtaining this same respect (Latimore, 2009).

Tokenism. Rosabeth Kanter's (1977) theory of proportional representation identified tokenism as a phenomenon that results from being scarce within a dominant group, and therefore highly visible and subject to intense performance pressure. According to Kanter (1993), tokens experience three types of pressure: visibility, contrast, and assimilation. *Visibility* means tokens receive more critiques and must perform under pressure (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Kanter, 1977; Sulé, 2009). Because of this visibility the actions of tokens can never be hidden; thus tokens need to work twice as

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hard to be considered competent (Holmes, 2003). Visibility also means tokens are often incorrectly treated as representatives of the marginal group to which they belong, with their beliefs and actions seen as typical of everyone in the group.

Contrast occurs when the dominant group exaggerates marginalized group's differences (Kanter, 1977), creating divisions that isolate the marginalized group (Kanter, 1977; Newman & Smith, 1999). As a result, the dominant group views members of the marginalized group as outsiders, continually questioning their qualifications and treating them in a condescending manner. This view corresponds to the assertion within Black feminist thought that Black women are model outsiders-within because their race and gender place them on the periphery of the dominant group in multiple ways (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; P.H. Collins, 2000). As McKay (2002) states, "in White universities Black women experience the workplace as one of society's exclusive clubs to which, even though they have as much right as everyone else to be there, they will never gain full membership" (p. 21).

Finally, *assimilation* refers to the "categorization of tokens based on stereotypes" (Sulé, 2009, p. 33). Categorization by the dominant group forces tokens to behave as caricatures of who they really are (Kanter, 1977; Newman & Smith, 1999). For Black women, the caricatures and stereotypes of the Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphitre expected in the work environment are a direct reflection of the controlled images Collins (1986, 2000) refers to in her conception of Black feminist thought.

Concrete Ceilings and Walls. Women of all racial and ethnic groups can encounter a professional obstacle known as the "glass ceiling," an invisible barrier that prevents underrepresented groups from advancing to positions of power and leadership

(Dale, 2007; Dingell & Maloney, 2002; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2008; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). The glass ceiling allows women to see their aspirations but prevents them from achieving them (Latimore, 2009). The barrier Black women confront has been described as a "concrete ceiling" because concrete is impermeable, not transparent, and is difficult or impossible to break (Catalyst, 2004; Drake-Clark, 2009).

This concrete ceiling also prevents Black women from actively participating in activities that could contribute to career advancement, while the concrete wall "conceals them and their accomplishments from the organization mainstream" (Drake-Clark, 2009, p. 13). While there has been no research investigating Black women's experiences with the concrete wall in student affairs, research has focused on Black women's experience with concrete ceilings in the workplace generally (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). For Black women in the workplace, one manifestation of the concrete ceiling is exclusion from informal networks that leads to isolation.

Informal networks. Building informal networks is critical for Black women's professional socialization and for learning the profession's cultural norms. Informal networks allow colleagues to become acquainted with one another outside of the work environment. The structure of informal networks varies, but may incorporate advising about career opportunities or discussions of personal issues such as navigating organizational and campus politics (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). These interactions can foster mentoring relationships with influential leaders within the organization, who can provide resources and contacts to assist with career advancement (Latimore, 2009). Miller and Vaughan (1997) argue that informal networks are vital for Black women's success in higher education, as such networks provide exclusive access to important

information and lead to full acceptance as members of an organization (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Daniel, 1997; Drake-Clark, 2009).

The organization Catalyst (2006) studied informal networks of women of color to explore how networking strategies influenced promotion. Catalyst concluded that women of color face "double exclusion" in their work environments due to their race and gender. Bell and Nkomo's (2001) study exploring barriers to advancement experienced by Black women also found that informal networks can "serve to reinforce the dominance of White men, thereby institutionalizing inequality" (p. 153).

Isolation. Concrete walls and ceilings can create feelings of loneliness and isolation for Black women in predominantly White environments. Because Black women are often the only or the first person of color working in a predominantly White environment, they may find few or no colleagues who share their perspective as Black women (Chambers, 2003; Patitu & Hinton, 2003). In addition to being excluded from social networks, Black women may also feel isolation during meetings with colleagues. For example, Black women report feeling isolated when they contribute an idea that is dismissed or ignored, only to hear the same idea later expressed by a White colleague and accepted by their colleagues (Barrett, Cervero, & Johnson-Bailey, 2003; Catalyst, 2001).

Feelings of isolation and loneliness can have adverse effects on Black women. Isolation can lead to stress, particularly when coupled with other barriers such as microaggressions and tokenism, which can ultimately result in burnout (Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Over time, Black women's personal lives may also be affected (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Time spent with family and friends may decrease as the challenges of working in a White-dominated environment increase. Isolation may cause

Black women to be insecure when communicating with colleagues because they feel voiceless and invisible. As a result of the lack of support they receive in facing these challenges, Black women may become mistrustful of their colleagues and their institution, further hindering career advancement.

Mentoring

Mentoring is a training and socialization method for potential leaders in organizations (Bova, 2000). It provides opportunities to learn about organizational culture in a personalized manner and to acquire skills by observing the mentor. The value of the mentor-mentee relationship is twofold: The mentee receives guidance from the mentor and the mentor ensures that the mentee is socialized into the norms of the organizational culture (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Penny & Gaillard, 2006).

For Black women pursuing a career in student affairs, mentoring is of the utmost importance. Mentors can provide their mentees with opportunities to learn and practice professional skills and can offer rewards that enhance knowledge, performance, and motivation (L.D. Patton, 2009). Crawford and Smith (2005) and Tull, Hirt, and Saunders (2009) identified mentoring as a factor leading to upward mobility in employment, success in education, and personal development. Mentorship may be the single most important factor in the career development of administrators (Crawford & Smith, 2005).

However, establishing a professional mentoring relationship is a challenge for Black women both in graduate school and in their professional careers. Black female graduate students are less likely than Black male graduate students to have mentors (Blackwell, 1983; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). As graduate students, Black women are often forced to seek and build mentoring relationships with women outside the

university through family, church, or community organizations (Patton & Harper, 2003). While these outlets are important because they allow Black women's voices to be heard and their issues to be a priority, they cannot provide the professional skill development and role modeling behavior that a professional mentor can provide (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Patton & Harper, 2003).

Black women graduate students report that interactions with White professors often make them feel ignored and invisible (Patton & Harper, 2003). For Black faculty, mentoring Black graduate students can be time-consuming and those who serve as mentors for too many students do so at the risk of reducing career advancement, publishing, and research opportunities (L.D. Patton, 2009). Crawford and Smith (2005) found that Black women administrators often focus their energies on job searching, pursuing graduate degrees, and working longer hours than required, in the hope that these actions will be noticed and help advance their careers. With little guidance or direction from mentors, they may lack knowledge of the institution's values and norms, and lack access to key individuals who could support them within the campus environment (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Penny and Gaillard (2006) noted that in addition to fostering leadership skills, professional mentors teach political and professional skills to help navigate the work environment.

Black women in student affairs administration often seek support outside the profession, identifying supportive networks comprised of colleagues who can understand their personal and professional perspectives (Patton & Harper, 2003). Some may seek the support of Black women faculty or Black women administrators in functional areas outside their own department (Henry & Glenn, 2009). Many Black women in student

affairs administration seek mentoring relationships outside their campuses through professional organizations. This outlet provides opportunities to interact with other Black women who are highly regarded in the profession, confirms that success in the field is attainable, and offers a forum in which to exchange ideas related to personal and professional development (Henry, 2009; Patton & Harper, 2003).

Other sources of mentoring relationships outside of academia include informal networks provided by family members and community-based organizations. Black women in Crawford and Smith's (2005) study reported that mentoring and support from family members helped them attain education professional goals, learn life lessons, cultivate self-worth, remember their roots, and learn humility and independence. Similarly, Thomas (2004) and Wilson (2004) found in their studies on career advancement that family and other external support systems are vital to Black women's career success.

Membership in civic and social organizations, specifically one of the four national Black sororities, offers another key source of mentoring, networking, and support. Patton and Harper (2003) argue that two of the benefits of sorority membership are connecting with other Black women who can serve as mentors and networking with other successful Black women. Bova (2000) found that sorority membership provides the emotional support that is rarely available in the workplace.

Cross-cultural mentoring. When Black women seek mentors, their ideal is often to find another Black woman who can relate to their experiences firsthand and offer a deeper understanding of issues facing Black women in the academy (L.D. Patton, 2009). However, Black women often find that they are the first, or one of the few, of their race

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and gender in their student affairs division (Sule', 2009). Moreover, given the declining

number of Black women in student affairs administration, it is not possible for every

Black woman administrator to be mentored by another Black woman (Jones & Dawkins,

2012). Cross-cultural mentoring therefore presents another option for Black women in

student affairs administration to consider.

Bova's (2000) research on the mentoring relationships of professional Black

women found that mentors and mentees learned a lot from one another; this was

especially true when White men mentored Black women. The study identified increased

self-awareness, confrontation of stereotypes, and enhanced cultural knowledge as some

of the benefits of cross-cultural mentoring relationships. L.D. Patton's (2009) study on

the mentoring experiences of Black women in graduate school found that participants

who had experiences with White mentors described both positive and negative

interactions. For a majority of the participants, their White mentors served as valuable

resources for career development. The challenge of having a White mentor was the

reluctance to trust their mentor. Participants feared that a mentor of a different race would

not understand their struggles, fears, and failures, and that sharing their personal side

would reinforce negative perceptions.

Clark Hine (1995) describes this dynamic as a "culture of dissemblance," in

which "the behavior and attitudes of Black women that creates the appearance of

openness and disclosure . . . actually shields the truth and their inner lives and selves

from their oppressors" (p. 380). One participant in the study conducted by Patton (2009)

reported that she felt uncomfortable sharing her true self, specifically her personal

struggles, with her White male mentor because she believed he would be unable to relate

to her experiences as a Black woman. Because of this, she always portrayed an image of being okay and not having any problems. Another participant spoke of her experiences with her White female mentor, noting that while gender was less of an issue in their mentoring relationship, her mentor often underplayed the importance of race. Nevertheless, she learned from her mentor the lesson that in the work environment, your race or gender need not be a factor if you know how to do your job and do it well. She found this helpful and appreciated hearing her mentor's different perspective.

Double Jeopardy: The Salience of Race and Gender

The phrase *double jeopardy* captures the pressures and expectations created when an individual belongs to two marginalized groups. Black women have a distinctive position due to the history of racism and sexism they have experienced (P.H. Collins, 2000; Harley, 2008). Race and gender are the two leading factors contributing to the obstacles Black women confront in student affairs administration (Watson, 2001). For Black women at predominantly White institutions, these barriers include tokenism, feelings of isolation, and racism. For Black women working in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), while race may still be an issue, gender inequities are a key factor in creating the concrete walls and ceilings that prevent them from obtaining key administrative positions. As a result of these barriers, Black women in student affairs are constantly conscious of their racial and gender identities (Settles, 2006).

The question remains, however, whether race or gender plays a greater role in shaping Black women's experiences in higher education. Because of the double oppression of being Black and a woman, Black women "stand at the rear of the line behind White men, White women, and Black men" (Latimore, 2009, p. 25). Patitu and

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Hinton (2003) explored the experiences of Black women administrators regarding salary, affirmative action, racism, sexism, and campus climate. They found that Black women administrators in higher education considered race to be a greater factor in oppression than gender, and cited race as more salient when seeking promotions. One participant stated that being a woman was less threatening than being Black. However, another participant's experience with institutional sexism was expressed when a vice president would only communicate with her through her assistant, who was a Black man.

The salience of racial and gender identity may also be contingent on context (Settles, 2006), as some situations make certain identities more salient than others. For example, race may be most salient for a Black woman in an environment of White women. As Settles explains:

> Politically, there has sometimes been a tension between the goals of Black people and women as groups, which leads to the possibility that individual Black women will feel torn between the potentially conflicting ideas, beliefs, and aims of the social and political groups that claim to represent women and those that claim to represent Blacks.

As illustrated in Abes, Jones, and McEwen's (2007) model of multiple dimensions of identity, the identity that is most salient to the individual is dependent on the contextual influence. The model provides a lens for understanding Black women's perceptions of their own identities and their process of determining the salience of various components of those identities.

Summary

This chapter examined previous research relevant to professional socialization, Black women's socialization in the student affairs profession, and the saliency of race and gender in the work environment. While research on Black women in student affairs and socialization in the student affairs profession is increasing, research on the role of race and gender in professional socialization and how Black women are socialized into the student affairs profession remains scarce. This study investigates how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized in the profession, how they experience this professional socialization, and how race and gender influence the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs administration.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The research study seeks to understand how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized in the student affairs profession, explore how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization, and examine how race and gender influence their experiences with professional socialization. The theoretical framework underlying this study incorporates the reconceptualized model of multiple dimensions of identity (Abes et al., 2007) and Black feminist thought (P.H. Collins, 1986, 2000). The reconceptualized model of multiple dimensions of identity provides a lens through which to examine the contexts in which race and gender are salient for Black women in student affairs administration. Black feminist thought illuminates the influence of the intersections of race and gender on the experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

Ladson-Billings (2003) defined epistemology as a "system of knowing that has both an internal logic and external validity" (p. 399). With this in mind, my approach to this study and its participants is guided by social constructivism. Created by Lev Vygotsky, social constructivism emphasizes the social context of learning and focuses on the way learning takes place through social interaction (Crotty, 1998). Social constructivism argues individuals construct meaning through interacting with the world and individuals make sense of their interaction with the world based on their historical and social perspective (Crotty, 1998). From the perspective of social constructivism,

researchers and participants in a research study work together as equals to co-construct knowledge, rather than privileging the insights of the researcher over those of the participants. This epistemology is fitting for a study grounded in Black feminist thought as it validates and respects the perspectives and experiences of the Black women participants, positioning them as co-creators of knowledge (Collins, 2000).

This study grew out of an exploratory study I conducted to investigate the decline of Black women in student affairs administration (Baker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2011). The purpose of that study was to examine why Black women were leaving the profession at an alarming rate, using Black feminist thought to explore how the intersections of race and gender affected their experiences. The study found that difficulty finding professional mentors, marginalization, competition with other Black women in student affairs administration, racial and gender microaggressions, and unsupportive campus environments all contributed to the declining number of Black women in student affairs. In light of these findings, I began to contemplate the factors that contribute to Black women *remaining* in the student affairs profession.

The current study draws on Black feminist thought and the reconceptualized model of multiple dimensions of identity to explore how participants experience professional socialization in the context of race and gender and to investigate the saliency of these identities for this process. The following research questions will guide the study:

1. How do Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experience?

2. In what ways, if any, does racism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

3. In what ways, if any, does sexism influence the professional socialization

    experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

This chapter will outline the research design for this study, including the rationale for

choosing the research methods, method of data collection, sampling strategy, and

approach to data analysis; discuss the study's trustworthiness and limitations; and present

the subjectivity statement.

Design of the Study

This study explored the professional socialization experiences of Black women in

student affairs administration. The study provided participants with an opportunity to

express their perspectives on the influence of race and gender on their success and

resiliency in student affairs administration and to identify the factors that have

contributed to their professional success. The research design most appropriate for this

study was narrative inquiry.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry focuses on participants' experiences and quality of life

(Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) define narrative inquiry as

"a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and

participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with

milieus." (p. 20). Narrative inquiry elicits individuals' accounts of personal experiences

in story form for the researcher to use as data. It thus allows participants to tell their own

stories, with the meanings negotiated between the participant and the researcher (Casey,

1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Within the feminist movement, for example,

personal narratives were used to enable formerly silenced voices to be heard and to

challenge deficit notions of history, culture, and society (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Johnson-Bailey (2004) affirmed that narrative is a trustworthy way of giving voice to participants, specifically women of color. Narrative inquiry is also a trusted method of giving voice to participants, which is essential to Black feminist thought. For this study, both narrative inquiry and Black feminist thought have a purpose of bringing the voices of Black women and their experiences with professional socialization from the margin to center and understand the context in which race and gender is salient. This study will use narrative inquiry to understand how participants' make meaning of their experiences working in student affairs administration.

The participants' narratives provide windows into their experiences in the workplace and insight into the collective standpoint of Black women in student affairs administration. Black feminist thought validates Black women's experiences with the intersectionality of race and gender and their resulting marginalization. Narrative inquiry is closely aligned with Black feminist thought because both approaches aim to bring the voices and experiences of Black women from the margins to the center (Johnson-Bailey, 2004). Additionally, narrative inquiry provides a platform for Black women to discuss their professional lives and their ability to contribute to the student affairs profession despite experiencing marginalization, concrete ceilings, and tokenism (Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Zamani, 2003).

Participants

Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend purposeful sampling to maximize understanding, or to. seek information-rich cases to learn about the issues that are central to the purpose of the research. For this narrative inquiry, I used purposeful sampling to

identify participants who met the criteria for the study. The strength of purposeful

sampling lies in its strategic selection of information-rich cases to gain in-depth

understanding of the research topic (Patton, 2002), while eliminating individuals who do

not meet the study criteria. Eleven participants were selected to participate in the study.

This sample size was appropriate to obtain enough descriptive data to form a collective

story (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

     For this study, each participant had to identify as 1) Black, 2) a woman, and 3) a

student affairs administrator; 4) have at least five years of professional work experience

in student affairs administration; and 5) have graduated from a student affairs graduate

preparation program. Additionally, each participant had to be responsible for providing

leadership and oversight of at least one functional area within student affairs. According

the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS), "Leaders with

organizational authority for the programs and services must provide strategic planning,

supervision, and management; advance the organization; and maintain integrity" (2012,

p. 31). Participants with these responsibilities were deemed best able to provide insight

into the professional socialization process in student affairs administration and its

influence on their careers.

     To begin the process of identifying participants, I contacted colleagues who know

Black women in student affairs administration who met the criteria for this study. This

method was useful for selecting participants who are identified by key individuals as

important cases (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The identified participants received an

electronic email communication outlining the purpose of the study and requesting their

participation (see Appendix A). Once an individual agreed to participate, I followed up

via email to arrange an interview time, date, and location. Because colleagues referred some participants who did not reside locally, interviews with these participants occurred over the phone and recorded using GoogleVoice. For the interviews that took place in person, a mutually agreed upon location was selected to conduct the interview. Participants were asked to complete an informed consent form and return it with their signature, indicating that they understood the study's purpose along with the risks and benefits of participating in the study.

Listed below is a brief biography of each participant. The names of all participants, institutions, and position titles have been changed to protect participants' confidentiality.

- Irene is currently the Associate Dean of Students at Barnett University. She oversees judicial education, summer camp programs, leadership development, assessment and crisis management.

- Cindy serves as the Associate Vice President for Enrollment Management and Student Development and the Dean of Students at Woodson University. She has over 16 years of experience working in student affairs.

- Shannon is originally from North Carolina and holds a Bachelor of Arts in English with a concentration in theatre and a Master of Arts in Student Affairs in Higher Education. Currently, she is the Assistant Dean of Students for Multicultural Affairs at Rider College.

- Leslie has been the Dean of Students at Dyson College since 2011. Before arriving at the all-women's HBCU, she worked at several public and private institutions in the Midwest.

- Megan serves as Southeast State University's Assistant Vice Chancellor for Student Life. Megan is also active in the student affairs professional community, serving in leadership positions in regional and national student affairs professional organizations.

- A native of South Carolina, Tracie has worked in North Carolina and is presently the Director of Multicultural Student Life at Salem State College.

- After working in the banking industry, Dawn began her career in student affairs at Steward University. Over the past 10 years she has worked at several institutions and is now the Executive Director of the Multicultural Center at Powell University.

- After training as a counseling psychologist, Sasha has made student affairs her chosen profession. She is currently the Assistant Vice President for Wellness for Student Affairs at Russell State University.

- Margaret has over 20 years of experience working in student affairs. She has held positions overseeing several functional areas including multicultural affairs, LGBTQ student services, assessment, and counseling. She serves as the Associate Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs at Hilltop University.

- Denise considers herself to be a student affairs generalist, having worked in residence life, multicultural services, and student activities. She is the Dean of Students at Wayland State University.

- Katherine has had a significant impact on the lives of countless students during her 25-year career in student affairs. She continues to influence

students at Northern Technical University as the Associate Dean of

Students/Director of Diversity Programs.

Data Collection

Because this study sought to understand how professional socialization influences

the careers of Black women in student affairs administration, the best way to examine

their experience was by conducting interviews. Using narrative inquiry, the goal of the

interviews was to construct a vivid picture from the words and experiences of each

participant (deMarrais, 2004). Interviewing provided in-depth knowledge about the

participants' careers based on their personal accounts and stories.

I used semi-structured interviews for this study. Semi-structured interviews

contain a combination of structured questions designed to elicit specific information and

loosely structured questions to allow for flexibility in the questioning (Merriam &

Associates, 2002). Semi-structured interviews foster rapport between the interviewer and

participant, increase the validity of findings by inviting participants to provide depth and

detail, and allow for clarification and discussion of complex answers through the use of

probing questions (Maxwell, 2005).

I created an interview guide outlining the questions used in the interview (see

Appendix B). The interview guide was beneficial because it guaranteed the collection of

comprehensive data, ensured consistency for all participants, and supported the

conversational nature of the interviews. The interview guide also allowed for flexibility

should the conversation stray from the guide (Bernard, 1988).

Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) four directions of inquiry were used to guide

question development. The four directions include inward, outward, backward, and

forward. *Inward* designates internal influences such as feelings, emotions, and motivations. Asking participants "Have you experienced feelings of isolation in your career?" addresses the inward inquiry. *Outward* refers to external conditions such as environmental factors. An example of an outwardly directed inquiry is, "In the work environment, which dimension (race, gender) of your identity is most salient?" *Backward* and *forward* refer to looking at the past, present, and future. The backward direction of inquiry is present in the question, "What inspired you to pursue a career in student affairs?" An example of forward inquiry asks participants, "Do you expect to remain in the student affairs profession for the next five years?" Asking participants to reflect inward on how race and gender have influenced their socialization into student affairs, outward on the student affairs profession itself, and backward and forward on their career path will help the researcher understand each participant's experiences with professional socialization into student affairs.

Each interview was recorded with a digital audio recorder. A second digital audio recorder was used as a back-up method to record the interview. Interviews with participants who did not reside locally were conducted using Google Voice, a voice-over Internet protocol (VOIP). Google Voice is considered a private online environment because the interviewer and interviewee are the only participants and each must have their own login identification and password to participate (Salmons, 2010). The advantage of using Google Voice to collect data is that it allows interviews to be conducted online. By recording the interview rather than trying to take notes, I was able to give my full attention to the participant while the complete interview was captured for future reference (Glesne, 2006). A copy of each interview was saved on a hard drive,

where it will be kept for one year after the date of the interview. Interviews conducted using Google Voice were also saved online.

Each interview lasted a minimum of 60 minutes and no longer than 90 minutes. During the period of time in which the interviews were conducted I kept a research journal containing field notes, reflections on each interview, and questions and topics for further exploration. Each interview began with introductions of the interviewer and the participant. I then provided an overview of the study, reviewed the consent form with the participant, and asked the participant if they wished to proceed with the interview. If the participant wanted to continue, I begin recording the interview.

An interview protocol (Appendix B) guided the interview process. Rapport-building questions were asked at the beginning of the interview to build a level of comfort between the participant and myself. Following these opening questions, I began asking questions according to the interview guide. While the interview guide provided a framework for interview, follow-up questions were also asked. After exploring the participant's experience with professional socialization, the participant had an opportunity to add any additional comments.

Upon the completion of each interview, I transcribed the interview verbatim. Transcription allows thorough examination of what is said during an interview and helps minimize the influence of bias and preconceptions held by the researcher (Heritage, 1984). Interview transcription was done following each interview as opposed to waiting until after all the interviews were completed. This allowed me to be aware of emerging themes from the data that might require follow-up interviews (Heritage, 1988).

Data Analysis

Upon completing the member checks with the participants, I analyzed the transcribed interviews to identify the connections between the participants' narratives. After each interview, the data was organized by creating a file folder for each participant containing their digital audio recorded interview and typed transcript. Because the intent of this study was to bring the participants' voices from margin to center, the data was analyzed to create a narrative for each participant. These narratives were integral for capturing the participants' descriptions of their experience with professional socialization and the ways race and gender have influenced their professional socialization.

The holistic-content perspective offers the most appropriate approach for this analysis. Outlined by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zibler (1998), this mode of analysis involves focusing on the events the participants discuss to identify links across their stories. This analysis was carried out with the data collected from each participant until a theme or pattern related to all the participants emerged.

The process of constructing the participants' narratives was carried out in five stages. The first stage had no clear direction, although attention was given to aspects of each participant's story that connected to the context of the study. I read the transcribed interviews numerous times, until the focus of each participant's story that related to the purpose of the study emerged. In the second stage I noted initial impressions such as contradictions and moments of disharmony or clarity. For example, several participants indicated that having a mentor of color was important but also stated that having a White male mentor was essential to career advancement.

In the third stage, I decided on the foci of content or themes to follow as the story evolved. A *theme* is indicated by its repetitive nature and the amount of detail provided by the participant. For the purposes of this study, professional socialization was the main interest. Therefore, themes focusing on what influenced the participant's professional socialization into student affairs administration were noted. The fourth stage involved marking the various themes found in the story. Lieblich et al. (1998) suggest highlighting transcripts to note significant themes and the frequency of their occurrence. Each interview transcript was highlighted using different colors to indicate particular patterns that emerged in the data. For example, text highlighted in pink indicated sections of the interview relating to the participant's experience with mentoring.

The final stage involved following each theme throughout the story and identifying where themes appear, the context for each theme, and each theme's salience in the text. Mentoring was a significant theme throughout the participants' interviews. Immediately following each participant's narrative I constructed an analysis of each narrative, connecting the participant's experience with professional socialization to the theoretical framework for the study. This data analysis process provided an understanding of how the participants make meaning of their experiences with professional socialization and how salient race and gender are in these experiences.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is one of the main issues in conducting qualitative research. Trustworthiness allows the researcher to validate the findings from the study (Riessman, 1993). A trustworthy study clearly outlines the research process and indicates how the researcher accounts for assumptions (Butler-Kisber, 2010). In establishing

trustworthiness, it is useful to have perspectives from others who know and understand the context of the study. For this study, instituting member checks; utilizing peer review; and providing thick, rich descriptions through the participants' narratives established trustworthiness.

Conducting member checks is a common strategy used to ensure validity in qualitative research. Member checks allow the participants to review the data and make comments on the researchers' interpretations (Merriam & Associates, 2002). After transcribing the interviews, I emailed participants a copy of their interview transcript. I asked participants to add further thoughts and clarify their answers as needed. The participants then provided feedback on the plausibility of the data by noting whether they were able to recognize their experiences in my interpretation. During this process, I remained open to applying the participants' suggestions to better express their perspective.

In addition, my dissertation committee and several fellow doctoral students who are familiar with the context of the study and its data collection methods conducted peer reviews. This process allows peers to review the data to determine whether proper data collection and analysis methods were used and to check for accuracy. Finally, providing thick, rich descriptions allows readers to determine how closely their own experiences relate to those of the participants (Merriam & Associates, 2002). Moreover, thick, rich descriptions lend themselves to determining transferability, or whether the findings from the study can be generalized and transferred to other contexts.

Ethical Considerations

When conducting interviews in qualitative research, it is important to consider ethical issues to protect participants from harm. Prior to collecting data, paperwork outlining the study was submitted to the Institutional Review Board. Once the study was approved, initial contact was made with participants. After confirming their participation in the study, all participants received a consent form via email (See Appendix C). Participants who were interviewed in person gave the signed consent form to me in person prior to beginning the interview. Participants who were interviewed over the phone were asked to provide verbal consent before the interview began.

Informed consent protocol addresses issues related to the interview including the purpose of collecting information, how the information will be used, what topics will be covered during the interview, and potential risks and benefits of participating in the study. Confidentiality requires protecting the identities of the participants. Participants had the opportunity to choose a pseudonym to conceal their identity. In addition to using pseudonyms for participant names, pseudonyms for the participants' institutions and position titles were also used. The selected pseudonyms were used in all data collected and information pertaining to the study to ensure the participants' confidentiality. Additionally, the digitally recorded interviews were saved on a hard drive and all participant files were saved under each participant's pseudonym.

Limitations

Identifying the limitations of a study helps clarify the data and guides readers in interpreting a study's findings (Glesne, 2006). One limitation to consider was knowing some of the participants. Another limitation was the lack of geographical proximity to

some of the participants, requiring a remote interview. While Google Voice was used to

interview participants remotely, this changed the dynamics of these interviews by

preventing me from acknowledging social cues. Another limitation of using Google

Voice is that some participants may not have been entirely familiar with or comfortable

using the application, which may have altered the interview dynamics, especially in

comparison to those who participated in face-to-face interviews. A final limitation to

consider was researcher bias. My position as a Black woman in student affairs

administration interviewing other Black women in student affairs administration

undoubtedly shaped the findings I considered most relevant as well as the framing and

communication of my conclusions (Malterud, 2001).

Subjectivity Statement

To reduce bias, researchers must acknowledge their subjectivity in the research

design (Maxwell, 2005). After my previous exploratory study (Baker, 2011) revealed

reasons why Black women were leaving the student affairs profession, I became intrigued

with the question of what motivated Black women to remain student affairs

administrators. This interest, along with my personal challenges with professional

socialization, led me to undertake the current study.

As a Black woman in student affairs administration, I have experienced

marginalization, microaggressions, and challenges with mentoring and unsupportive

campus environments. My first professional position was at a large land grant institution

in the South. In my department of 32 staff members, I was the only woman of color and

one of only two staff members of color. It was a common occurrence to feel

marginalized, especially during staff meetings. During full staff meetings, everyone was

expected to provide updates pertaining to their area. However, on several occasions the director skipped me and asked my administrative assistant to provide the update for our area, even though I was sitting right next to her.

Other times I would offer feedback or propose an idea during a meeting and it would be disregarded by my colleagues, but later the same idea–mentioned by one of my White colleagues–was lauded and accepted. At this same institution, I made a connection with the director of another department. I sensed that because she was a Black woman student affairs administrator in a mid-level management position, she would be able to provide insight on my career development and possibly serve as a mentor. We decided to meet to discuss the type of mentoring relationship I wanted and to determine whether she was in a position to assist me. As I explained my career aspirations, she interrupted me and asked my reasons for wanting her as a mentor and whether my true intentions were to eventually take her job. Taking her job was the furthest thought from my mind. It had never occurred to me that someone in her position would feel threatened by a new professional in the field.

Despite these challenges, I have continued to work in this profession. However, I consider myself to be at a professional crossroads because the previous study led me to question whether, given these challenges, it is worth continuing in the profession. Because I aspire to serve in a senior leadership role in student affairs, I am left with the following questions: How have Black women who hold senior leadership positions in student affairs administration endured similar challenges? What influenced their career trajectory? Most literature on Black women student affairs administrators identifies mentoring as the most critical factor in their career development. However, given the

findings of my previous study (Baker, 2011), it takes more than mentoring to become successfully socialized into the field.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of this narrative inquiry was to examine how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized into the student affairs profession. More specifically, narratives were used to explore how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization and how it influences their career advancement. Additionally, I studied how racism and sexism influence the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs administration. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How do Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experiences?

2. In what ways, if any, does racism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

3. In what ways, if any, does sexism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven women who self-identified as Black and had at least five years of professional experience in student affairs. To protect their identity, each participant selected a pseudonym and the names of their institutions and positions were changed. This chapter provides a narrative describing each participant's experience with professional socialization and how racism and sexism

influenced their socialization as Black women in student affairs administration. Each narrative highlights the most significant experiences for each participant.

Before presenting each participant's narrative, I will provide my own reflection on each participant's interview. A self-reflective researcher journal was kept during the data collection process. Researchers use journals to examine assumptions and goals (Ortlipp, 2008). Because I was the main research instrument used in the data collection process, the journal provided an opportunity to be transparent and acknowledge biases, such as having professional relationships with some of the participants prior to data collection.

Each narrative includes major themes that emerged from the participants' stories, such as the impact of mentoring relationships and the influence of the campus environment on the salient identities of the participant and on their mentoring relationships. Following each participant's narrative I provide a summary, highlighting significant themes from the narrative and identifying how these themes align with the theoretical frameworks for the study. These frameworks include the model of multiple dimensions of identity (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007), which identifies factors such as contextual influences on identity, and Black feminist thought (Collins, 2000), which focuses on the intersection of race and gender as salient identities for Black women.

Irene

I was very excited that Irene was my first participant to interview. My previous interactions with her have always been pleasant and when I'm around her, I find myself getting excited because her energy is contagious. When I began recruiting participants,

she was the first to respond. Within a matter of minutes we had a date, time, and location for the interview.

After our meeting, I relayed to Irene that her interview set the bar for the rest of my interviews. She was charismatic and poised. I was immediately drawn to her and couldn't wait for her to delve deeper into her background, experiences with socialization, and perceptions of how her race and gender have influenced her experiences. It was clear that Irene has been very intentional in taking advantage of every professional opportunity presented to her. Prior to beginning the interview, she told me she might have to step out to meet with the Vice President for Student Affairs and General Counsel regarding a policy change she's implementing. While this possible interruption was looming, however, she stayed committed to the interview.

Irene's Professional Story

Like many student affairs administrators, Irene was inspired to pursue a career in student affairs during her undergraduate experience. She was a work-study student in the campus activities office, and this exposure to the profession led to her interest in pursuing a career in student affairs. Irene went on to earn her Master of Education degree, where she had an assistantship with career services. Because the institution had a career services center in one of the residence halls, Irene was also exposed to the residential life component of student affairs. But it was not until her first professional position at a two-year agricultural community college that Irene became fully engaged in student affairs.

After serving in this position for two years, Irene accepted a position at Trinity State University, a historically Black university (HBCU), as the Assistant Director for the counseling center. Having attended an HBCU as an undergraduate and working at an

HBCU, Irene felt that race and gender were not issues in the HBCU campus environment. Irene explained:

It didn't matter on the Black campus. What mattered on those particular campuses were who has been there the longest and the "this is how we've always done it." I was a transplant at Trinity State and so it's always hard to suggest something new when you've always done it a certain way because you've worked there 15, 20 years. And then you have somebody new and young come in and say, "Maybe we should do this and maybe we should consider that" and so . . . I think from that standpoint, longevity counted more at the HBCU than the fact that I was among people of the same race and same color. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

Dr. Martin, the Vice President for Student Affairs at Trinity State, became Irene's most supportive advocate and has become her mentor. She considers him to be one of the most influential and supportive mentors in her career. With a reflective smile on her face, Irene described her relationship with Dr. Martin:

He has always been a part of my life and someone who I have deferred to when I have had questions throughout my career. He's probably been the one constant person in my life that I've always gone to. He gave me an opportunity to excel professionally while I worked under him and just allowed me to be exposed and really pushed me . . . pushed me to the next level and also supported me wanting to go on and do things in a different campus environment. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

While working at Trinity State, Irene was nominated to attend a week-long professional development workshop co-sponsored by a national and regional student

affairs professional association. During the workshop she was matched with Dr. Sawyer as her faculty mentor. Dr. Sawyer was able to impart the skills Irene needed to develop to advance her career. Irene recalled:

> It was during the workshop that I really, really desired to advance and I determined that I wanted to be a Vice President for Student Affairs. I came back having reflected upon all of the knowledge that I obtained and received specific advice about things I needed to do to build myself professionally. Dr. Sawyer told me I needed budgeting experience. So, I had to figure out how I could oversee and monitor a budget. I was told, "You know what, you're going to need to get your PhD." And then she told me that I probably needed to figure out how to get supervisory experience as well. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

When Irene returned to Trinity, she submitted a grant for the alcohol and drug education program she advised. She was awarded the grant and was named the project director, giving her the responsibility of overseeing a $60,000 budget. In addition, as a result of her persistence and tenacity Irene was promoted to Director of Student Life, where she was responsible for leadership development.

In addition to advising her on the skills she needed to advance in the profession, Dr. Sawyer also provided insight on handling the work-life balance. Irene often thought it would be difficult to have a family while working in student affairs because of the unpredictable hours. Irene was determined to receive a promotion and would frequently work extra hours in the office and attend events outside of work hours. However, Dr. Sawyer changed her entire perspective. Irene recalled Dr. Sawyer's advice:

I remember her coming to an event late because she had something with her daughter and when she got there she said--and I don't think she apologized for it-- she just wanted to articulate her reason for being late. It was an event with her daughter. I don't know if it was a ballet, dance or some type of recital or school function or event but it was important for her to be there for her daughter. And you know what she said to me? And I reminded her of this when I saw her a month ago. She said, "You always need to take time for your family. The profession will be there. The work will always be here. But you need to prioritize your family." (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

In 2004, Irene transitioned to Baxter Presbyterian University, a small private institution, where she served as the Associate Vice President for Student Affairs. For 6½ years Irene had oversight of several functional areas within student affairs, including judicial affairs, student activities, housing, intramural sports, career services, orientation, and first-year experience programs. While working at Baxter Presbyterian, Irene experienced incidents where she had to establish her credibility because of her race and gender, particularly in working with White men in leadership positions and White male students. There were times when they did not respect her authority and she had to stress that she was in charge.

Irene explained:

I probably had to overemphasize that I was the authority figure and even to the point of telling people, "You probably need to get out of my office right now because I don't think you know where you are and I don't think you know who you're talking to and so since you don't, you may need to clarify and then you

need to leave and then you come back when you know how to talk to me." And even though people can get to the mentality of talking about, oh, this "strong Black woman" mentality . . . I had it but it was different. It was always very professional. I always was very tactful and very straightforward. And even to this day I just do not allow people to run over me or to dismiss the fact that I've earned the right to be where I am. I'm well credentialed and I'm well educated and that will not be dismissed and I won't allow people to dismiss it. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

While working at Baxter Presbyterian, Irene enrolled in a doctoral program because she knew having a Ph.D. would enhance her credibility at predominantly White institutions (PWI). From Irene's experiences, having the credentials and being a Black woman has impacted people's perceptions of her. She reflected on her experience working at a PWI: "It seems to mean a lot more but I'm not only a woman of color, but I'm a woman of color who comes with the background and the portfolio to support me being in this position."

Currently, Irene is the Associate Dean of Students at Barnett University, a small private institution, where she is responsible for judicial education, leadership development, assessment, and crisis management, and supervises campus life, recreational sports, and wellness staff. Although Irene confirms that her race and gender are both salient identities, there have been situations when her gender was more salient. For example, Irene recounted an experience at Barnett in which her gender was salient because the interaction was with a Black male student. Irene stated:

I had a judicial situation where it seemed that the young man that I was dealing with, who happened to be a Black male . . . he had an issue with women, a real issue with women and me being one of them . . . and of course, there are lots of dynamics associated with that but I don't delve into it . . . but it became very apparent to me that he did not respect women and authority. And in fact, to the degree that even the Chief of Police said, "I just don't think he cares for women and authority, not just women but women who challenge him, women who don't allow him to be overbearing with them, women who try to correct him, women who try to give him instruction." And it was a very blatant encounter that I had with a student. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

In addition to attending the professional development workshop, Irene has attended numerous other conferences and has been involved in several professional organizations. She has also served as a regional representative for her state's counseling association. In this role, she assisted with hosting regional workshops on various campuses in her region. Because judicial affairs has been under her purview, she is also a member of the Association of Student Conduct Administrators (ASCA) and has attended an institute to further her understanding of implementing disciplinary procedures and to receive in-depth training on creating a student code of conduct.

Irene is a member of a national student affairs professional organization and attends the annual conference to connect with colleagues at other institutions. During the last conference, Irene attended a reception hosted by the institution from which she received her master's degree. Although no one who was there during the time she attended was present, Irene met Dr. Felder, the current Vice President for Student Affairs.

They had a lengthy conversation and towards the end, Dr. Felder asked Irene when she would be ready to become a VPSA. Irene felt she needed more administrative skills but thought she would be ready within the next two to three years. Dr. Felder offered to assist Irene by nominating her for a VPSA position when she was ready to take the next step. Irene never imagined gaining another advocate from attending the reception; however, she felt honored that Dr. Felder offered to support her.

Reflecting on her career, her experiences with professional socialization, and the ways race and gender have influenced her socialization as a student affairs administrator leads Irene to think about other Black women who are student affairs administrators and about the need to recruit and retain them. Irene proposed:

> There needs to be more effort to equip African American women to transition to upper administration. I still don't think that we are as represented as we could be and maybe even should be when it comes to those chief student affairs roles on campuses around the country. Now, what do we do about that? I think some of the burden rests upon us as Black women to make sure that we are adequately equipped to do the job. I do think that we need to do more to build ourselves and not in a selfish or self-glorifying kind of way, but in a manner that speaks to our credibility in the profession that we do have something to offer and that we do have ways or ideas that can help enhance the field and that we do bring a set of skills that can be utilized to make a difference at these institutions. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

Summary

When it comes to her work environment, Irene identifies both her race and gender as salient identities. She connects identifying with being Black and a woman with being raised in rural Mississippi, where race relations were a significant part of her upbringing. Her race is also significant when she has to establish her credibility, specifically with White men in senior leadership positions or White male students.

Irene reported that she never considered the race or gender of her mentors. Although Dr. Martin is a Black man, his race and gender were less a factor in their mentoring relationship than the rapport they were able to build with each other. To this day, Irene describes Dr. Martin as a wealth of information who is well connected throughout the profession. Both Dr. Sawyer and Dr. Felder are White women.

Irene addressed the issues of race and gender in the context of mentoring by observing:

> I don't worry about it, so race and gender is not a factor because I've met lots of other student affairs professionals who are in place that I want to be who are very much interested in seeing me get to where I want to go. And for that I am grateful. I don't worry about the race or gender associated with who I choose to allow to invest in me. And if there are people who are willing to invest in me, I am far beyond thinking that it has to be someone of a certain persuasion to do that for me. Because you make impressions on individuals and if you impress someone who happens to be male or female, White or Black, then you take that and you don't dismiss it. (Irene, Interview, April 11, 2013)

Irene's experience in building a network of colleagues and establishing relationships has been an integral component of her socialization as a student affairs administrator. From establishing mentoring relationships with Dr. Sawyer and Dr. Martin to creating a relationship with Dr. Felder at the conference reception, she has made it a point to make connections. When attending conferences and networking, she has taken advantage of every opportunity to meet people and build relationships. Attending conferences allowed her to develop networking strategies that resulted in adding Dr. Felder as an advocate.

Irene has made a point of being noticed by people who are in a position to get her where she wants to be. Working with mentors and colleagues allowed Irene to seize every opportunity to develop the necessary skill set to eventually move into a vice president of student affairs position. Following Dr. Sawyer's advice to gain budget and supervisory experience and earn her Ph.D. was integral in Irene's promotion from Director of Student Life to Associate Vice President for Student Life, and to her appointment to her current position as Associate Dean of Students.

The role of race and gender in Irene's professional socialization has been significant. As described in her story, Irene's mentoring relationships happened organically, without regard for race or gender; she simply took advantage of opportunities to learn from other student affairs professionals who wanted to see her succeed. Nevertheless, her race and gender are salient to her identity in the work environment. While years of service were more important than race or gender at Trinity State, Irene's race and gender contribute to the challenges she experiences in the field. For Irene, her position exerted a contextual influence on her salient identities. She

constantly felt the need to establish her credibility and influence because of her race and gender, even though she was in a position of influence as the Associate Dean of Students.

Cindy

Prior to Cindy's interview, I knew I would have several things to consider when it was done, as she has always provided a unique perspective on being a Black woman working in student affairs. Cindy maintained a sweet, genuine smile throughout the interview. It was evident that student affairs is personal for her because she has a genuine care not only for students but also her staff. There were a few interruptions from a student worker who had to leave to take an exam and a staff member who had to leave to care for a sick child. She provided great insight on her career, working at both a PWI and HBCU, and applying concepts from her coursework learned during her doctoral program. Her passion for the work she does resonated throughout the interview.

Cindy's Professional Story

Cindy's introduction to student affairs came from working as an enrollment counselor for her undergraduate institution. For three years she was responsible for traveling throughout the South to recruit students. In this position, she was challenged by being the only enrollment counselor of color, leading other enrollment counselors to perceive her as the recruiter for students of color. However, she was in fact responsible for recruiting all students.

Cindy claimed that she did not know a lot about student affairs at this time. However, her supervisor, Mr. Thomas, was passionate about his work with students, and although Cindy was an entry-level staff member, Mr. Thomas appreciated ideas and input from his young staff members. He taught Cindy not only how to be a better recruiter but

also to recognize the importance of building relationships. Mr. Thomas' work ethic and passion inspired her to switch master's programs from psychology to counselor education with an emphasis in student affairs.

During Cindy's graduate program she served as a graduate residence hall director. She was also required to complete an internship. Her internship was at Vision College in the Office of Leadership Programs and Services. Because the internship was unpaid, she also worked in the Admissions Office part-time, earning $40 every two weeks to help support her husband. Cindy credits her graduate program with establishing a foundation for her socialization into the field. The values of helping the whole student, challenging and supporting students, and being intentional about empowering students guide her philosophy and practice of student affairs. Cindy also gained a mentor from her graduate program; Dr. Williams, a faculty member in her program, has always supported Cindy and provided guidance on career issues and maintaining a work-life balance.

After graduating from her master's program, Cindy worked at Southwest Florida State University as a hall director and also worked with orientation for a year. She then returned to Vision College as the Director of Orientation and Student Activities, a role she held for three years. Cindy was then promoted to Assistant Dean of Students for Multicultural Affairs. In this position, Cindy was viewed as the voice of all Black students at the institution. Although she had developed other competencies in her role, she was seen as only capable of discussing issues centered on diversity.

While she is cognizant of the problems with this perception, Cindy recognizes that she was the only one to voice the concerns and needs of students of color at Vision College. Cindy also identified challenges in working in multicultural affairs because she

believed it could limit her career. Several years later, Cindy relocated to Swanson College to become the Director of Multicultural Services/Associate Director of Cultural Life. Cindy stayed in this role for two years before moving to her current position, Associate Vice President for Student Development and Dean of Students at Woodson University, a small, private HBCU.

Working at Woodson was not an opportunity Cindy expected. It was thanks to her mentor, Dr. Warner, that she even considered taking the risk of moving with her husband and two young children. Dr. Warner had a tremendous impact on her career and Cindy felt honored to be the first person he considered for the Associate Vice President position. Cindy described her relationship with Dr. Warner:

> We entered the profession around the same time, but I'm always learning from him. Dr. Warner was my supervisor at Vision College and was very instrumental in me being promoted. He's always given me resources to read and provides a different way of thinking about things. He's also been very supportive of my own career. When he became Vice President of Student Affairs, he asked if I would come on board as his Associate VP. He's truly been awesome at endorsing me. (Cindy, Interview, April 18, 2013)

Working at different institutions also brings different politics. The politics of professional socialization at Woodson University center heavily around the relationship between student affairs and academic affairs. Staff members in student affairs are seen as the "warm fuzzy people." Cindy explained:

> How you come to the table as an educator, present yourself as an educator, and have dialogue with faculty about learning outcomes and competencies has been

difficult. It's as if we're speaking a foreign language. If faculty believe you don't understand or can't get on board with their agenda, then you don't get invited to the table or you get left out of the conversation. (Cindy, Interview, April 18, 2013)

Salient identity. The campus environment is also a factor in Cindy's salient identity. Cindy currently works at an HBCU, where her gender is the most salient identity. Because the majority of students, faculty, and staff are Black, she is much more conscious of her gender than her race. Moreover, as the Associate Vice Present she is a member of the President's cabinet, which consists primarily of men. It is common during meetings for Cindy or another woman to say something that is overlooked. Later in the meeting a man may make the same or a similar comment and is credited with having a good idea.

Another contributor to Cindy's socialization is her involvement in professional organizations. She is a member of a regional and national student affairs professional organization. As a member of the regional organization, she has served on both the Strategic Planning Committee and the Nominations Committee for two years. She has also presented at the regional organization's annual conference since 2006 and contributes to the organizations foundation. This year, her involvement with the national organization included serving on the arrangements committee for the annual conference and coordinating a full-day pre-conference workshop on HBCUs.

Cindy has experienced several successes in her career. She has had a very progressive career in student affairs as a result of her willingness to take risks and her

determination to take advantage of every available opportunity. Cindy reflected on her experience working in student affairs:

> I've been in it for roughly 16 years and I've been able to work at a lot of different problem areas, different institutions, and all by choice. I've taken risks in terms of relocating, going to different sized institutions. I've also created programs at all of my institutions, from student organizations to summer orientations. For me, it's all about serving students. I've enjoyed moving myself up because I'm passionate about it and enjoy doing it. (Cindy, Interview, April 18, 2013)

Cindy's recommendations for retaining Black women in student affairs include creating relationships, building professional networks, and being more visible. She notes, "Some things you just don't learn from a textbook. Don't sit in the back of the room. Make sure people know you're in the room. I've learned it's important for people to see you." Overall, Cindy believes she has been intentionally socialized in the profession. She enjoys working in student affairs and is passionate about serving students

Summary

What is significant about Cindy's socialization is the role of the campus environment in her experiences. Knowing the culture of each institution has been key to her socialization. Cindy has worked at five different institutions, each with its own culture and philosophy of student affairs. She has worked at land-grant institutions, private institutions, and HBCUs. She credits her graduate program with socializing her into the profession and relies on her role as an educator to help her navigate various campus cultures and the politics germane to each institution.

The campus environment is also influential in the saliency of Cindy's identity. While Black feminist thought recognizes the importance for Black women of connecting with both race and gender (Collins, 2000), Cindy's HBCU environment allows her to experience gender as her more salient identity, whereas working at a PWI made race more salient. In addition to experiencing race as a salient identity at the PWI, Cindy's position working in multicultural affairs was marginalizing. Because of her race and her position, she was viewed as competent to address only issues directly related to diversity and students of color.

Cindy's mentoring relationships developed from pre-existing relationships, and neither race nor gender was a factor in choosing her mentors. Dr. Wilson is a White woman and Dr. Warner is a Black man, and both admired Cindy's passion for the profession and supported her career goals. She and Dr. Warner followed similar career paths and have assisted each other in achieving their career objectives. Both mentors have helped Cindy advance her career and race has not come into play in these relationships.

Shannon

Shannon is the first participant whom I do not know personally; she was referred by another participant. Shannon made me nervous while setting up the interview by asking me to send her my interview protocol in advance, so she could review the questions to be asked. I told her I would need to consult with my advisor and the Institutional Review Board regarding this request. I also discussed the nature of the questions, until she finally felt comfortable and opted not to see the interview protocol.

Before she would give verbal consent, Shannon had several questions regarding the consent form. She wanted to know who would be reading the transcripts, who would

have access to my data, and how the data would be used. I reassured her that only my transcriptionist and I would read the transcripts and the recorded interviews would be saved on a hard drive. I told her that all identifying information would be changed and that she would be asked to choose a pseudonym. I explained that the data would be used to gain a greater understanding of the experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

After the interview, Shannon revealed why she was hesitant to participate in the study. She works for a private institution and did not want to jeopardize her job, a concern that I understood. She was very honest and transparent, which is why she was concerned about the nature of the questions. I was glad she chose to participate in the study because she discussed many aspects of her experience that I hoped to capture in this study but was not sure how to articulate, such as the need to "play the game" and the importance of the campus environment. "Playing the game" referred to following the unwritten rules one must adhere to in order to succeed. I made a note after Shannon's interview to follow up with previous and future participants about these aspects of socialization. She was also very vocal about race and how it has impacted her career in student affairs. I'm glad Shannon decided to participate in the study. Because of Shannon, I edited my interview protocol to include questions on "playing the game."

Shannon's Professional Story

Shannon knew she wanted to work with college students while she was still an undergraduate attending Hazlehurst State University, an HBCU in the South. She enjoyed being involved as a student and loved working with college students in the campus environment. During her senior year she changed her major three times, ultimately

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deciding on English with a concentration in theatre. Unsure about her career options with an English degree, Shannon met with her supervisor, who suggested that she pursue student affairs as a career. She applied to one graduate program in the Midwest, and was accepted and offered an assistantship as a residence hall director at a neighboring school.

Shannon's graduate program confirmed the values she already considered to be aspects of student affairs. She identifies these values as developing the whole student, empowering students to become strong leaders and critical thinkers, having a connection to the institution's mission and values, and placing the needs of the student first. She acknowledges that she has had good experiences working in student affairs because the values of the profession align with her personal values.

After graduation she worked at Robinson College, a small private school in the South, as a diversity program advisor. Working at Robinson exposed Shannon to two national student affairs professional organizations. At the time, the Dean of Students at Robinson was the vice president of her region's student affairs organization and a member of the regional board, and Shannon's supervisor was the president of one of the national organizations. Shannon therefore felt very connected to both professional organizations, which increased her commitment to the profession and her eagerness to engage in the profession on a national level.

Shannon related an experience in which gender was a factor in her career. While working at Robinson College, one of Shannon's colleagues took credit for her work during a series of meetings. Shannon believed he would not do that intentionally, but her supervisor advised her that it was common for men in senior-level positions to

take advantage of women who were doing all the work. Her supervisor urged her to speak up when others tried to take advantage of her.

Shannon currently works at Rider College, a private liberal arts institution, where she is the Assistant Dean of Students for Multicultural Affairs. Working at Rider has made race Shannon's salient identity as a student affairs administrator. This is because most of the staff in Rider's division of student affairs are women, and because she is the first point of contact any time there is an issue with a Black student on campus. Even if the situation does not fall under her purview, Shannon is notified simply because "I'm the Black woman that keeps all the students of color in line." This guarantees that Shannon is included in key conversations concerning students of color and that her voice has some influence in the conversation.

Shannon continued her involvement in professional organizations when she began working at Rider. She became involved in her region's student affairs professional organization and held various leadership positions. She served as the programming chairperson for the last conference and was honored with an award, given to student affairs professionals for their work in promoting multiculturalism in student affairs.

Transitioning to different institutional types has been a challenge for Shannon. Her undergraduate institution was an HBCU. She attended a university in a very rural part of the Midwest for her master's degree. Both Robinson College and Rider College are private institutions. What has been integral for Shannon's socialization is learning the culture of the institution where she is working. She credits the faculty from her graduate program with teaching her to do this, but she could not genuinely understand the importance of learning institutional culture until she entered the field.

When Shannon interviewed for her position at Robinson College, she had dinner with a faculty member who taught her this valuable lesson. Shannon shared:

When I interviewed at Robinson, a faculty member, a Black woman who was an anthropology professor, asked, "Well, what type of car do you drive?" and I said, "I drive my mom's Malibu." And she was like, "Oh. Well, what do you do for fun? Where do you vacation?" And I got a weird feeling with the questions she was drilling me with. It really put me off. She finally said, "Those things are important here. Those are the types of questions people ask when you work at a private, elitist institution like Robinson. Those things are important to this culture." This was definitely a crash course in making sure one considers the institutional environment when job searching. (Shannon, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Mentoring. Shannon considers herself very fortunate to have mentors who have played an integral role in her career development. She found her mentors through her involvement in her region's student affairs professional organization, where she has a strong cohort of friends and colleagues. Shannon spoke fondly of her mentors:

They've just been dynamic as far as older groups teaching us how to navigate and then the younger groups of us to just make sure we hold each other accountable, keeping each other sharp. If there are opportunities to present at conferences and someone doesn't have funding to attend a conference, someone will pay for the room. Someone will pay for meals. We really just support each other any way we can. (Shannon, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Shannon reported that the gender of her mentors has never been an issue; she has had both male and female mentors, though most of them have been women. She noted that she met her female mentors through networking, while her male mentors are all former supervisors. Most of Shannon's mentors are Black student affairs administrators. Having Black mentors was intentional because people of color are her passion and race is her salient identity. She stated, "It's important that I surround myself with people who look like me who are doing what I do and are doing it well. I know their path, and the path for a person of color is different than the path for someone who is not."

Shannon's mentors have provided insights that have advanced her career as a Black woman in student affairs administration. Her former supervisor from Robinson College advised her to make sure she remains sharp and competent. He told her, "It's one thing to be liked, but it's another thing to be competent and just on point in all aspects."

In addition to former supervisors, Shannon also has a peer-mentoring group that has impacted her socialization. This peer group consists of student affairs administrators who work in multicultural functional areas at different institutions. Because working with students of color is Shannon's passion, professionally she wants to avoid being stereotyped. Shannon explains why this peer group is necessary:

> We're all at different institutions, so we need to talk to one another about not
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> being stereotyped or limiting ourselves by only working in multicultural areas at
>
> our college campuses. We don't want to be stigmatized and thought of as only
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> being able to work with students of color. We have to make sure we're not
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> limiting ourselves and also not minimizing the work we do. We're just ensuring
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> we don't limit where we can go in the field. (Shannon, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Salient identity. The role of race in Shannon's experience as a student affairs practitioner is connected to her reason for entering the field: to work with students of color at PWIs. Shannon experienced racism in high school, which led to her desire to attend an HBCU for college. Shannon shared how her experience informs the way she addresses students:

> My experience can prepare students for bumps in the road they will experience. I tell my students all of the time, "Yes, you're smart and you deserve to be here, but you're going to encounter some things that you might not necessarily understand and [you need to know] how to interpret it or move past [it]." (Shannon, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Shannon's recommendations for retaining Black women in student affairs administration emphasize self-reflection and mentoring. She asserts that Black women need to achieve a level of identity development and self-awareness that will enable them to be successful in student affairs. In terms of mentoring, she believes in the importance of receiving guidance on how to handle difficult situations, help in addressing professional shortcomings, and assistance in advancing one's career.

Shannon explained she has been socialized into the profession because she knows how to "play the game." She believes she's learned to navigate her institution and do what she needs to do on any campus. For Shannon, "playing the game" means that:

> As a Black woman, I'm automatically stereotyped as assertive, demanding, and dominating. Because of that I have to be friendly, approachable. It's not enough to be smart and competent. I have to go to lunch every now and again, to show I'm a team player, even if I don't want to. I have to dress the part. Be on time, if not 10

minutes early. There's no room to be careless. (Shannon, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Summary

The campus environments that Shannon has experienced contributed greatly to her socialization as a student affairs administrator. She has worked at an HBCU, a rural institution, and two private liberal arts institutions. Her experience during her interview at Robinson College exposed Shannon to how socioeconomic status intersects with socialization. It was clear that having certain experiences associated with higher socioeconomic status would be key to her socialization at that institution.

Shannon also connected the campus environment to her values as a student affairs administrator. During the same interview process at Robinson College, she learned that alcohol was a part of the student culture. The faculty member who picked her up from the airport told her that it was ingrained in the culture and there was very little anyone could do about it. Shannon's lesson from working at Robinson was that when searching for a position, it's crucial to consider which values of the institution and aspects of the culture do or do not align with one's personal values.

Mentoring relationships have been meaningful and influential in Shannon's socialization. Her supervisors made a point of connecting her to professional organizations and individuals who have had an important role in her professional development. Shannon credits her supervisors with being supportive and helping her navigate the institutional culture. Her peer mentoring group is also worthy of attention because this group has considered how working in multicultural affairs can prevent socialization into other functional areas in student affairs. As Shannon stated, this peer

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group has given her the confidence that she is developing transferrable skills that will make her a strong candidate, should she decide to work in another area of student affairs.

It is clear that race is Shannon's salient identity as a result of attending an HBCU and of the functional area in which she works. Her salient identity is the reason she chose to work in multicultural affairs and the reason most of her mentors are also Black. Race is also a salient identity for Shannon because of the way Black women in student affairs have to "play the game" in the profession. Facing a version of the Sapphire stereotype in the workplace, Black women learn to counter this misperception by making extra efforts to be friendly and competent.

Leslie

Although I was familiar with the area where Leslie's campus was located, I decided to leave early for the interview in case I got lost. I ended up arriving on campus early, so I decided to find somewhere in the student center to check my email before the interview. Apparently it was Undergraduate Research Day, a day for students to present their research to faculty and experts in their respective fields. As a result, the student center was buzzing with activity from that event along with typical student life. In fact, I was shocked to see so much activity on a rainy Friday afternoon. Students were listening to music; the food court was packed with students eating lunch. Everyone was very friendly, and several people walked past and greeted me with a sincere hello. I guess what is said about HBCU's is true: No one is a stranger.

Before the interview began, Leslie revealed that she is also working on her dissertation and wanted to "pay it forward" by agreeing to participate in my study. She also gave me a tote bag with Dyson College's logo, filled with college t-shirts, snacks,

water, and information about the school's traditions–another example of the HBCU hospitality. Leslie spoke about her background, how she became interested in student affairs, and her experiences working at both PWIs and an all-women's HBCU. I assumed working at an all-women's HBCU would have a unique impact on her salient identity. I connected with how she was able to learn lessons from one job and apply them to her next job. She was also candid about the challenges she has experienced because of her race. Leslie's perspective will add to our understanding of the unique experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

Leslie's Professional Story

As an undergraduate, Leslie was an involved student leader on campus, mainly focusing her involvement in minority student organizations, when the Dean of Students told her she would make a great resident assistant (RA). At the time, she did not know what an RA was or the responsibilities of an RA. She eventually applied, but was waitlisted. It was not until the fall semester of her junior year that Leslie became an RA. This was Leslie's introduction to the student affairs profession.

Leslie later became an intern for the new Director of Housing and Residence Life, and found herself wanting to emulate the director's energy and enthusiasm. Leslie's experiences as an RA and an intern taught her the values and knowledge that would socialize her into the profession. Those values include supporting the mission of the institution, engaging with students, and applying theory to practice. Leslie views the process of professional socialization in student affairs as related to the position one holds. She explained:

The values, customs, and goals [I learned] when I was an RA are different from

my position as a Dean of Students. When I was in residence life, my job was

focused on engagement and policy enforcement. As the Dean of Students, the

focus is on the culture of the institution and policy development, and assessment.

I have to ask myself, how does the culture of the institution dictate processes,

policies, things of that nature? (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Professional socialization. Every position Leslie has held has prepared her for

the next position. Leslie's first position after graduate school was as the Assistant

Director of Multicultural Affairs at Simpson University. She notes that this position gave

her the best experience she's had of working with faculty and developing new programs.

Because it was a very elitist institution, however, Leslie felt as though she couldn't make

a mistake, and that sending an email with a typo would jeopardize her whole career as a

Black woman at Simpson.

After leaving Simpson, Leslie moved to Michigan to work for River Falls College

as the Assistant Dean of Students for Black Student Affairs. At River Falls, Leslie was

able to recreate the position description, which was necessary because what she was

doing was different from what she had been hired to do. Leslie became bored, however,

and realized there was little room for advancement at River Falls. She then became the

Assistant Director of Student Affairs at Marion State University, where she discovered

the importance of learning the culture of the institution and navigating campus politics as

a means of bartering for resources.

It was also at Marion where she began to have labels attached to her. She said, "It

seemed like if I terminated someone, I was a bitch. But if someone else terminated an

employee, they were just doing their job." Through her next role, as Associate Dean of Students at the University of Garland, she learned to manage department and division structures due to restructuring that occurred while she was there. The knowledge, skills, and values she learned in these positions prepared her for her current role as Dean of Students at Dyson College, one of two all-women's HBCU's.

Different campus environments create different student affairs cultures and values, especially at public versus private institutions. Because Leslie has experience working in both types of institutions, learning how those campuses operate has contributed to her socialization. Additionally, each institution type has different politics, which Leslie also had to learn in her process of socialization. Leslie details what she has learned:

> It's not what you can do all the time. It's not about power and authority. It's always who you know and where you're having those very important conversations and really who you are inviting to the table to help you with what you're trying to do. You have to know the quirks of whom you're working with. You have to know and understand their needs. (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Professional development. Being involved in professional organizations has been instrumental to Leslie's socialization as a student affairs administrator. Professional organizations have allowed her to meet colleagues in her field and learn from other practitioners. She has been active with her state's college personnel association, where she served as coordinator of the group's Careers in Student Affairs conference and eventually served as president. She has also served as the Diversity Initiatives Coordinator for the Association of Student Conduct Administrators (ASCA). Recently,

Leslie was invited to join the leadership council of for a national student affairs professional organization. Locally, she created the Student Affairs Professional Development Committee, which focuses on assessment and retention in student affairs and established a monthly vice presidents and deans' meeting.

Mentoring. An integral component of Leslie's socialization is her relationship with professional mentors. Leslie has multiple mentors because no one person has the skill sets for everything she needs. For Leslie, mentoring is about finding the right people who are respected in the field, but it also gives her the opportunity to discuss issues and receive guidance on how to handle various situations.

Leslie noted that she can count on her mentors to provide an honest perspective on everything. Two of her mentors work in student affairs at HBCUs, and are therefore able to lend their support on navigating the HBCU culture. She has a mentor who advises her on budget and finance-related matters, someone who helps with legal issues, and someone who guides her on campus safety issues within student affairs. Leslie's mentors have also advised her on how to be strategic when seeking promotions. Leslie shared their advice:

> Those are the people who are going to tell me that I need to leave at a certain time because being there from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. or being the last car in the parking lot ain't going to get you promoted, you know? It's strategy and planning that makes the difference and so they're the people who gave me the wisdom to know that there are things that I should be doing and things that I need to be focusing on. (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

When seeking mentors, Leslie declared that she did take race and gender into consideration. In addition to having Black men and women as mentors, she wants to always have White men and women as mentors as well. Leslie explained her reason for having diverse mentors:

> White men and White women are at the table and I have to know how to reach the people who do not look like me. I'm also going to reach out to my HBCU colleagues because they will give me the other side of it, the politics from the Black person's perspective. I have to get the different perspectives depending on what the issue is. For me, this has been true at PWIs. Because there is a way in which I'd approach a situation as Leslie, the Black woman, and there is the way I need to approach it as Leslie, the Dean of Students. (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

Salient identity. When working at PWIs, Leslie's race is most salient and gender is secondary. Leslie currently works at an all-women's HBCU, where her race and gender are not a factor in her work environment. What becomes most salient for her at Dyson College is character development. She explained:

> We're always trying to develop this idea of what the perfect Dyson woman is. Dress codes, issues of morality, what is considered appropriate behavior in any given environment. The Women's Studies Department is always concerned about misogynistic messages. The students want to hear rap music for the homecoming concert. We had to develop a policy that states those messages and behaviors will not be tolerated. (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

The challenges Leslie has experienced working in student affairs can primarily be traced to her race. She noted that in her roles at PWIs she has encountered individuals who thought she was in her position because she was Black, not because she was qualified. Because of such attitudes, she has always felt the need to prove her herself and her competency. Leslie discusses how this has impacted her:

Race is always a factor. It's just unstated. It's covert. I always had to volunteer for things to prove I was worthy and to demonstrate that I can do my job. Whereas people who did not look like me were automatically appointed to do something. I had to learn to develop relationships. I could see where people were going out to lunch with certain folks and getting invited to certain activities after work. But I wasn't. I had to figure out how to do water cooler talk. I hate water cooler talk! But I had to play the game. As I got older and developed professionally, I recognized that friend-raising is very important. Relationship equity gets you far. (Leslie, Interview, April 19, 2013)

To assist with the socialization of Black women in student affairs administration, Leslie believes there needs to be a critical mass of Black women working at institutions of higher education. She believes, "hiring more than two or three brings the question of dynamics of race and gender in organizations." Leslie believes seeing more Black women in the workplace will reduce marginalization and racism.

Leslie considers herself to be well socialized as a student affairs professional and attributes her socialization to her work experience at various institutional types with differing campus cultures. The key to her socialization is having people who advocate for her, learning to navigate different campus cultures, and building relationships.

Summary

Leslie's professional socialization into the field stems not from her graduate program, but from the positions she's held at a variety of institutions. From her experiences, it is clear that Leslie's socialization has been an ongoing process through which she has learned new values and skills to advance her career (Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Her socialization process has thus been based on the various positions she has held. The values and skills needed to be an RA during her undergraduate experience differed from the values and skills she currently needs as the Dean of Students at an all-women's HBCU.

According to Cook (2011) and Patton and Harper (2003), mentoring is an essential component for Black women's success as student affairs administrators. Leslie has had the acumen to develop several mentoring relationships that serve different purposes. Having multiple mentors has helped Leslie navigate different campus cultures and address a variety of professional concerns. In addition to having multiple mentors, Leslie stands firm on the benefits of having a mentor who is a White man, mirroring Sulé's (2009) claim that norms are reflective of the needs of White men. For Leslie, having a White male mentor enables her to understand the perspectives of those who are privileged by institutional structures and practices.

What is unique about Leslie's salient identity is that neither race nor gender is salient for her because Dyson College is an all-women's HBCU. As a result, other aspects of her identity are brought to the forefront. Her experience at Dyson offers Leslie the opportunity to explore the other aspects of her identity.

The challenges Leslie experienced while working at PWIs classified her as an outsider-within. Outsider-within experiences occur when a Black woman's membership in an organization fails to deliver the full benefits that White and/or male members routinely enjoy (Collins, 2000; Rogers & Hoover, 2010). Because of her outsider-within status, Leslie was excluded from opportunities that were routinely given to male and/or white colleagues and had to work harder to prove she was capable of the same opportunities. Despite this status, she learned the importance of developing relationships and gaining advocates to help navigate the campus environment.

Leslie's recommendation for retaining Black women in student affairs is directly connected to the structural diversity of institutions. Having a critical mass of Black women on campus, she argues, assists with retention because of its positive impact on their perception of the campus environment.

Megan

I met Megan during a student affairs professional organization's annual conference in 2004, my first professional conference after earning my master's degree in college student affairs. She was very poised and knowledgeable about the professional organization and she seemed well connected, as several people approached her to set up meetings with her during the conference. Since then, I have always made it a point to connect with her at conferences. She has always offered her assistance if I needed it and her offer seems genuine.

To see Megan's career advance from where she was when I met her in 2004 to where she is now has been inspiring. Hearing her experiences in the profession gave me a front row seat to her career trajectory. I had been so focused on the salience of race and

gender that I had not adequately considered how salient other aspects of identity might be for the participants until I interviewed Megan. Our interview lasted the full 90 minutes. As she said in her interview "I'm very open. I would tell you my life story if you wanted." She held very little back about being a Black woman in student affairs. Megan has been very resilient and she is clearly passionate about her career.

Megan's Professional Story

After graduating with her degree in communication arts from Maryland Southern University, Megan began working as an admissions counselor for her alma mater. In this role she worked with Education Talent Search, a program for first generation, low-income students in grades 6-12. Working with the students inspired Megan to want to work in student affairs. Megan described this influence:

> There was something about doing that work that made me want to see what those students looked like on the other side, once they got admitted to college. I wanted to know what their needs were to be successful college students. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan went on to earn her master's degree in higher education administration with a focus in college student affairs from Hoyt University. Megan's first position after completing her master's degree was as the Associate Director of Multicultural Student Life at Hoyt. She was eventually promoted to the Director of Multicultural Student Life. Serving in this role was marginalizing, but also empowering for Megan. She was viewed as only being able to work in the area of diversity and lacking a diverse skill set, even though as the director of a department she was responsible for budgeting, supervision, assessment, and strategic planning.

Megan saw herself as powerful because she was the voice for those who did not

have a voice and served as an advocate for the voiceless. Megan explained:

It was pretty much like, "So, the only thing that we ever want Megan to talk about

is diversity. Don't talk to her about anything else because she doesn't know

anything else, she just knows about diversity. And so, we're just going to keep her

over here and then when we have diversity issues or bias incidents we'll give her

a call, but not a minute before then. Don't talk to her about budgeting or

supervision. Just diversity." I felt marginalized, but powerful because I was able

to serve as a voice for people who really didn't always have a voice. I was at the

table where other people were not able to sit at and I became an advocate.

(Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan left Hoyt University because she wanted to advance her career while

pursuing her doctorate part time. She went to Ivy State University, where she served as

the Director of International Student Affairs and earned her doctorate in Counseling and

Student Affairs Administration. All of Megan's positions have had a strong focus on

diversity and social justice, but have also provided generalist experiences that have

helped her transition from working in multicultural affairs to her current position as

Associate Vice Chancellor for Student Life at Eastern State University, a large, public

research institution. Megan continued:

I think lots of people believe that when you work in one functional area that in

some ways you're tied to that functional area as it relates to your experiences, but

that's absolutely not true. My mentors have told me, "Okay, you're working in

diversity but there are so many other things that you can do that translate to other

areas in the field." (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan's master's and doctoral programs equipped her with the knowledge and

values of the profession, which contributed to her socialization. She gained an

understanding of student development theory and the importance of administrative

practices, assessment, and strategic planning.

Through her work experience in student affairs, Megan learned that ethical

principles, student development, and engagement are values critical to her as she

functions as a student affairs administrator, with transparency being the most critical.

Transparency, or being unambiguous, is connected to the role of politics in socialization.

Megan believes that being transparent is critical to gaining trust and support from

colleagues and students. Megan described the importance of transparency:

> I believe transparency is so critical in order to gain trust and I feel that way
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> because I've gone through that aspect of lack of transparency. Transparency is not
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> something that I'm willing to not convey. It's one of the deal breakers for me,
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> period, the end. Because that, for me, engenders trust and support from the
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> individuals that I work with and the individuals that I work for. (Megan,
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> Interview, April 29, 2013)

Professional development. Megan has been heavily involved in several student

affairs professional organizations. She has been a member of one student affairs

professional organization since 1999 and chaired numerous committees before serving as

president of the organization. Currently, she is the director of this organizations

foundation. She is also a member of another organization's national advisory board. She

is a lead facilitator for LeaderShape and, in the past, served on the board for the National Black Greek Leadership Conference (NBGLC).

Mentoring. Megan credits her mentors for the socialization she has experienced in the profession. She has had the opportunity to model herself after individuals she has worked with, honoring their expectations of her as they have honored her expectations for them. She also credits her mentors for introducing her to student affairs and retaining her in the field. Some of her mentors were faculty members from her master's program. She met several senior student affairs officers by attending New Professionals Institute (NPI) and Mid-Managers Institute (MMI).

None of Megan's mentors are Black, which was not intentional on her part, as most of her mentoring relationships developed naturally. Megan recounted how her mentoring relationships began.

> I never verbalized, "Will you be my mentor?" to any of them. I don't even know if they would think they are my mentor. For me it was just these individuals that have said, "Whatever you need from me, get in touch with me and I'm willing and ready to be here to support you." (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan's mentors have also advised her on how to address her professional needs without sacrificing her personal life. As noted above, Megan was working full time, writing her dissertation, and serving as president of a professional organization concurrently. One of her mentors advised her that she was committing "professional suicide."

> She said, "You can't be president and finish a dissertation and scout out a job. You really cannot do that." I didn't listen to any of that. Yes, it was academic and

intentionally professional suicide, not because my boss wasn't supportive. I continued to do good work but what it cost me mentally and physically and emotionally . . . I can never get that back. What she was really telling me was "You're getting ready to spin out of control where you're not going to be able to do anything well." I had to learn to build in some things in my life where I can be engaged and have balance. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan tried to develop mentoring relationships with other Black women in student affairs, but to no avail. Four years ago, she attended a networking summit for Black women at a student affairs conference. During the session, the presenters spoke on being supportive of one another and offered opportunities to develop mentoring relationships. Megan made several contacts and reached out to the women; however, she has yet to hear from any of them. But this has not deterred Megan.

Because she has been successful as a result of the help from her mentors, Megan believes in mentoring new professionals. It is a struggle for her to know that there are other professionals who are not willing to do the same. While she is overextended with mentoring new professionals, she finds it rewarding to support staff who do not otherwise feel supported. She challenges these new professionals to make their work environment better or to develop skills and experiences that will prepare them to enter a more suitable environment.

Salient identity. Because she works at a PWI, it might be assumed that race would be Megan's most salient identity. However, she reports that her age is most salient, with race her second most salient identity. On a campus of 27,000, she is 40 years old, the youngest administrator in the vice chancellor's office. In addition to her age, she also

battles with the fact that she is a Black woman serving in a leadership role at a PWI. She describes how she experiences her salient identity at her current institution.

> Most people have been here almost . . . 40 years or so. These people have never gone anywhere so having someone to come in from a completely different generation has been the most difficult area of my career to tackle. I don't know that there is a sense that I could possibly really know anything about what it means to be an administrator, because the perception is that I'm still very young. I'm always having to combat this sense of "I'm young" versus "I'm brown." Who best to represent diversity on search committees? The little brown girl who is an administrator and who is young. I fit every check box on the list. At some point I'd love to say that I've been supported in the field because of what I know and what I can do. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan's race has played a significant role in her experiences as a student affairs administrator. The lack of support she has received from other Black administrators has been isolating for Megan, leaving her with the sense that she must try to prove herself even among colleagues who look like her. She explained:

> It's like crabs in a bucket. There's this constant feeling of if I get ahead, then that means they're behind. I don't understand why we all can't get there together. Boy, has this shown up here at Eastern because there is more than one Black person with a Ph.D. in the room. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

What is unique for Megan's experience working in student affairs is the notion of "playing the game" as something she has to do because of her race and gender. She often hears the critique that she is not approachable and people find it difficult to get along with

her. Megan believes these comments are connected to her race and gender because she behaves and performs exactly as her colleagues do, but she is perceived as "not playing well with others."

Megan reported feeling the need to "dumb herself down" in order to be accepted. Megan stated:

It's difficult to be authentic in this field without people judging you. I've been told I'm a straight shooter, which translates to being a bitch. But it's okay if my colleague is a straight shooter because he's White and a man. There has to be something I can do where me showing up as me every day is valued and appreciated, and not devalued and made to make me feel like there is something wrong with me. Because there is nothing wrong with me. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan believes the key to retaining Black women in student affairs is for Black women to support one another and find environments that support work-life balance. Megan believes Black women should not be afraid to find people with other identities to see what they are doing differently to navigate the campus environment. Megan stated, "Y'all may look different, but I can employ the same tactics and the same approach. We need to learn how to do that."

Additionally, Megan believes it is necessary for Black women to find a workplace that values what is important, so they will not being forced to choose between significant areas of their lives. Megan believes Black women should be able to have it all, balancing children, families, and a career.

I think we value and manage in our personal lives those things that are important
to us. My children, my husband, whatever that may be . . . understanding that we
don't always have to choose one or the other. But if I do choose one over the
other, then that is absolutely okay too. And identifying an institution that supports
the fact that I have family and that family is important to me and they're a part of
this experience. (Megan, Interview, April 29, 2013)

Megan considers herself socialized in particular aspects of student affairs and
understands what it means to be a part of student affairs. She understands that attending
conferences is an opportunity to connect with colleagues and build relationships, which is
also an opportunity to learn. However, she acknowledges that becoming socialized in
institutions and adjusting to practicing student affairs can be challenging.

Summary

Megan's experiences with politics and "playing the game" directly reflect the
Black feminist concept of the outsider-within. Although Megan is a member of a majority
organization and serves in a leadership role, she nevertheless remains an outsider because
of her race (Collins, 2000). Megan has earned her place in the vice chancellor's cabinet.
Nevertheless, she is not afforded the same privileges as those in the dominant group. She
is unable to speak without being branded as unapproachable and criticized for being a
"straight shooter," even though her male colleagues are praised for being "straight
shooters."

In addition to the salience of race, Megan's age has contributed to her treatment
as an outsider-within. The privilege of being older at Eastern State means one's
suggestions are regarded as more credible. Because she is younger than most of her

colleauges, Megan is not taken seriously or perceived to have enough experience to be knowledgeable about administrative practices. "Playing the game" puts Megan in a position where she is forced to "dumb herself down" for people to feel comfortable around her. Megan's passion for her students and the profession is wrongly perceived as aggressive. She has to temper her passion to communicate with colleagues.

Mentoring is a key factor in career development and socialization (Bora, 2000; Crawford & Smith, 2005). Megan's mentors have had a significant impact on her career. Being authentic in her work environment has been challenging for Megan, and it is because of her mentors that Megan has learned to be comfortable with who she is in her role as a student affairs administrator. Megan's effort to mentor others is significant because she attributes many of her career successes to those who have mentored her. In turn, she wants to ensure the success of new professionals in student affairs.

Megan's current work environment causes the intersection of race and age to be her salient identities. The intersection of these identities positions her as a token because she represents two groups, both of which are underrepresented in her environment (Kanter, 1977). She is the youngest member of the Vice Chancellor's cabinet and the only Black woman, and is therefore expected to represent all those of her age, race, and gender. While she would like to believe she is asked to serve on committees because of her knowledge and ability to do her job, Megan recognizes that her inclusion in certain activities is due to tokenism.

Tracie

I consider Tracie an acquaintance because I can't remember when we met and our interactions have been sporadic. I connected with her at a workshop last semester and

reached out to her when I began recruiting participants. Not only did she agree to participate, she also sent contact information for other women who might fit the criteria to participate.

I did not remember much about Tracie prior to the interview except that she was very involved in a regional student affairs professional organization and that she worked in multicultural affairs. When we began the interview, I could tell it would be a challenge to get her to open up about her experiences. I asked probing questions about her mentors and follow-up questions regarding her salient identity. Unfortunately, I was unable to move beyond the surface with Tracie. I want to respect and honor her participation and experience working in student affairs, recognizing that she may not have had as much opportunity as the other participants to reflect on her career. I suspect her reticence is because she does not want to come across as an angry Black woman. I appreciate her willingness to share her experience.

Tracie's Professional Story

While attending Miller College, Tracie was a student assistant in the Office of Multicultural Services. She was a business major and planned to pursue a career in human resources. However, interacting with students and seeing the passion the Director of Multicultural Services had for her work led Tracie to pursue a career in student affairs. She went on to earn her master's degree in counseling education with a focus in higher education administration. She is currently enrolled in a doctoral program part time while working full time as the Director of Multicultural Student Life at Norman University, a large, public research institution.

Professional socialization. Tracie is motivated in her student affairs career by the alignment between her personal values and the values of the profession. Those values include an emphasis on integrity, moral and ethical values, empathy for student needs, and holistic development. For Tracie these values originated in her work in multicultural affairs. Tracie explained:

> When I make decisions, particularly financial decisions, I always consider who I'm obligated to and who those decisions affect. I've been challenged with making decisions that are not in the best interest of the students I serve and so I have to be mindful of what is ethically sound. And working with first generation, low-income students of color has definitely made me empathetic to their needs. All they want is a degree so they can support their families and I want them to leave with an experience. (Tracie, Interview, April 30, 2013)

When it comes to politics and socialization, Tracie believes one must find balance with understanding the campus culture and their values. She notes that when making decisions she has to consider the campus culture because of the variety of stakeholders who may be affected. For Tracie it has been challenging not to lose herself and her values while navigating the campus environment and handling complex issues.

Professional development. While Tracie has been involved in two national student affairs organizations, most of her professional involvement has been through a regional student affairs organization, where she currently serves on the executive council. She has also served as chair of the Multicultural Awareness Committee and received an award given to student affairs professionals for their work in promoting multiculturalism in student affairs. Being involved has also provided valuable opportunities for Tracie to

network with other colleagues. Because the regional-based professional organization is smaller than both of the national organizations, the regional organization has given her the opportunity to connect more effectively with a variety of people and genuinely build those relationships.

Mentoring. Tracie considers her academic advisor from her master's program to be a mentor. She views him as one of her key supporters and he has advised her on career decisions and on how to respond to situations on campus. Her other mentors have been supervisors who have been influential in her career. Neither race nor gender was a factor in Tracie's choice of mentors. However, she notes that while her early mentors were Black women, over time she has developed mentoring relationships with both White men and White women.

Salient identity. As a Black woman in student affairs administration, Tracie has found both her race and gender to be salient. She's very conscious of the "angry Black woman" stereotype that is often cast on Black women and tries to avoid being labeled this way. Tracie described her salient identity:

> Being Black and being a woman is how I show up every day. That's how they see me. I'm always catching myself, trying to be careful in what I say . . . keeping in mind how I come across . . . how people perceive me, in an effort to not show up in a way, to still be heard and get my point across but not to be the angry Black woman. (Tracie, Interview, April 30, 2013)

Working in multicultural affairs has also made Tracie conscious of her race. She believes race was a factor when she was hired to work in multicultural affairs, and thinks this has been marginalizing. While she has an extensive skill set and broad knowledge,

and thus is very competent to work in other functional areas in student affairs, she has been denied opportunities because she is viewed as only being skilled in multicultural affairs. According to Tracie:

> I've been an internal candidate for positions in other functional areas--leadership, civic engagement. But I'm always told that what I do in multicultural affairs is so important and they can't imagine anyone else doing what I do. It has made me feel like I'm the chosen face of multicultural affairs here. (Tracie, Interview, April 30, 2013)

Tracie identifies networking and support as two key elements in the effort to retain Black women in student affairs administration. Her doctoral research seeks to identify the pipeline of Black women in student affairs, but she has found that there is no clear pipeline or pathway for Black women to advance to leadership roles in the profession. She has learned that Black men in student affairs have a unique system of supporting one another through networking and advocacy, but Black women have not yet created a similar support system.

Without hesitation, Tracie confirms that she has been socialized into the student affairs profession. As a result of the mentoring she has received and her experience in the regional student affairs professional organization, she feels she has obtained necessary professional knowledge, values, and skills to succeed in the profession. Her mentors have helped her navigate through murky waters and warned her about potential "landmines" to expect. Tracie feels that she has the respect of her colleagues and that she has had a significant influence on students, specifically those who have chosen to enter the field because of her.

Summary

Tracie was very clear in identifying both race and gender as salient identities for her as a Black woman in student affairs. When considering Tracie's salient identities, her experience working at a PWI constitutes a significant contextual influence (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007; Jones & McEwen, 2004). Settles (2006) asserted that the salience of race and gender may depend on whether a Black woman's race and gender differ from those of others in a given context. Tracie's race is salient because she works at a PWI and is consistently in the minority. Tracie's experience as a student affairs administrator reflects the insight of Black feminist thought that the intersection of race and gender creates a set of experiences unique to Black women.

Tracie's involvement in professional organizations has also contributed to her socialization in student affairs. She has worked in the profession for almost eight years, has held several leadership positions within regional student affairs professional organization, and is a current member of the organizations Executive Council. Janosik (2009) observes that professional associations provide support, mentoring opportunities, and assistance with developing professional networks. Because it is a regional organization, Tracie has been able to utilize her connections in the organization to help her navigate the profession while building relationships with colleagues across the Southern region.

Tracie stated that she feels race has played a role in working in multicultural affairs, and that her race is probably the reason she was chosen to lead her department. She believes she is in her position to serve as the face of the department, and that this is the reason she has been denied positions that would prepare her to move into a senior

student affairs administrative position. Brown (1997) found that Black women in multicultural affairs have limited opportunities for advancement and lack opportunities for senior-level career development. Working in multicultural affairs may create a concrete ceiling and walls by preventing student affairs professionals from advancing to more senior roles or transitioning into other areas (Catalyst, 2004). Tracie has made several attempts to transfer her skills to other areas of student affairs. However, her institution has opted to keep her in her current position to continue serving as the face of the multicultural affairs department.

Dawn

I'm not sure what made me so eager to interview Dawn. She was referred by a colleague in my doctoral program and I decided to look her up on her school's website. Her career path is very interesting, and because of her position as Director of the Multicultural Center, I suspect she will have a lot of insight on her identity as it relates to professional socialization. Also, she appears to be young for someone who has already achieved so much.

While scheduling the interview, I noted Dawn's tenacity. She was on maternity leave but was still willing to participate in the interview. It seemed most convenient to schedule the interview around her newborn son's nap schedule, despite my desire to sleep in. She had also been up late helping her oldest son with a project that was due on the day of the interview.

The interview seemed almost therapeutic for Dawn. She became emotional when discussing her relationships with the people who have helped her to get where she is now. In addition to Dr. Reiss, her faculty advisor from her master's program, it is obvious that

she cherishes the relationships she has with her other mentors, teachers, and supervisors. The politics at her current institution have made it necessary for her to stay connected to the office and protect her students even while she is out on maternity leave. While socialization has been a challenge for her, she notes that student affairs resonates with her personal values and she can't imagine working in another field.

Dawn's Professional Story

Dawn attended Stewart University, an HBCU, and when she graduated she stayed on to work as an admissions counselor. While recruiting students living along the Eastern seaboard, she began to feel the need to use her Bachelor's degree in business administration. She left Stewart and began working in the banking industry. Although the pay was great, the work she was doing did not resonate with her, and she returned to Stewart as the Assistant Director of Admissions.

After one particularly trying day at work, Dawn confided to Dr. Hart, a colleague, that there had to be more for her to do professionally. He told her about a national professional organization; she had never heard of the organization and began to do some research. She found that there were graduate preparation programs for student affairs all over the country, her first discovery that there was a profession for what she was doing. She discovered there was more to student affairs than just admissions.

Professional socialization. Dawn next worked as the Director of Student Activities for Maxwell University, another HBCU. She was pregnant with her first child when she decided to take a leap of faith and enroll in the master's program in higher education and student affairs at Powell University, a large research university in the

Midwest. While pursuing her master's degree full time, she held an assistantship in student activities at Tower College, a small, private school not far from Powell.

Dr. Reiss, Dawn's faculty advisor in her master's program, provided a safe space for her. Dawn was a single mother and the only person of color in her cohort. She needed support and Dr. Reiss connected her to people who could help Dawn find her place at Powell. In addition, two of Dawn's former supervisors, Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Kennedy, were also essential in her socialization. Dawn recalled her experience with her mentors:

> I remember going to Dr. Reiss' office and telling her I felt so alone and how nobody understands what I'm going through. And she picked up the phone and started calling people. She called the Black Cultural Center, women of color who graduated from the program. She didn't stop until she found people for me to connect with. Any major decision I have in my life, I make sure I run it by Mrs. Gray. She had such a role in developing me. When she finally retired, she told me, "I didn't hire you because you're another Black woman. I hired you because I saw your potential and promise." Mrs. Kennedy hired me as the Director of Student Activities at Maxwell. I had never done large-scale events before, but Mrs. Kennedy had such faith in me. All she wanted me to do was make a difference for the students. She exposed me to so many different things and encouraged me to pursue my master's degree. Those women helped me get to where I am today. It's because of them that I try to help other new professionals when they come to Powell. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

After finishing her master's degree Dawn worked as an advisor for multicultural affairs at Tower College. Because Dawn knew she wanted to earn her doctorate, she then

returned to Powell and received her doctorate in educational administration and higher education. She currently works for Powell as Director of the Multicultural Center.

One of her professors, Dr. Karen Johnson, was someone Dawn admired while pursuing her doctorate. Dawn had the highest regard for Dr. Johnson's research and her ability to connect with students of color and empathize with their experiences at Powell, even though she was a White woman. Dawn also relied on her doctoral cohort for support. She fondly recalled her cohort:

> We called ourselves "The Conspiracy Group" because that year they recruited six Black women, one African woman, one Latino woman, and one Asian woman for the doctoral cohort. That's never happened before. We called ourselves that because it was a test to see if we would all make it through. We all graduated at different times, but it was due to connecting socially. We had potlucks, checked in with each other, even during examination periods. To make sure we all made it through. We still make an attempt to keep in contact now. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Dawn's perspective on politics and how it relates to socialization is based on her passion for students and who she can trust in the campus environment. As Dawn continues to navigate Powell, the key component to her socialization is being self-aware and remaining true to herself while learning to adapt to different situations. Powell is a large institution and Dawn often struggles with balancing politics and her personal values. Building relationships and accessing resources have been challenges for Dawn at Powell. She notes:

For me, the work we do is about keeping students at the center. Regardless of your position, how many years you've worked here, if you make a decision that ultimately harms students then we are undermining our purpose within the academic mission. In some ways, it's who you know. Not only who you know, but who they know too. I'm still learning who I can trust and who has my best interest as an administrator, my department's interest and my students' interest. It's been a tough road to navigate. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Dawn continues to face challenges in maintaining her work-life balance as a student affairs administrator. Raising a child and working 60 hours a week has been particularly difficult to manage. During her first year as Director of the Cultural Center, she suffered from exhaustion as a result of wanting so badly to prove herself in her role. Dawn describes the difficulty she had balancing work and family.

The first year, my body shut down and said, "no more." Even now, going back after having a second child, it is going to be challenging trying to figure out what is humanly possible to do without killing myself. When my baby is asleep, what am I doing? On the computer and on my phone trying to make sure things in the office are happening. It's hard to step away and I think some of that is fear of what's happening in the office while not wanting to seem like I'm slacking. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Mentoring. Dawn identified her need to have a mentor who is a White man, and feels she has missed out by not having one. She believes it would be beneficial to have someone who does not look like her to explain the "game" from their perspective. Dawn provides her rationale for wanting a White male mentor:

Student affairs is still very White and male centered. And while I know that many

of us are making strides and progress, the keepers of the power, money, and

know-how happen to be White men. At a conference last year, I kept thinking,

"Who do I need to connect with?" It became obvious that it's still a White man.

So I keep thinking of ways to make those connections and determine what it is I

want from that kind of relationship. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Professional development. Dawn is active in student affairs professional

organizations at both the state and national levels. Seeing how colleagues "play the

game" at other institutions helps Dawn put politics at Powell in perspective. She is a

member of two national student affairs professional organizations and has submitted

program proposals and presented at both conferences. Locally, she is involved with the

state's college personnel association and an organization focused on diversity and

multicultural issues in higher education. She is also a member of a professional

organization focused on educational research and has presented her research at the

organization's national conference.

Salient identity. Dawn's most salient identities at Powell are her age and gender.

Age has presented itself through discussions of diversity, as Dawn has become aware that

everyone in her department can offer a different perspective because of their age. Her

older colleagues are very rooted in their faith and religious beliefs; thus discussing issues

facing the LGBTQ population does not resonate with them. In contrast, younger staff

members in the same department understand the challenges this student population

encounters. Dawn often finds herself serving as the mediator between the two age groups

represented in her office.

Dawn's gender is salient when working with her associate directors, both of whom are men. Neither of the men have been receptive to her as their supervisor; neither has respected Dawn's authority and they often express their disagreement. Dawn expressed how her gender has impacted her supervision of these men.

> I don't think either of them knows how to deal with me. I think they were looking for me to come in, make a few decisions, sign a couple of forms and let them do their job as long as I stay out of their way. That's not how I feel I should function as a supervisor and the leader of this department. I believe assessment and strategic planning helps us tell our story and I'm going to hold my staff members accountable for their role in making sure how our story is told. Here are the things we need to do to get us where we need to be. They weren't on board and have yet to get on board. I'm not sure if it's cultural, since I'm Black and they're Latino and Pakistani. But both have limited insight on a woman telling them what to do. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Dawn's recommendations for how to retain Black women include providing opportunities to develop relationships and being intentional about preparing Black women in student affairs to take on leadership roles. Based on Dawn's experience, very few Black women in student affairs provide support for other Black women. Dawn believes it is crucial for Black women to support each other and provide mentorship to help mid-level professionals develop skill sets and competencies that will make them exceptional candidates for senior-level positions.

When asked whether she had been socialized into the profession, Dawn affirmed that she had, describing an ongoing process that she characterized as challenging yet rewarding. With passion, Dawn shared:

Am I socialized in the profession? Yes, because everyone in student affairs is crazy! Do we have weird chants? Yes. Do I have 50 million t-shirts that I will never wear again? Yes. Do I create flyers using Comic Sans font? Yes. I say that jokingly, but we do those things and think it's hilarious, but watch other people do it and we think it's dumb. No one can do what we do. To connect the silliness to holistic growth and development, conduct an assessment and then write a report for the VP? Who would do that without a concern but student affairs administrators? I wouldn't trade this profession at all. (Dawn, Interview, May 2, 2013)

Summary

Dawn jokingly identified her doctoral cohort as an experiment her department conducted to see whether a cohort comprised entirely of women of color could successfully complete their doctoral degrees. This informal network provided a valuable supportive system for one another. Similar to informal networks defined by Johnson and O'Callaghan (2009), members of "The Conspiracy Group" got to know each other outside of the classroom through weekly potlucks, supported each other during comprehensive exams, and continue to present together at conferences. As outlined by Miller & Vaughn (1997), this group was vital to Dawn's professional success and her ability to complete her Ph.D.

Thomas (2001) warns that cross-cultural mentoring can be problematic when race

and gender are introduced. However, the race and gender of Dawn's mentors has not been an issue for her, and she never viewed having female or Black mentors as a necessity. Her advisor in her master's program was a Jewish woman and her former supervisors, Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Kennedy, were both Black women. From Dawn's perspective, Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Kennedy were older Black women working at an HBCU. Therefore, being nurturing and motherly was a part of their role in working with students, which extended to Dawn. Dawn was initially hesitant to accept Dr. Reiss' help but she learned that "not all mentors need to look like us and some people who are different from us have our interest at heart." Dawn perceives having a White man as a mentor as an essential component to navigating the profession. In her experience with previous mentors from graduate school, race and gender need not be issues as long as the mentor understands and empathizes with the challenges she faces.

Dawn's experience with professional socialization in student affairs is influenced by her substantial work experience prior to pursuing her master's degree. Because of her previous work experience in student affairs, her values in relation to the profession changed. Before entering her master's program, Dawn valued the student experience and was focused on following procedures and making sure she stayed within her budget. After her master's program, she connected more fully with the values of student engagement, professional development, developing the whole student, and applying theory to practice.

Sasha

Sasha was referred to me by a colleague who thought her unique path in student affairs would add to the perspectives in my study. I do not think he could have prepared

me for my experience with Sasha Fierce. She was definitely fierce, and not afraid to put it all out there. Some of the issues she discussed were very similar to thoughts and experiences from my own student affairs career. Some of her experiences brought up unresolved emotions for Sasha. Sasha was very candid and it is apparent that she continues to be challenged with race and gender in her current environment.

Sasha's Professional Story

Sasha's interest in becoming a student affairs administrator was sparked by a conversation with a mentor when she was in high school. She asked the woman what she did for a living and the woman told her she worked with college students who were having a hard time in school. Sasha went on to become an RA and a counselor for Upward Bound while she was an undergraduate student at Pilot State University. She was a psychology major but thought her career choices would be limited with an undergraduate psychology degree. She continued in school, earning her master's in counseling and student affairs. During her master's program she had an assistantship in the College of Education in which she created an advising program for students of color. Sasha later earned her Ph.D. in counseling psychology.

After receiving her doctorate, Sasha completed a doctoral internship at Atlantic University, then moved to Great Lakes University. While at Great Lakes, Sasha was able to advance her career. She began as the Program Coordinator and was promoted to Assistant Director of Programs. She then became Associate Director of Counseling and Psychology Services, a role she held for 10 years. She was able to advance by being

indirectly mentored by the Vice President for Student Affairs. Sasha explains their mentoring relationship:

> She knew me and thought that I had a little talent and tested the waters with me on a divisional project. And it was a small, professional government program that I built and ran with a small committee. Then she tested me again with doing a big project with her. So I developed a team to create a diversity training program for all 1300 members of the division. I had no idea these tests were preparing me for the Associate Director position. (Sasha, Interview, May 3, 2013)

After she became the Associate Director of the Counseling Center, the Director of the Counseling Center advised her that if she wanted to become a director she would have to go elsewhere, because he had no plans to leave his position. With the support of her husband, Sasha accepted a position at Gilbert University as the Associate Director of the Counseling Center. Sasha sought out her VPSA to see if she would be her mentor. When Sasha approached her, the VPSA suggested they meet monthly for lunch, and Sasha agreed. She said:

> We went to lunch for years and got to know each other very well. And she always paid. I finally came to understand by the second year was this was not a free lunch. I am leaving this lunch with a list of things to do. So, it became not just me getting something from her, but her getting something from me as well. It was a mutually beneficial relationship. (Sasha, Interview, May 3, 2013)

The VPSA wanted to promote Sasha to become the Associate Vice President; however, the promotion never occurred, and Sasha was instead given the title of Executive Director. She eventually left Gilbert and moved to her current position as

Assistant Vice President for Wellness for Student Affairs at Russell State University, a large public research institution. In her current role she oversees the counseling center, campus recreation, wellness education, and the Center for Victim Advocacy.

Professional socialization. Sasha's experiences with politics and socialization are based on functioning in a profession structured by White men. For Sasha, this means socializing and networking the way White men in power socialize, which is heavily influenced by socioeconomic status. Sasha explained:

> They used to say you needed to know how to play golf or tennis and there's a part of me that wonders if that is true. I think I'm at the place where it's a problem and I need to learn. Also, what often comes up in conversations is where they have traveled, where they vacation. I don't share those experiences with them. So I wonder, how do I become a part of that when I'm not on a level playing field? (Sasha, Interview, May 3, 2013)

The values of the profession that Sasha connects with are social justice and inclusivity. She recognizes the privilege she has being a Black woman with a Ph.D. in a leadership position. Her role and credentials put her in a position to advocate for equality and social justice in the college setting and in the field of student development. The other value of the profession that resonates with Sasha centers on scholarship and academic collaboration. She believes student affairs is a critical component of the university setting and that student affairs practitioners must take every opportunity to partner with faculty and academic administrators.

Professional development. Most of Sasha's involvement in professional organizations has been with a national organization for student affairs administrators. Her

service in this organization began as a member of the Counseling Committee and then became chair of the Committee. She was asked to serve on the Governance Task Force Committee, where she reorganized a professional organization's governance structure. Recently she was recognized as one of the organizations trailblazers in the profession, an award presented for outstanding and sustained contributions to higher education and student affairs. She recently completed her service on the organization's governing board as the Director of Social Justice and Equality. Lastly, she has been an active member of the American Psychological Association (APA).

Mentoring. In addition to the mentor who introduced her to the profession, Sasha has had several other mentors in and outside the profession who have influenced her career. These individuals saw her talent and nurtured it. She also has a peer mentoring group she affectionately calls "The Kitchen Table," comprised of women who connected through their involvement in a national student affairs professional organization. Sasha is the only woman of color in the group. She relies on the group members to provide insight into professional challenges she encounters.

Because Sasha sought out her mentors, as opposed to having mentors with whom she had previously established relationships, she was deliberate in selecting the race and gender of her mentors. Sasha believed she needed a White male mentor because White men think differently than Black women. It was also important for Sasha to have women of color as her mentors to reflect her own identity. Ultimately, she wants her mentors to be people who understand her experiences as a Black woman in student affairs.

Salient identity. In commenting on her salient identity, Sasha noted that she cannot separate being Black and being a woman. She has always identified with her race,

but gender became salient for her during her undergraduate years attending an HBCU, when she would walk around campus quoting Alice Walker and feminist poetry. People questioned why she identified with her gender as opposed to her race, and she would respond that she shows up in the world as a Black woman, not a woman who is Black. An experience at an event with a Black male colleague brought her gender to the forefront in the work environment. The colleague was introducing several people from the VPSA's office to the Provost. The colleague introduced everyone as "Dr." except Sasha, who was the only Black woman to be introduced.

Sasha has experienced challenges in the profession that she attributes to race. At Gilbert University, an incident occurred in which the director's administrative assistant was embezzling money by forging the director's signature on checks made out to Sasha. The administrative assistant would cash the checks and deposit the money into her personal account. When Sasha discovered what was happening, she discussed it with her supervisor. The administrative assistant told the director that Sasha was responsible for the missing funds. Sasha had documentation proving she was not responsible for stealing the money. Although the administrative assistant was ultimately found responsible, some staff members still believed she was innocent and that Sasha should be held accountable.

Sasha recounted how this experience has influenced her perception of her race:

He confronted her and she went all White girl. She fell out crying and everyone gathered around her to comfort her although she was guilty. And the euphemisms toward me began. You're mean. You're the angry Black woman. And when she was fired people still believed I had something to do with it all. So I began to ask the question, "What made it more believable to you that I was the thief and she

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was not?" No one knew how to answer that. They still held onto somehow it was

my fault and I was the thief. The dominant narrative tells you I'm the thief, not

her. That's what made them think that. And that is racist. (Sasha, Interview, May

3, 2013)

Sasha became aware while working at Gilbert that people were always watching

her. Sasha attributes her work ethic to being a Black woman in a leadership position,

explaining that this is how race and gender factor into her experience as a student affairs

administrator. She spoke of a conversation she had with a former colleague.

One of my friends from Atlantic University, who is a White woman, said to me,

"I don't think anybody on the campus is working as hard as you. At least I'm

not." And I told her she didn't have to because she's White. I have to work

harder than most to prove myself. I have to work three times as much to get half

as good as my colleagues. Because I work hard, I am called aggressive,

overbearing, and mean. I think if I were a man, I wouldn't be called those things.

(Sasha, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Sasha believes that retaining Black women in student affairs leadership requires

providing mentoring and adequate support systems. Additionally, senior student affairs

officers should be intentional in actively engaging with, recruiting, and retaining Black

women in the profession. Lastly, new professionals should be educated on the importance

of professional socialization as a key to advancing their careers.

Sasha offered:

You have to figure out what's a penny fight, what's a nickel fight, and what's a

quarter fight. And not everything is a quarter fight. That's the coin you want to

use very judiciously, and not frequently. You then have to also make a decision

about how much you're going to sell out, because you cannot make it in this field

without a little bit of that. White men created the rules. When you're trying to be

collaborative and everyone else is competing for power and making moves, it's

easy to look up and wonder, "How am I still here and everyone else is ahead of

me?" (Sasha, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Sasha affirmed that she has been socialized in student affairs, primarily through

her involvement with a national student affairs professional organization and her

engagement with colleagues. As a result of her psychology background and her choice of

counseling as her functional area, she has been collaborative in the community and has

taken advantage of every opportunity to become involved and engaged in the profession.

Summary

Sasha's experience with race and gender in the work environment is a prime

example of double jeopardy. Because of her membership in two marginalized groups, she

encountered a greater degree of discrimination (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). She was

criticized for her work ethic and labeled aggressive because she felt she needed to work

harder than her peers. However, she believed a White male colleague would have been

applauded for the same work ethic.

Jones and Dufor (2012) assert that mentors should incorporate challenge and

support into mentoring relationships. According to Howard-Hamilton and Patitu (2012),

opportunities to discuss issues and gain skills are critical in mentoring relationships.

Sasha's mentoring relationships with both of her former VPSAs provided such

opportunities. During Sasha's scheduled monthly lunches with her former VPSA, she

gained insight and advice, as well as receiving assignments, from her mentor. These assignments were her VPSA's method of expanding Sasha's skill set and conveying advice that would assist her in advancing her career. Sasha received support in the form of advice and challenge in the form of the assignments, creating a balanced mentoring experience.

The challenges Sasha has encountered working in student affairs are connected to her race. Because of her race, she has to work harder than others to prove she is competent to serve in her position. Additionally, because of her race and gender her assertiveness is perceived negatively. Moses (1997) asserts that many people are uncomfortable when Black women demonstrate traits typically associated with men. It was clear to Sasha that her colleagues did not want her to advance to a position of power. Despite this lack of support, Sasha persisted and was able to advance from her role as a Program Coordinator to the position of Associate Director at Gilbert.

Sasha's encounter with racism and sexism is linked to the stereotypes associated with Black women. Patricia Hill Collins (1986) observed that Black women are assigned the subordinate status in both race and gender dualities. It is because of this subordinate status that Sasha's colleagues continued to believe she was guilty of theft even after the evidence determined that the administrative assistant, who was White, was guilty.

As Sasha continues to advance in the student affairs profession, she believes she needs to participate in more activities that are typical of White men's professional socialization. Sasha's experience with professional socialization validates Antony's (2002) and Turner and Thompson's (1993) assertion that socialization differs by race and gender. Sasha continues to wonder how she, as a Black woman, can connect with White

men when they have such vastly different experiences. Sasha emphasized her need for a White male mentor to assist her in navigating the campus environment.

Margaret

I knew I could not complete data collection without a scheduling mishap. Sure enough, I inadvertently scheduled two interviews at the same time. When Margaret sent me an email asking if the interview was still going to be conducted, all I could think was how difficult it would be to schedule another interview. As luck would have it, she was available the following afternoon.

Before Margaret's interview, I had a feeling it would be interesting. I did not know her personally, but I had heard only great things about her. I had watched her at conferences and she seemed both reserved and kind. Most of my participants had been pretty candid and transparent, so I was interested to see how open she would be.

As I anticipated, Margaret was not overly aggressive. She was very mild-mannered, yet firm and persuasive. She was insightful and brought up aspects of socialization I had not previously considered. It was not until this point that I realized she has been in the profession longer than any of the other participants. I admire her longevity and success in the field.

Margaret's Professional Story

It's hard for Margaret to identify what inspired her to pursue a career in student affairs. She was very involved as an undergraduate, serving as an RA and an orientation leader. She enjoyed her experiences as an engaged student and decided to pursue a master's degree in college student development. During her master's program at Wilmington State University she was a residence hall director. Working in an all-

women's high-rise residence hall was a great theory-to-practice experience for Margaret. Some of the values of the profession Margaret identifies with are student engagement, holistic development, putting students first, diversity, and social justice. These values were emphasized during her graduate work and she feels they are still applicable to her practice as a senior student affairs officer.

After graduation she was hired at Wilmington State as an area coordinator, where she supervised hall directors for four years. Margaret went on to become the Assistant Dean of Students, where her role was split between working in multicultural affairs, leadership, community service, and advising student government. Two years into the position an incident occurred involving racial discrimination, which caused the multicultural component to become full time. Margaret learned that to advance her career she needed a terminal degree. She received her doctorate while working with TRIO programs and multicultural affairs.

After completing her doctorate, she became the Assistant Vice President of Student Affairs, overseeing the counseling center, disability services, multicultural affairs, and the TRIO programs. Her current position is Associate Vice President of Student Affairs at Hilltop University, a large public research institution, where she provides leadership for the LGBTQ center, the counseling and wellness center, new student and parent programs, disability services, and campus health services.

Navigating the politics at Hilltop University has presented daily lessons for Margaret. She has only been in her role for two years and learning about the important people and how to communicate with them has been an adjustment. Margaret outlined who the key constituents are at Hilltop.

Hilltop is an institution with many layers. In addition to the Board of Trustees,

there are also the community constituents that play a role in what happens at

Hilltop. There are also parents and alumni who are very, very politically

connected. So when my phone rings or I get an email, whoever it's from

determines which hat I have to put on to handle the situation, question, or request

they have. (Margaret, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Mentoring

While Margaret does not currently have a formal mentor, she has had mentors

who have encouraged her throughout her career. Many of her mentors have been

supervisors who have discussed advancing in the field and pursuing more education. The

department chair of her doctoral program played an important role in helping Margaret

understand faculty culture and the requirements for promotion and tenure. Many mentors

have helped her network with others in the profession, which has assisted her greatly in

becoming a senior student affairs officer.

In addition to former supervisors, Margaret also has a network of colleagues who

have aided in her socialization as a student affairs administrator. These relationships have

developed over the years through attending conferences at the state, regional, and

national levels. Even as colleagues have moved around, Margaret has maintained those

relationships. She frequently consults with colleagues at other institutions for help in

making decisions and to provide perspective on situations occurring at her institution.

Margaret's most significant network has been with colleagues who are graduates of her

doctoral program.

Professional development. Margaret has been involved with the profession since she was an undergraduate student. She is a member of her state's housing organization, serving on committees and presenting at conferences. She has also been involved in a regional student affairs organization; she served as the Program Committee chair and was elected to the organization's board while working on her doctorate. In a national student affairs professional association, she has chaired the African American Affairs Committee and was integral in creating knowledge communities for other ethnic groups. Margaret served on the Dissertation of the Year Committee, the organization's Board, and was selected to participate in a symposium for women aspiring to pursue senior student affairs positions. For seven years, Margaret has planned a preconference workshop for Black women in student affairs administration to discuss race, gender, politics, and navigating campus environments. In addition to her service to professional organizations, Margaret has contributed to the profession by publishing articles and writing chapters for several texts.

Salient identity. For Margaret, race and gender are very intertwined and hard to separate. Age has also become salient for Margaret as she gets older. Margaret explained:

My age is more salient, but in a good way. You get more respect. I'm considered an elder, and with age comes more wisdom. People don't test me the way they did when I was young and growing in the profession. But with my age comes greater expectations as well. (Margaret, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Other than the HBCU she attended as an undergraduate, Margaret's entire career has taken place at PWIs. Margaret considers her race to be an advantage in working at PWIs. Several committees require diverse representation, and Margaret has therefore had

opportunities not afforded to White colleagues to serve on very influential committees. She has led division-wide and university-wide initiatives. At Hilltop, she was selected to develop a new initiative around core competencies for students who participate in programs and services within student affairs. She is also leading the division's assessment initiatives for student leaders, and she was the only administrator from student affairs selected to participate on a committee reviewing the university's mission. As a result, Margaret has been able to build relationships with colleagues in academic affairs and demonstrate her capabilities as an administrator. This has contributed to Margaret's success in student affairs.

In spite of viewing her race as an advantage, Margaret still feels the need to prove herself. Being a Black woman at a PWI comes with the expectation that one will always be prepared, and sometimes over-prepared. Yet this has also worked to Margaret's advantage; because she puts in an extra effort, people respect her and view her as an asset to the field and the institution.

Margaret's career in student affairs has included challenges and successes. Some challenges have been centered on supervision and difficult parents. The biggest challenge has been a lack of sufficient funding and resources. Margaret's career began when multicultural affairs was a relatively new functional area for student affairs. As a result, she had few colleagues who could relate to what she was experiencing. Margaret found working in multicultural affairs marginalizing, and recalled the challenges she experienced:

> I didn't feel like I got the resources I needed to be able to do my job. It was
> basically a one-person shop. I did a lot in terms of advising five student

organizations and running a mentoring program with very little resources. I was

running myself ragged trying to make a difference and provide services for

students. Being in that particular role marginalized me as an employee because it

could have pigeonholed me in terms of not being able to work outside of diverse

student populations. (Margaret, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Being a woman has been a factor in Margaret's career, especially in male-

dominated groups. She has been challenged to find her voice within those group settings

but has learned to speak up despite her reserved personality, which is an issue for many

women. Margaret describes how she uses her voice.

Often I would make a statement and it would be overlooked and then a man

would make a similar statement and then he would receive the credit. In those

male-dominated settings, I have learned to speak up and say, "Well, I believe

that's similar to what I mentioned." Situations similar to that play out all the

time. (Margaret, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Margaret's recommendations for retaining Black women in student affairs include

understanding the shared and individual ways Black women experience a university. The

shared is giving Black women varied experiences for career mobility. She believes

learning skills associated with budgeting, supervision, and leadership can have a

significant impact on the development of Black women in the profession. She also

encourages Black women to pursue doctorates to obtain the necessary credential to

advance in the profession.

Margaret believes Black women need to be intentional about their professional

development, noting:

Typically Black women get put in positions like Director of Multicultural Affairs

or other areas where you don't get the experiences that you need to be able to

move up into a senior leadership role. What I've noticed over the years is that

men advance much more quickly that women and it's even more salient for

women of color. It's because sometimes we get into positions that don't give us

the type of experiences that we need to be able to move up. So, being intentional

and insuring that Black women have mentors who can direct them in terms of

getting the experience that we need to advance. (Margaret, Interview, May 3,

2013)

Margaret did not have other Black women in the profession to look up to.

Therefore, she had made a commitment to mentor younger professional women of color

by making sure they've developed a network to assist them in handling difficult

situations.

The individualized piece of retaining Black women in student affairs is based on

individuals' experiences and backgrounds. Margaret observes:

Individual experience is sometimes based on individual backgrounds in terms of

whether or not you are a first-generation student or a certain socioeconomic

background. And sometimes if you tend to have a background similar to what you

call the majority in terms of middle-class experience and background, there's a

tendency to fit in better. So what I've noticed is for women of color who don't

acclimate or fit into sort of majority culture, are the ones who have the most, the

most negative experience, but adapt and fit in. (Margaret, Interview, May 3, 2013)

Margaret considers herself well socialized into the student affairs profession, describing herself as "student affairs to the core." She has acquired the skills and values associated with being student-centered and promoting the growth, development, health, and safety of students. Margaret considers these values integrated into her personality and into her philosophy of managing her functional areas.

Summary

Margaret's experience working in multicultural affairs was marginalizing because she lacked the support and the resources to do her job effectively. As suggested by Patitu and Hinton (2003), this lack of resources placed Margaret on the periphery of the institution. Her marginalization reflects her status as an outsider-within (P.H. Collins, 2000). Margaret had the knowledge, education, and position for full membership in the institution but was kept outside the sphere of influence.

Margaret's advice for retaining Black women in student affairs focuses on moving them from the periphery to the center. She advocates giving Black women opportunities to serve in positions where they will learn skills that prepare them to assume senior leadership roles, arguing that this is critical to the survival of Black women in student affairs administration.

As mentioned above, Margaret's salient identity lies at the intersection of race and gender. In addition, her age has also become salient. The contextual influence for her salient identity is the fact that she is getting older. Because of her longevity in the field and the great work she has done, she is well respected in the profession.

Concrete ceilings and walls can be impenetrable and non-transparent, limiting Black women's advancement and preventing them from full participation in professional

development opportunities (Catalyst, 2004; Drake-Clark, 2009). Despite these barriers, however, Margaret has achieved significant success as a student affairs administrator. She has had progressive experience with each position she has held, and she is well respected due to her participation in professional associations and her record of scholarly publications.

It is important to note that Margaret has used her race and gender to her own benefit by taking advantage of opportunities that required diverse representation. As a result, she was able to take the lead on several efforts that brought her positive exposure. Her contributions led her colleagues to view her as a competent and influential colleague and administrator.

Despite her success, Margaret has experienced marginalization in her career. Because of her race and her ability to address a racial incident at Wilmington State, she was given responsibility for multicultural affairs. This was a fairly new functional area not only to her institution but also within student affairs generally, and as a result Margaret received little support from colleagues and insufficient financial resources to do her job effectively. This experience forced Margaret to hone other skills to prevent being pigeon-holed in this particular functional area.

Denise

I briefly met Denise during a presentation at a conference a few years ago. I did not think she remembered me; however, I was glad she agreed to participate in the study. Scheduling the interview was easy, as I made arrangements with her assistant. Because of that, however, I was unable to form a perception of her and I did not know what to expect. I was anxious to hear about her career path; since my goal is to become a dean of

students I am especially interested in Denise's path to her current position and the challenges she experienced along the way.

Denise explained that she had bronchitis, so I was sure the interview would not last very long. She was very direct in her responses. Her reason for her salient identity was simple, yet connected with who she was as an administrator and as a person. I enjoyed hearing Denise's perspective on the angry Black woman stigma that Black women often encounter in work environments. Her thoughts on socialization were intriguing as well. Her experience with racism did not seem like something that should have happened in 2013, and I was completely taken aback by it. For a woman to achieve what she has only to be so blatantly disrespected was painful to hear. I can only imagine how that experience continues to affect her.

Denise's Professional Story

Denise had the typical college student experience. She changed her major several times; she started as a music major, but switched to speech pathology after taking a music theory course. She was an RA, orientation leader, and sorority sister, and belonged to several organizations geared toward Black students on campus. Through these experiences, she realized she could make a living doing student affairs. At that time Denise did not know what being a Dean of Students meant, but she made the decision to move south for a graduate program in student affairs and higher education.

Denise worked in residence life and multicultural affairs at Midwest State University, student activities at Myers College, and served as Assistant Dean of Students at State University for nine years before completing her doctorate in Educational Policy Studies in 2011. Currently she is the Dean of Students at Wayland State University, a

large public research institution. Denise feels prepared for her role as Dean of Students. She explains:

> Honestly, I feel really prepared, only in the sense of . . . to be a dean, you have to be a generalist. I mean, you can have some specialty areas and of course, expertise in different things but you've got to be able to just deal with every part of the university. I am in a role now where I have 15 departments that report to me and it's overwhelming. I'm in an environment where I have everything from large areas to some small areas and so I feel that my professional preparation has been good and appropriate. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Professional socialization. In her practice as a student affairs administrator Denise implements a number of the profession's foundational pieces, which she learned in her graduate program. They include understanding student development, valuing the whole student, and building relationships with people. Denise believes both academic and student affairs are responsible for providing a quality education. She emphasizes the importance of diversity and multicultural competence, which she describes as values of the profession that have always resonated with her. Because of her involvement in Black student organizations, she understands the importance of diversity and the significance of multicultural competence, which extends beyond the student affairs profession.

A significant factor in Denise's socialization is her awareness that she does not have to be like everyone else. With her mentor's guidance, she realized that she does not have to be the woman people think she should be. Denise recalled a conversation with a colleague about being an angry Black woman.

I heard a female staff member, a Black staff member, say to me that she did not

confront a situation because she didn't want to get the stereotype of an "angry

Black woman." Now, have I been angry? Absolutely. Do I happen to be Black?

Absolutely. Am I a woman? Yes. But to me, those things don't have to be put in

one sentence. It can be isolating, but it seems that is what people expect me to be,

and knowing that I don't have to be the angry Black woman has bode well for me

in my career. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

While politics sometimes have a negative connotation, Denise believes they play

a role in everything in student affairs, including socialization. She does not consider

politics in the profession to be negative. Denise shared:

To me, politics does have a stitch of hierarchy and if there is that hierarchy, then

there are some issues of power and in many situations that power belongs to the

dominant group. The people in power are the ones making decisions about

resources, people, [and] policies, and knowing who the decision makers are is

important. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Mentoring. Denise has had one professional mentor. It was a relationship that

progressed naturally after she met the woman at a conference, and the mentoring

relationship flourished when her mentor began supervising Denise. She fondly reminisces

about this relationship.

I met her at a conference while I was working at Midwest State. My students

totally fell in love with her and we asked her to present a few workshops during

our summer training. A year later, she called me out of the blue and offered me a

job at Myers College as her Director of Student Activities. We developed a

friendship, but we also developed a professional relationship. I really learned a lot

from her. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Since her mentor passed away, it has been difficult for Denise to cultivate another

professional mentoring relationship. Denise feels she is at a point in her career where her

needs are specific and therefore she must identify people who can mentor her.

Denise's mentor was a Black woman and it was important for her to connect with

someone who looked like her. Gender was not a factor in choosing her mentor; however,

race was important because she wanted to connect with someone who looked like her and

was in a position she aspired to be in. Now that Denise is a Dean of Students, neither race

nor gender is an important factor in whom she selects as a mentor. What is important is

the mentor's skill set and what she can learn from him or her.

Professional development. Being involved in professional organizations has

been a component of Denise's socialization in student affairs. In addition to attending

conferences, she has been the chair for her region's student affairs professional

association and has served on the faculty for a national organization's professional

development institute for two years. Her involvement with the regional organization

includes being elected to the board and serving as the Vice President for Professional

Development.

Being involved in professional organizations has allowed Denise to build a solid

network of colleagues. She is still connected to colleagues from her master's program and

former to supervisees. There are four colleagues with whom she is close who hold a

monthly conference call to discuss issues facing them in their new roles at their

respective campuses. This is helpful for Denise because she feels she does not have the liberty or freedom to discuss things with certain people at her own institution..

In addition to having a limited number of people with whom to discuss the difficulties she's experiencing, Denise is also challenged by the lack of balance in her life. She views the need to balance work and a personal life differently now than she did when she first entered the field.

> I think the expectations are even higher than they were when I first started in terms of our availability to students and just being present. And the energy that this kind of job takes out of you, particularly as a dean . . . I had one month where I did 15 keynote speeches. Even as an extrovert, it can wipe you out. So I feel like in this role, I always have to be on and I have to be ready. The challenge is, what kind of balance does that leave for me? I'm literally on call all the time. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Denise finds fulfillment in student affairs through the relationships she has with students. Several former students consider her to be their mentor. Denise has also suspended students who have later told her the suspension was the best thing for them and thanked her for treating them with respect and dignity. This part of her work is rewarding, knowing she has an impact on the lives of students.

Salient identity. Denise's race and gender are both salient in her work environment. Her current institution and the surrounding community are 98% White. Because of her environment, it is noticeable that she is a Black woman. Denise described her salient identity.

I think if a person were to describe me, they would naturally say "she's a Black woman." Both parts of me show up equally. I'm a woman who wears high heels and makeup every day, so you don't miss the woman in me at all. And it's obvious that I'm Black. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Because of her environment, both race and gender have factored into Denise's experiences as a student affairs administrator. She attended a football game last fall wearing a shirt with her school's logo and a jacket in the school's colors. A White man approached her and asked if she was the sister of the quarterback, who was one of the few Black football players on the team. Denise was unsure how to respond. She recounted the exchange.

I had to remember that I'm the Dean of Students at Wayland State so in that moment I couldn't react like Denise would react, because Denise's reaction would have been all kinds of wrong. I think I stood there for 30 seconds thinking, "Which way am I going to go with this?" I finally said, "No, actually, I'm not. I'm the Dean of Students at Wayland State." He didn't believe me at first and I don't know why I had to convince him, but he finally walked off with his head hanging down. Of all of the things he could have said to me, the one that he picked in his mind was, "Are you the quarterback's sister?" Are you kidding? It's situations like this that make race always present for me. This place is 99% White. I'm conscious in this environment if I'm in a room and I'm the only Black person or the only person of color. It's just always there. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Denise's gender has been salient in the context of her interactions with a male supervisor at Midwest State. She perceived her supervisor to be a chauvinist because he continuously disregarded everything she said. This behavior was not specifically directed toward Denise; he treated all women the same way. Denise considered him to be very dismissive. She shared:

I'm a pretty vocal person and he did not like that about me. He didn't like that I challenged him. He told me, "I feel like you have all of these great ideas, but you're not involved." My response was, "So do you think I should run every idea that is floating around in my head by you? Do I need to speak with you first before I do anything?" He replied, "Yes." Needless to say, that reporting relationship did not last very long. (Denise, Interview, May 8, 2013)

Denise views the question of how to retain Black women in student affairs from the broader perspective of retaining people of color. When she attends conferences, she sees more Black women in attendance and therefore does not see an issue with retention. She does believe that retaining student affairs administrators of color requires connecting people outside the work environment. Her current VPSA noted the challenge of recruiting people of color to Wayland State because the town's population is 98% White. Making sure student affairs administrators of color are able to connect with a community outside the campus environment will greatly aid in retention.

Denise believes she has been socialized into the student affairs profession as a result of her work experience. She asserts that while her master's and doctoral programs gave her the foundation to enter the profession, she has been socialized as a student affairs administrator by applying theory to practice, learning how to engage people,

understanding how to navigate campus environments, and developing competency in administrative practices.

Summary

Lindsay (1994) contends that Black women must practice a degree of deference when speaking. Denise was confronted with this challenge when attending Wayland State's football game. Denise felt she had to soften her reaction to the White man who assumed she was the quarterback's sister because of her race. Denise had to realize that she could not react angrily or aggressively to the microaggression because of her position of influence with the institution.

Denise experienced marginalization due to her gender. Because she was a woman, her supervisor at Midwest State disregarded her ideas and did not trust her judgment. Farmer (1993) and Harley (2002) stated Black women are viewed through a lens clouded by gender and racial bias; thus their ideas and feedback are received in a patronizing manner. These strategies are a silencing mechanism used by White men and women to denigrate Black women. Denise's supervisor, a White man, would discredit everything she said and did not respond to women in leadership roles.

Although Denise does not currently have a mentor, she does have an established network of colleagues to provide support. Support is vital for Black women who work at PWIs (Patitu & Hinton, 2003). Denise is not able to discuss certain aspects of her job with her co-workers because she has been in her position less than a year and has not established relationships with Wayland State colleagues whom she can confide in. With her network, in contrast, she can openly discuss the challenges of her position, including the difficulty of navigating both the campus environment and the campus community.

Denise's experience at Wayland State has made her race significant in her role as a student affairs administrator. In an environment where 99% of the population is White, Denise is very cognizant of how frequently she is the only person of color present. Nowhere was this dynamic more evident than during the Wayland State football game where a stranger assumed she was the quarterback's sister because both were Black. The White man's question about her relationship to the quarterback was a form of microaggression: a denigrating message to a person of color because of their racial background (Sue, 2010). This experience made Denise stop to consider how she should react. This need to negotiate her response exemplifies the concept of *shifting*, a habit Black women develop in which their speech, appearance, or behavior is altered because of race and gender (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Denise shifted her reaction from acting as her true self to acting as the Dean of Students and a representative of the Wayland State administration.

Katherine

When I scheduled Katherine's interview, she left me with the impression that she would be difficult. She was hesitant to participate because of her hectic schedule, which I completely understood. The end of the spring semester is busy for student affairs administrators with end-of-the-year banquets and graduation. Scheduling an interview for a doctoral candidate probably was not a priority for her, so I was glad she was able to accommodate me.

Katherine was very vulnerable and candid during her interview. The interview went over the allotted 90 minutes and neither of us seemed to mind. I laughed at her characterization of how she got into the profession as haphazard and empathized with her

response to a racial experience she discussed. It was obvious that she had constructed an effective defense mechanism to survive in her current work environment. My discussion with Katherine provided the perfect conclusion to my interviews.

Katherine's Professional Story

As an undergraduate, Katherine was involved in many student activities and served in several leadership roles. Despite being an involved student, Katherine did not know that student affairs was a profession until she learned about it from a friend at Southern State College. She thought student affairs was the department where students went when they had problems. In March of her senior year Katherine did not yet know what she wanted to do after graduation. Her friend Sarah, who had just been admitted to the Higher Education and Student Personnel program, gave her a flyer outlining what students could do with this degree and listing the functional areas housed in student affairs.

The program was perfect for Katherine, who noted:

I love school. I'm a lifelong learner and if I can be paid to go to school, I'd go to school forever. I'd rather be at school than anything in this world. What was cool about student affairs was that I could stay in college for the rest of my life.

(Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

Professional socialization. Katherine applied and was admitted to the program, and received the last assistantship available. At the beginning of her first semester, her counseling theories professor announced that all students who had an A going into the final exam would be exempt from taking it. There was an exam coming up when Katherine's cousin died in a train accident. Katherine asked for permission to take the

exam after she returned from the funeral. The request was denied, although a White male classmate was given permission to take the exam after he returned from an organization's Placement Showcase. The professor told Katherine that she needed to be a role model and that there were higher expectations of her. This was Katherine's socialization into student affairs: Because of her race and gender, more would be expected of Katherine.

One month after receiving her master's degree, Katherine was hired as a residence hall director and counselor in the counseling center. She was the only Black woman who was a resident director and on staff at the counseling center. The Director of Residence Life, who did not have a background in student affairs, was tough on her and questioned everything she did. The Director of Counseling was very supportive.

She then moved to Pacific State University to work as an area coordinator, overseeing four halls. Four years later she went to Northern University where she started as a counselor in the counseling center. Again, Katherine was the only Black counselor in the counseling center and had a positive experience there, receiving the Vice President's citation in recognition of her work. She began making plans to create an office of multicultural affairs. Two years later, she opened the Office of Multicultural Services and served as its director for four years, until she moved to her current position of Associate Dean of Students for Diversity Programs at Northern Technical University.

Katherine learned some of her professional knowledge, skills, and values in her graduate program, but they became integrated into her work as a student affairs administrator through her involvement with the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS). Attending CAS conferences exposed Katherine to what is valued in student affairs and what student affairs divisions and practitioners

should be doing. She learned that multicultural competence, advocacy, and assessment should be practiced consistently and that administrators must develop strong skills in management, budgeting, supervision, and strategic planning.

Katherine has worked at five different institutions and in her experience, politics play a very significant role in socialization. Each school has had a different culture and the ability to navigate a campus culture is crucial to a student affairs administrator's career. Katherine offered:

> I think those who learn how to navigate well usually end up well and those who do not, they do not end well. And I think there are some people who are purposely not taught the political system. I think everyone, especially women of color, need to seek people out. Northern Tech is 70% male and that totally blew my paradigm of what higher education looked like. When I came here I was the youngest, only person of color, and one of few women to be a part of the vice president's cabinet. I had to learn which sandbox to play in on my own. (Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

Professional development. Katherine credits her involvement in a regional professional organization for getting her hired for her first three jobs. She developed as a student affairs administrator by learning from and networking with other professionals. Chairing the regional organization's Diversity Committee led her to work in multicultural affairs. Katherine has also been involved in a national student affairs organization, actively attending conferences and serving as her state's representative. Lastly, she co-chairs her state's Diversity Consortium and has done so since it was created five years

ago. This year she will have the opportunity to present a pre-conference workshop at a national conference focused on race and ethnicity in higher education.

Mentoring. While Katherine has had numerous mentors in her career, the mentors who have had a significant impact on Katherine's socialization have been White men. She acquired a mentor through a mentoring program offered by the institution she worked for at the time. Katherine explained her reasons for wanting a White male mentor:

> I purposely asked for a White male, a White male who was very much like the other White men who were at this institution. To help me navigate the waters because I think what I was looking for . . . I don't really think a Black woman or a woman period would have been as helpful as him because [of] who I was coming up against . . . they looked like him. They had the same mind frame as this man. He was very beneficial in helping me navigate those waters. (Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

Katherine had a former supervisor who was a White woman serve as a mentor because she built Katherine's confidence as a student affairs administrator and gave her the best preparation to be where she is now. This supervisor left Northern Tech seven years ago and Katherine has not had a professional mentor in student affairs since then.

In recent years Katherine's mentors have been Black women who work at Northern Tech but are not in student affairs. For where she is now, it is important for Katherine to have Black women as mentors. Katherine shared:

I'm a member of a sorority. When I was at Northern University, I led the Circle of

Sisterhood, a support group for Black women. I understand the strength that can

come from when Black women get together to share their experiences. At this

point in my life, I need that and I actively sought out those women. (Katherine,

Interview, May 9, 2013)

Overall, Katherine's mentors have believed in her and had faith in her abilities.

They respected her as a person and expanded her opportunities, finding ways to bring

Katherine "to the table" by advocating for her competency and skills. Katherine

recognizes that she was fortunate not to have to figure this out on her own.

I was blessed to be surrounded by people who brought me to the table, because

sometimes you don't get an invitation to the table even though you should be at

the table. Sometimes, the invitation never comes. Someone has to tag you and

bring you to the table. (Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

Salient identity. The salience of Katherine's identity has changed over the years.

In 2013, her race is most salient in the work environment. Northern Tech has presented

itself as a chilly climate for women. Because men are dominant at her institution, she has

learned to navigate the culture of the institution as a woman, but not as a Black woman.

Race has been a factor throughout Katherine's experience as a student affairs

administrator. At her former institution she was the only director on staff with a master's

degree. Her race played a factor in her hiring, as Katherine recalled:

There were two White women who did not have a degree whatsoever. Both had

high school diplomas with a director's title. There was a White man who was also

a director, but had a Bachelor's degree. I often sat back and wondered, in fact I

know, if I did not come in with my credentials there is no way I would have been

hired for this position. (Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

Katherine also connects the challenges associated with competing for resources to

her race and gender. She is always in a position to make sure staff who report to her

receive more resources than she does. She acknowledges that sacrificing and providing

for others are characteristics that are stereotypically associated with Black women

through the Mammy role. With sincerity, Katherine relayed:

I'm a sacrificing mother and that's the nature of who I am. Especially when I have

young staff because people did this for me. I've had supervisors to do that for me.

I'm all into giving them everything they need to be successful and they don't

know it. They don't necessarily know the sacrifices I made. That I gave it all to

them or most of all to them so they could have what they need. (Katherine,

Interview, May 9, 2013)

To counter these challenges, Katherine finds satisfaction in the recognition she

receives from her students. Her office is filled with notes and cards from students. When

she signs students' cards or when students graduate, she tells them the same thing her

mother told her before she passed away: "I hope all your dreams come true." Seeing

students grow, mature, and succeed is the most rewarding part of her work. Katherine has

also had supervisors who allowed her to do what she needed to do. Her supervisors

recognized her competency and gave her the leverage to do what was necessary to be

effective in her job.

Katherine's gender has factored into the way she communicates at Northern Tech.

Because the institution is so male-dominated, she tries to behave like the men in her department. She described her communication style in the male-dominated institution:

> I had to change who I am in order to fit in. In fact, I don't even know if I could work at another place. I'd probably get fired, because here, men interrupt more. I tried to be a lady. I would raise my hand and wait to be recognized and that did not work. I was never called upon. So I started interrupting and now I act like a man. I have changed my entire communication style to fit in. That has been my way to survive. (Katherine, Interview, May 9, 2013)

In addition to recognizing the importance of mentoring, Katherine's suggestions for retaining Black women in student affairs include identifying allies among those who can provide opportunities for Black women to develop new skills and enhance their professional experience. Katherine also believes Black women should advocate for each other.

In response to my question about whether she has been socialized as a student affairs administrator, after much reflection Katherine responded that she has. She subscribes to the set of norms, knowledge, and skills taught in her graduate preparation programs and endorsed by her professional associations. Navigating the campus culture has been a challenge but she has learned to survive. Katherine declares "We're like a cult. Other professions don't work quite like we do; we have our own way of doing, living, thinking. You have to be socialized to do what we do."

Summary

Katherine's experience as the only director on staff with a master's degree made her race salient. As a Black woman with a master's degree, Katherine was a token for her

department. Katherine learned that her race was a deciding factor in being hired at Northern University, where she was the only staff member of color in the Counseling Center. While other staff did not have the credentials she did, Katherine realized that she was hired because of her race and would not have been hired if she had not had a master's degree.

Working in an institution with a high percentage of men forced Katherine to alter her communication style. Daniel (1997) noted that women are oppressed by the different communication styles typical of men and women. Whereas male communication is associated with assertiveness, disruptive comments, and controlling speech, female communication styles feature gestures as a means of asking to be recognized to speak and cooperative speech (Daniel, 1997). Katherine recognized that the only way to survive in this environment was to adopt the communication style of the men in her work environment. While her contextual influence was the male-dominated environment, Katherine learned to navigate the institution as a woman by changing her behavior. Doing this made her race salient.

Several components of Black feminist thought are applicable to Katherine's experience with mentors. Her outsider-within status, as a Black woman with the credentials to effectively do her job who nevertheless remained outside the sphere of influence, convinced her that she needed a White male mentor. Katherine believed having a White man as a mentor would help her learn to navigate the campus environment from his perspective, moving her inside the sphere of influence. Katherine's mentoring relationships with Black women reflect P. H. Collins' (2000) assertion that Black women have a collective standpoint because of their race and gender. Due to their collective

experiences (Patton, 2009), as Katherine observed, when Black women gather, strength is created.

Summary

This chapter outlined the study's findings in response to the research questions. The chapter presented the narratives of each participant, describing their professional socialization in student affairs, their salient identities, and how racism and sexism have influenced their professional socialization. In Chapter 5, I will identify the themes that emerged from the data, discuss the implications of the study, and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The eleven narratives in this study provide an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization and how race and gender influence these experiences. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How do Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experience?

2. In what ways, if any, does racism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

3. In what ways, if any, does sexism influence the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration?

It is important to note that the narratives of the participants' professional socialization experiences represent their own process of socialization into the profession. No attempt at generalization is made, and these experiences may or may not reflect those of other Black women in student affairs administration. It is also important to note that all participants have worked in the student affairs profession for several years and have been successful in the field. In addition to their experiences, the findings reflect the meaning participants made of these experiences. While not generalizable, they provide greater understanding, potentially useful to those in similar situations and those working with them. Analysis of the data revealed the following themes in the narratives: the influence of mentoring relationships on professional socialization, involvement in professional

associations, institutional socialization, and salient identities. What follows is a discussion of the significant patterns presented in Chapter Four and their relevance to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. Implications and recommendations for future research are also discussed.

Influence of Mentoring Relationships on Professional Socialization

Developing and nurturing mentoring relationships in the student affairs profession is essential. Mentoring supports the career development of Black women in student affairs administration and increases positive socialization experiences (Jones & Dufor, 2012). Mentoring also increases retention in the profession, promotes competence, and increases career advancement. Prior research indicates that Black women in student affairs administration find it challenging to establishing mentoring relationships as graduate students (Crawford & Smith, 2005). This is due to feelings of alienation and invisibility, and of faculty who do not have the time to devote to mentoring (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Patton & Harper, 2003).

Lack of mentoring is a barrier to career advancement and can lead to attrition of Black women from student affairs administration (Baker, 2011; Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007). Many Black women in student affairs, particularly those working at PWIs, are left on their own to learn the campus culture (Wolfman, 1997). The experiences of the women in this study contradict the notion that it is difficult to establish mentoring relationships, as the participants have developed nurturing mentoring relationships with fellow administrators, faculty members, supervisors, and peers.

Sasha, Irene, Shannon, Cindy, Dawn, Katherine, and Denise benefited greatly from current and former supervisors who served as mentors. Through their involvement

in professional organizations, Megan, Irene, and Margaret developed mentoring relationships with other student affairs administrators. Shannon, Denise, Katherine, and Leslie have a network of peers who serve as mentors. Each of these mentors has had a remarkable impact on the socialization of the participants in the study. As a result of these mentoring relationships, all of the participants learned the importance of understanding institutional culture. Irene and Margaret gained access to formal and informal networks. Leslie received insight on critical decision-making skills. Megan and Tracie were advised on decisions that affected their career advancement.

Cindy, Tracie, and Dawn benefited enormously from mentoring provided by faculty members in their master's programs. Both Tracie and Cindy have received advice on career advancement from their faculty mentors. Dawn's faculty mentor helped her adjust to Powell University. Irene and Leslie's mentors informed them of the importance of learning campus culture and of developing the requisite skills to advance in the field. Because the participants in the study serve in leadership roles and provide oversight of functional areas in student affairs, it is clear that their mentors have had a role in their socialization.

Some participants benefited from peer mentoring relationships as well. Peer mentoring occurs between colleagues who are at similar levels of authority and decision-making (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). Tull (2009) indicates that peer mentoring relationships can exert a greater influence when they provide adequate support and information. Shannon's peer mentoring group was established to provide administrators working in multicultural affairs with strategies to develop skill sets that would advance their careers in other functional areas. Katherine's peer mentoring group emerged from a

shared need to connect with and garner support from other Black women at Northern

Tech, where men comprised the overwhelming majority of the population. Although not

all participants experienced peer-mentoring relationships, it is important to note the

significant influence of this type of mentoring on Shannon and Katherine.

Cross-cultural mentoring

Several participants stated that the race and gender of their mentor was important,

while others were not concerned with race or gender as long as the mentor had a genuine

interest in their socialization and advancement. Participants who actively sought a mentor

of the same race did so because they believed that person would understand the

challenges they experienced as a student affairs practitioner. Researchers have found that

mentoring relationships are stronger when the participants are more alike (Miller &

Vaughn, 1997).

Black women may confront unwelcoming environments, a lack of support, and

discrimination when working in student affairs (Henry & Glenn, 2009; Hughes &

Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Patton & Harper, 2003; Zamani, 2003). Patton (2009) found

that White mentors are unable to understand the challenges Black women encounter, and

as a result Black women feared that sharing their challenges and struggles with White

mentors would reinforce perceptions of weakness. Shannon was intent on having mentors

who were Black and worked in positions she aspired to obtain. Both Sasha and Denise

sought mentors who could understand their experiences as Black women in student

affairs.

Although many of the participants have successful mentoring relationships with

other Black student affairs administrators, several participants have vibrant relationships

with mentors of another race or gender. Irene, Cindy, Leslie, and Megan all have mentors of a different race or gender. This was not intentional, but their mentors have had a vested interest in socializing them as student affairs administrators. Some participants identified the specific need to have a mentor who is a White man. Dawn, Leslie, Sasha, and Katherine emphasized the importance of having a White male mentor in their corner because of the power and privilege White men possess in the profession. Learning how to navigate the profession from the perspective of those who have access to knowledge and power would ensure their mobility in the profession (Miller & Vaughn, 1997). Futrell, Coker, and McKenzie (2012) argue that soliciting non-Black staff members to serve as mentors can result in successful mentoring relationships if the mentor has a clear understanding of the challenges facing Black women.

Black feminist thought provides a context for understanding the participants' mentoring relationships. These mentoring experiences allow the participants' voices to be heard and move their experiences from the margin to the center (P. H. Collins, 2000). Additionally, having mentors to assist with career advancement and acknowledge the unique challenges they experience due to their race and gender supports participants in overcoming systems of oppression (P. H. Collins, 1986). With this said, mentoring has a significant influence on the professional socialization experiences of the participants in the study. Irene, Cindy, Megan, Sasha, Margaret, Denise, and Leslie have advanced in their careers in part due to their mentors' role in their socialization. Their mentoring relationships have been integral in retaining the participants in the profession and have significant impacted their advancement in the field, as evidenced by their longevity in the field and the level of responsibility associated with their positions.

Involvement in Professional Associations

All of the participants are involved in professional organizations, either by attending conferences, presenting conference sessions, or serving in leadership roles. The participants recognize the impact of this involvement on their professional socialization. In general, student affairs administrators who advance in the profession are involved in professional organizations (Chernow, Cooper, & Winston, 2003), as exemplified by the participants. Professional organizations aim to provide members with opportunities to network with colleagues and learn from other professionals (Chernow, Cooper, & Winston, 2003). Irene, Megan, and Denise have participated in New Professionals Institute and Mid-Managers Institute; Margaret participated in the Alice Manicur Symposium. All of these opportunities require a nomination from a senior colleague in the profession.

Involvement in professional associations provides opportunities to create a network of professional peers. Professional organizations are a great place to reconnect and learn from peers employed at other institutions (Janosik, 2009). All the participants have networks of colleagues they met while attending conferences. Irene's chance meeting with Dr. Felder during the conference created an advocate for her, should she decide to pursue a VPSA position in the future. Shannon's network consists of colleagues who work in multicultural affairs at other institutions, a network created through her involvement with a regional professional organization.

Because networking within a professional association is an interactive process that occurs throughout a professional's career (D. Collins, 2009; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993; Van Maanen, 1976, 1984), the participants' involvement in professional

organizations maintains their engagement in developments occurring in the student

affairs profession and helps them create and maintain relationships with colleagues.

Within the framework of Black feminist thought, the participants' involvement in

professional organizations provides a means to resist controlling images applied to Black

women and reinforces empowerment among Black women in student affairs. P. H.

Collins (2000) asserts that the networking that occurs through involvement in

professional organizations represents a valiant attempt to move Black women from the

margin of their professions to the center.

Institutional Socialization

In addition to acquiring the knowledge, skills, and espoused values of the student

affairs profession, the participants also had to learn how knowledge and values are put

into practice at the institutions in which they work. Institutional socialization includes

learning the political and decision-making structures of the organization (Carpenter &

Carpenter, 2009). Tull, Hurt, & Saunders (2009) argue that professionals should learn

about institutional and divisional cultures during the interview process and through

information available through the institution's website. However, interviews and websites

do not always provide an accurate gauge of organizational politics. All of the participants

identified challenges with socialization in the institution due to politics. Their issues

stemmed from not understanding how to "play the game." Each participant defined

"playing the game" differently; however, the definitions related to navigating the campus

environment and understanding the goals of the division of student affairs, who the key

people are within the fabric of the institution, and who is involved in decision-making.

For example, Leslie mentioned feeling obligated to participate in "water cooler talk" in

order to be selected for committees and other opportunities within her department. She felt obligated to do this because her White male colleagues were automatically assigned opportunities. However, because of her race and gender, Leslie believed "playing the game" by participating in office small talk would make her more visible and considered for opportunities.

The politics at the HBCU where Cindy worked involved establishing the credibility of student affairs within the institution's mission. Margaret's campus politics involved building relationships not only with other administrators but also with the campus community, particularly the institution's highly engaged students and their politically connected families, who had a significant role in decision-making. In Megan's discussion of politics she noted instances in which she has attended meetings only to find that decisions had apparently been made prior to the meeting.

What is important to note are the similarities in institutional socialization for the participants who worked at PWI's and those who worked at HBCU's. In spite of the different campus cultures, all of the participants experienced the same challenges with navigating campus culture and networking with key stakeholders at their respective institutions. Irene's experience at Trinity State, an HBCU, is similar to Megan's experience at Eastern State, a PWI. Both experienced challenges working with colleagues that were not receptive to Megan and Irene's ideas because they were transplants to the institution.

From the perspective of Black feminist thought, the participants' challenges in navigating campus culture and organizational politics can be attributed to their outsider-within status (P. H. Collins, 2000). The women in the study are responsible for the

direction of functional areas within student affairs. Therefore, they theoretically have

access to the same power and privilege afforded to other administrators with the same

responsibilities. However, because of their race and gender, they experience additional

challenges in navigating the environment. Leslie is often excluded from professional

opportunities such as serving on committees, while White male colleagues are routinely

selected for those opportunities. Tracie, Megan, Margaret, Cindy, and Shannon all feel

marginalized because they work in multicultural affairs and are perceived as only having

knowledge related to diversity and social justice issues. Thus their outsider-within status

keeps these professionals in a marginalized position in which they have less than full

status in their organizations (Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007; P. H. Collins, 2000).

Salient Identities

Black women belong to two marginalized groups and due to the intersectionality

of these identities, their experiences must be understood through the lenses of both race

and gender (P. H. Collins, 2000). The concepts of standpoint theory and outsider-within

status (P. H. Collins, 1986, 2000) lend insight into Black women's experiences. While

race and gender are salient identities, contextual influences such as one's environment,

family background, sociocultural conditions, current experiences, and career decisions

must also be considered. Within the model of multiple dimensions of identity, saliency is

relative, depending on contextual influences and the individual's meaning-making

structure (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007).

Several participants had salient identities that lay at the intersection of race and

gender. For Tracie, Sasha, Margaret, and Denise, race and gender were both so connected

to their identities that they could not separate them. For the rest of the participants,

contextual influences determined their salient identity. Katherine's salient identity was her race because she has learned how to navigate the male-dominated environment as a woman, but not as a Black woman. Race was Shannon's salient identity because of her experience while attending an HBCU as an undergraduate student and working at an institution where she is responsible for working with all students of color. While Hill Collins (2000) states that gender for Black women is salient when it intersects with race, there were participants who identified with only their gender. Because Cindy works at an HBCU and is one of few women in a leadership role at Woodson University, her gender is her salient identity. Dawn also found her gender to be significant because of male staff members who were not receptive to her serving as their supervisor.

What was unexpected was for participants to define their salient identity as their age. According to Hill Collins (2000), race, class, and gender are the three "axes of oppression" that Black women identify as being most salient. Megan's age and race were salient because she was the youngest administrator of color in her current work environment. In addition to her gender, Dawn's age was salient because of the different ages of her staff members. Because Margaret has over 25 years of experience as a student affairs administrator, her age is salient because of the knowledge she has acquired and her vast experience in the field. Black feminist thought explains the complex intersection of race and gender and explores how these intersecting identities shape the experiences of Black women (P. H. Collins, 2000). This study compelled the participants to consider other aspects of their identities, given the contextual influences of the campus environment and their role as student affairs administrators.

Racism and sexism

Applying the model of multiple dimensions of identity allowed me to consider participants' salient identities through their meaning-making filters. For several participants, the meaning-making filter used to distinguish their salient identities was the product of their racist and sexist experiences in the work environment. Racism and sexism plague Black women in student affairs administration (Glover, 2012), marginalizing them by excluding them from important decision-making and blocking their access to resources (Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Zamani, 2003).

Denise's racist experience at the Wayland State football game made her race salient. She is always aware when she is the only person of color in the work environment. Cindy, Leslie, and Margaret shared the common experience of making a suggestion only to have it ignored, then having a man make the same suggestion and be acknowledged and receive credit for it. Cindy, Shannon, Tracie, Megan, and Margaret were also left out of significant decisions and denied valuable opportunities because of their race and the fact that they work in multicultural affairs.

Several participants reported the need to continuously prove their knowledge and competency because of their race and gender. As a result of their marginalized position Black women must repeatedly prove themselves, whereas the abilities of White colleagues are taken at face value (Latimore, 2009). Irene often had to prove she was capable of doing her job, specifically to her White male colleagues in administrative roles. These incidents spurred her to earn her doctorate because she knew having the degree would garner more respect, even though she was already an assistant vice

president. Sasha reported that she had to work harder than her White colleagues to gain the same recognition. Because of their race and gender, Megan and Sasha's direct approach to their work has led them to be regarded as aggressive and unapproachable. However, a White male colleague would be praised for the same assertiveness demonstrated by Megan and Sasha.

Implications

The findings from this study suggest several implications for the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs. Professional socialization is a critical component of becoming acclimated into the student affairs profession. The women in this study consider themselves to be socialized in the profession. However, their experiences with professional socialization also reflect a distinct set of challenges faced by Black women in student affairs administration. The data collected in this study will help identify areas of need in relation to professional development opportunities and resources for Black women in student affairs administration. More specifically, the study identifies the importance of including Black women in formal and informal networks and providing mentoring to assist with navigating institutional culture.

One implication of this study is the need for institutions and student affairs divisions to challenge outsider-within and be cognizant of their institutional climate. All of the study participants reported that they were socialized into the profession in part as a result of their experience in their graduate preparation programs. Many cited learning student developmental theory, care for the whole student, engagement, diversity, and ethical principles as important knowledge, skills, and values necessary for socialization as a student affairs administrator. However, these concepts did not help them become

socialized at their respective institutions due to institutional climate. Because of outsider-within, the participants were challenged with learning the organization's politics to successfully navigate the campus environment. Additionally, the participants had to develop mentoring relationships to learn how to negotiate their outsider-within status in the campus environment.

The results of the study also indicate that there is a socialization process that is specific to institutions. While the participants consider themselves to be socialized in student affairs as a result of acquiring professional skills, knowledge, and values through their graduate preparation programs, becoming socialized within a student affairs division at a particular institution is a different process. Each institution presents its own set of values, norms, and politics that the participants need to learn. Institutions, and specifically student affairs divisions, should be transparent in their values, norms, and politics to help professionals new to the institution become socialized in and acclimated to the institution's culture.

Administering a new staff orientation program is one way to accomplish this goal. A new staff orientation allows student affairs professionals to learn about the institution, the division of student affairs, and the department's influential stakeholders, and to identify what is important for each of these entities. Through the orientation staff members will begin to understand the institutional culture, develop formal and informal networks with their colleagues, and recognize what is valued in the campus environment.

Student affairs administrators who are in positions to hire new staff should make every effort not only to recruit and hire Black women, but also to provide opportunities that will help them succeed as student affairs administrators. Winston and Creamer

(1997) firmly suggest that hiring managers should make the best use of new staff members' skills, knowledge, and talents to ensure their success. As reflected in this study, mentoring has an influential impact on Black women's retention and career advancement in student affairs administration. Strong mentoring relationships help Black women to navigate the institution and the profession, and provide strategies to handle challenges experienced in the profession.

Mentors serve as advocates for Black women in student affairs administration and provide advice on navigating environments for career advancement. Mentoring not only assists with retaining Black women in the field, but also helps them break through the concrete walls and ceilings. Mentoring relationships can be established between professional peers, supervisors, and student affairs professionals at other institutions. The race and gender of the mentor may be considered, focusing on the skills and knowledge the mentor can provide is important. While all participants in this study had at least five years of work experience, several participants serve as senior student affairs officers. Their success provides assurance for Black women who are new professionals in student affairs that advancing their careers is achievable.

Recommendations for Future Research

The aim of this study was to understand the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration, and to explore how racism, sexism, and other contextual influences affect the professional socialization of this population. This study contributes significantly to the literature on Black women in student affairs administration and may assist in retaining black women in the profession by exposing the

challenges Black women experience in mid-level and senior-level administrative roles. The outcome of this study suggests several areas for future research.

A study focusing on the individual experiences of Black women in student affairs administration and how they influence socialization would contribute to the overall knowledge about Black women in the profession. Exploring the impact of individual influences such as socioeconomic background and first-generation college student status on socialization would advance our understanding of Black women's socialization experiences in student affairs.

This study did not specifically investigate the role of institutional type in the institutional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration. Future research could investigate the institutional socialization of Black women in student affairs at HBCUs, PWIs, and public and private institutions. The study could examine the similarities and differences in professional socialization among professionals at various institutional types to explore the role institutional type plays in socialization.

The persistence strategies of Black women in student affairs should also be explored. In spite of experiencing racism and sexism, Black women continue to advance their careers from new professionals to senior level administrators. Understanding the coping mechanisms utilized by Black women in student affairs administration to overcome challenges and how Black women are retained in the student affairs profession would be beneficial to Black women who are new professionals and administrators who recruit and supervise Black women in student affairs administration.

While this study found that mentoring has a significant impact on the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs administration, it would be helpful to

explore whether the mentor's race and gender is significant in the socialization process. Several participants in this study noted that they were very intentional in selecting the race and gender of their mentor. Researching the nature of cross-cultural mentoring relationships would contribute to understanding the challenges and benefits of these relationships.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs and to explore the influence of racism and sexism in their experience as student affairs administrators. Eleven Black female student affairs administrators with at least five years of experience, including oversight of at least one functional area, participated in this narrative inquiry by completing semi-structured interviews. After an analysis of the data, the following themes emerged: influence of mentoring relationships, involvement in professional associations, institutional socialization, and salient identities.

Although Black feminist thought identifies the intersection of race and gender as the key salient identity for Black women, considering contextual influences as suggested by the model of multiple dimensions of identity reveals other salient aspects of identity. The participants' narratives thus offer fresh insight into the professional socialization experiences of Black women in student affairs administration and the impact of racism and sexism on these experiences. The findings of this study provide a valuable perspective that contributes to our knowledge of the experiences of Black women in student affairs administration.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT EMAIL SOLICITATION

Hello!

My name is Tonya Baker and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling and Student Personnel Services Program at the University Georgia. I am currently working on my dissertation, which focuses on the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs administration. I received your name and contact information from [INSERT REFERENCE], who identified you as someone who may meet the criteria needed for the study. Participants for the study should: 1) be Black women, 2) be student affairs administrators, 3) oversee at least one functional area, with supervision and administrative responsibilities within student affairs, 4) have at least five years of professional work experience in student affairs administration, and 5) have graduated from a student affairs graduate preparation program. The goal of this study is to look at the influence of race and gender on the professional socialization of Black women in student affairs administration.

Your participation in this study will require one interview lasting at least 60 minutes to no more than 90 minutes. If needed, a follow-up interview will be scheduled. The interview will be audio recorded. Data that identifies your connection to a specific institution will not be reported. All participants will have the option to choose a pseudonym. If a pseudonym is not chosen identifying information will be excluded from the interview transcripts. Also, participants will have the opportunity to review their interview transcript for accuracy.

If you meet the criteria and are interested in participating in my study, please contact me to determine if you are a match to participate in this study. I can be reached by email at tbaker99@uga.edu. If you meet the criteria and are interested in participating, an interview will be arranged. Once an interview date and time has been arranged, a letter of consent will be forwarded to you. If you know of other women who fit the criteria listed above and would be interested in the study, please let me know.

Please feel free to contact me if you have questions about the study or the interview. Thanks and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Tonya E. Baker
Doctoral Candidate
Counseling and Student Personnel Services
University of Georgia

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. The purpose of this research study is to develop an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized into the student affairs profession. The findings from this study will allow me to gain an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration experience professional socialization, the influence professional socialization has on their career trajectory, and the intersection of race and gender influences professional socialization. This interview will last between one hour and 1½ hours. The information you share will be kept confidential. Should you wish to discontinue your participation in this study, you may do so at any time. Also, please feel free to ask any questions you may have at any point. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Background questions
1. What inspired you to pursue a career in student affairs?
2. Describe your professional preparation towards your current administrative position.
3. Describe your academic preparation towards your current administrative position.

RQ1. How do Black women in student affairs administration describe their professional socialization experience?

Transition: Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about your professional socialization experiences as a student affairs administrator.

4. What are some of the values, customs, goals, and behaviors of the profession?
   a. How did you learn the values, customs, goals, and behaviors of the student affairs profession?
5. What role has politics played in your socialization?
6. What have you learned that has been key to your socialization in the profession?

7. How have you been involved in the student affairs profession?
     b. Are you a member of professional organization?
     c. Do you serve in a leadership role?
8. Tell me about your experiences with professional mentors.
     d. Do you have a mentor?
          i. If not, is there anyone who has influenced your career? How have they influenced you?
     e. What did you consider when selecting your mentor?
     f. Has race been a factor in your selection of a mentor?
     g. Has gender been a factor in your selection of a mentor?
     h. How did this relationship begin?
     i. How have they been influential in your professional socialization?
9. Describe your experience building a professional network of colleagues.
10. In the work environment, what area (race, gender) of your identity is most salient?
11. As your career has progressed, do you feel you have received support from professional colleagues?
12. What challenges, if any, have you experienced working in student affairs administration?
     j. What coping strategies, if any, do you utilize to approach these challenges?
13. What successes, if any, have you experienced working in student affairs administration?

RQ2. In what ways, if any, does racism influence the professional socialization process for Black women in student affairs administration?

Now, I'd like to steer the conversation towards discussing the influence of race on your professional socialization experience in student affairs.

14. What role, if any, has race factored in your experience as a student affairs administrator?
15. Has marginalization played a role in your professional socialization in student affairs administration?
     k. If so, what area of your identity (race or gender) contributed to the marginalization your experienced?
     l. If so, how has marginalization impacted networking with colleagues?
     m. If so, how has marginalization impacted acquiring knowledge of expectations, behaviors, and attitudes in the work environment?
     n. If so, have you used marginalization to your advantage?
          i. If so, in what ways?

RQ3. In what ways, if any, does sexism influence the professional socialization process for Black women in student affairs administration?

I'd like to get your thoughts on your experience with sexism and professional socialization as a Black woman in student affairs administration.

16. What role, if any, has gender factored in your experience as a student affairs administrator?

17. In given situations, is it more salient to be Black or to be a woman?

18. Do you feel you have been socialized into the profession?

19. What can be done to retain Black women in student affairs administration?

20. Is there anything you would like to add?

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I, _____ , agree to take part in a research study titled *Professional Socialization of Black Women in Student Affairs Administration*, which is being conducted by Ms. Tonya Baker, doctoral candidate, University of Georgia, 813-361-3734, under the direction of Dr. Merrily Dunn, Department of Counseling and Human Development Services, University of Georgia, 706-542-1812. My participation is voluntary; I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have information related to me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to develop an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized into the profession and how the intersection of race and gender influences the professional socialization they encounter in their career. The results of the interviews will be analyzed, shared with colleagues in higher education who have an influence in ensuring Black female student affairs administrators are retained, and may be published in a scholarly journal.

It is estimated interviews will last at least 60 minutes and no more than 90 minutes. The questions will begin with questions about my educational and professional background. Next, will be questions pertaining to my experience working in student affairs, followed by questions addressing the influence my race and gender has had on socializing as a student affairs administrator. Each interview conducted in person and will be recorded using an audio recorder. If we are unable to conduct the interview in person, the interview will be recorded using Google Voice. Google Voice allows the researcher and participant to talk over the phone and the interview is recorded and saved online.

The only person who will know that I am a participant in this study is the researcher. No individually identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others. I will have the right to use a pseudonym to conceal my identity if I choose to do so.

No risk is expected by participating in the study. No discomforts or stresses are expected. The benefit to participating in the study will allow those involved to discuss experiences where little research currently exists. The study will provide a voice and insight into a group who has little to no research previously conducted. The data collected from this study will be processed for analysis. All digital recordings and interview transcriptions will be retained in a locked cabinet and will be destroyed three years after completion of the study.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: 813-361-3734.

My signature below indicates that the researchers have answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

Telephone: _____

Email: _____

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX D: INFORMATIONAL CONSENT LETTER

Dear [PARTICIPANT'S NAME]

My name is Tonya Baker and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Georgia. I'd like to invite you to participate in a research study entitled, *Professional Socialization of Black Women in Student Affairs Administration,* under the direction of Dr. Merrily Dunn, Department of Counseling and Human Development Services, University of Georgia, 706-542-1812. Your participation is voluntary and you can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled. If you decide to withdraw from the study, the information that can be identified as yours will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed, unless you make a written request to remove, return, or destroy the information.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to develop an understanding of how Black women in student affairs administration are socialized into the profession and how the intersection of race and gender influences the professional socialization they encounter in their career. The results of the interviews will be analyzed, shared with colleagues in higher education who have an influence in ensuring Black female student affairs administrators are retained, and may be published in a scholarly journal.

It is estimated interviews will last at least 60 minutes and no more than 90 minutes. A potential 30-minute follow-up interview may be necessary. The questions will begin with questions about my educational and professional background. Next, will be questions pertaining to my experience working in student affairs, followed by questions addressing the influence my race and gender has had on socializing as a student affairs administrator. If we are unable to conduct the interview in person, the interview will be recorded using GoogleVoice. GoogleVoice allows the researcher and participant to talk over the phone and the interview is recorded and saved online. The interview data will be removed from the online server and saved to the researcher's computer at the conclusion of the interview.

Internet communications are insecure and there is a limit to the confidentiality that can be guaranteed due to the technology itself. However, once the materials are received by the researcher, standard confidentiality procedures will be employed. The only people who will know that you are a participant in this study are the researchers. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others unless required by law. The audio recordings will be destroyed once they have been transcribed and analyzed and all individually-identifiable information will be removed from research record after completion of data collection, including the follow-up interview. You will have the right to use a pseudonym during the interview to conceal your identity if you choose to do so.

No risk is expected by participating in the study. No discomforts or stresses are expected. The benefit to participating in the study will allow those involved to discuss experiences where little research currently exists. The study will provide a voice and insight into a group who has little to no research previously conducted. The data collected from this study will be processed for analysis.

I will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached at tbaker99@uga.edu or (813) 361-3734. Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address: IRB@uga.edu.

At the beginning of the interview, I will ask if you have read this letter and have any questions. By participating in the online interview, you will be indicating your consent to participate in the research. Please print a copy of this letter for your records.

Sincerely,
Tonya Baker